K

Monteth (R.) de Salmonet.

THE

# HISTORY

OF THE

# TROUBLES

OF

# *GREAT BRITAIN:*

Containing a particular Account of the

Moſt remarkable Passages in *SCOTLAND*,

From the Year 1633 to 1650.

With an exact Relation of

The Wars carried on, and the Battles fought

BY THE

## MARQUIS of *MONTROSE*.

(All which are omitted in the Earl of *Clarendon's* Hiſtory.)

ALSO,

A full Account of all the Tranſactions in *England* during that Time.

---

Written in *French* by

*ROBERT MONTETH* of *Salmonet*.

---

To which is added,

The true Causes and favourable Conjunctures

Which contributed to the

RESTORATION of King *CHARLES* II.

Written in *French* by D. Riordan de Muscry.

---

Tranſlated into *Engliſh* by

Captain *JAMES OGILVIE*.

---

*LONDON*,

Printed for G. Strahan at the *Golden Ball*, over againſt the *Royal Exchange* in *Cornhill*; and R. Williamson near *Gray's-Inn-Gate*, *Holbourn*.

MDCCXXXV.

# THE HISTORY OF THE TROUBLES OF GREAT BRITAIN:

Containing a particular Account of the

Most remarkable Passages in SCOTLAND,

From the Year 1633 to 1650.

With a brief Narration of

The Wars carried on, and the Battles fought

BY THE

MARQUIS of MONTROSE.

(All which are omitted in the Earl of Clarendon's History.)

A full Account of all the Transactions during that Time.

The true Cause and Occasion of the RESTORATION of King CHARLES II.

Written in Latin by D. Heinsius de Murray.

Translated into English by

Captain JAMES SOGLEVILE.

LONDON:

Printed for G. STRAHAN at the Golden Ball, over against the Royal Exchange in Cornhill, and R. WILKINSON near Clare-Market, MDCCXXV.

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM

THE

# PREFACE.

*THE Diſobedience of the firſt Man which brought Diſorder and Death into the World, like a ſtinking Vapour, ariſing from the bottomleſs Pit, hath ſtain'd the Beauty of the whole Univerſe, and ſpoil'd that ſweet Harmony and charming Union that were amongſt its Parts. Man having rebell'd againſt his Creator, was depriv'd of the Empire of the World, with which he had been inveſted in the Earthly Paradiſe. Then all the Creatures rebelled againſt him and acknowledg'd him no more. He ſoon felt yet a more dangerous Revolt within himſelf; for that precious Gift of original Righteouſneſs, that Curb which kept the inferior Part of his Soul ſubject to the ſuperiour, having been taken off, his Paſſions, like Horſes broke looſe, no longer gave Ear to the Voice of Reaſon: And the Elements, whereof his Body is compos'd, and which, for his Sake, had forgotten their natural Enmity, reſum'd their former Hatred, and never left off making War upon one another, till that admirable Edifice was reduc'd to Duſt. 'Tis from this inteſtine Revolt, that Men are become like Wolves that devour one another, and, as the Apoſtle deſcribes them, they are altogether unjuſt, covetous, wicked, Murderers, qnarrelſome, deceitful and malicious; beſides they are Haters of God, Backbiters, outrageous, full of Pride, Inventers of new Miſchiefs, Rebels againſt their Fathers and Mothers, and void of natural Affection.*

*ALTHOUGH then it be ſaid, that Man is a Creature born for Society and Converſation, yet oftentimes, 'tis Self-love that makes them ſeek after theſe; nay, very frequently 'tis nothing but vain Glory, and an Affectation to appear to have brighter Parts than others. As for Societies and Commonwealths, they were not form'd out of any Principle of mutual Love; but through the Fear that Men were in of one another. For as they all coveted the ſame Things, and likewiſe thought, that they had an equal Right to enjoy them, from thence proceeded Quarrels and Diſcord. In order to remedy that, they agreed to regulate themſelves by eſtabliſhing certain Laws, and by a Form of Government that might ſecure them from the Violence and Oppreſſion, which they were mutually afraid of from their corrupt Paſſions, whence, ſays the Holy Scripture, proceed Wars and Diſſenſions amongſt Men. However, this Polity, which they eſtabliſh'd amongſt themſelves, did not prevent their Iniquities and Lewdneſs from increaſing in proportion as they multiply'd upon the Earth: In ſo much that the World has, in a Manner, been always nothing but a horrible and bloody Theatre of their Rapine and Murders. But the Wrath of God being kindled againſt them, he ſent the Deluge, brought Fire down from Heaven, and from Time to Time imploy'd his other Scourges, in order to puniſh their Wickedneſs, and to extirpate them: And what is more ſtrange, the Holy Scripture aſſures us, that the*

# *The* PREFACE.

*Wickedneſs of Man was become ſo great, and multiply'd to that Degree, that the Spirit of God was weary'd of ſtriving with him, and ſeeing that every Imagination of the Thoughts of his Heart was only evil continually, he repented that he had made Man. Which plainly ſhews how far the Inſolence and Corruption of all humane Nature had gone.*

*HOWEVER, I will not ſay, as ſome have done, that the Ages grow worſe and worſe, and that the preſent Generation is more wicked than the preceding. For if, ſince the Time that there being only two Brothers to ſhare the World betwixt them, wicked* Cain *ſhed the innocent Blood of* Abel, *the Wickedneſs of Men had always been increaſing, the Earth had long ago been Nothing but a great Burying-Place, and a frightfull Deſart. As in the Revolution of Years, the Seaſons are not always equally temperate, and as the Winters are ſometimes long and hard, and ſometimes leſs ſevere, 'tis juſt ſo with the Manners of Men in the Revolution of Ages.*

*'TIS, a common thing for all Men to complain of the Age in which they live, as the worſt of all. But no other Reaſon can be aſſign'd for it, except that they have felt Nothing of the diſcommodities of the preceding Ages; all that they can have learnt of them affecting them no more than the Things that are repreſented upon the Stage. 'Tis for the ſame Reaſon too, that old Men ſee Nothing but what diſpleaſeth them. They always ſay, that Things are corrupted, and talk of nothing but of their Excellency when they were young Men. But things are ſtill much about the ſame, the Depravation being only in their Taſte, which cannot reliſh them in old Age, as when they were leſs advanced in Years. In a word, their Miſtake is like that of thoſe, who ſailing out of a Harbour, can ſcarce be perſuaded that the Ship is moving, but that the Harbour is going from them.*

*I WILL paſs no Judgement upon the Manners of the Age wherein we live, only that 'tis none of the beſt, being an Iron Age, which is a bad Reformer of Men's Lives, an Exceſs of Vice, with the Deſolation of Countries commonly attending War. However, 'tis famous for the great and ſtrange Revolutions that have happen'd in it. Men have been ſeen to mount Thrones poſſeſs'd by great and powerful Kings, without ſtriking a Stroke, and to take Poſſeſſion of them, with as much Eaſe, as if they had been but ſmall Eſtates. We have ſeen Princes humbled, and ſome even reduc'd to the laſt Degree of Affliction, which the Holy Scripture calls* breaking the Bands of Kings aſunder. *And in other Places, Subjects, who durſt not look their Sovereign in the Face, have been ſeen to have the Boldneſs to ſummon him to appear before a Tribunal, where formerly they trembled when they ſpoke to him, and in contempt of the moſt haughty Potentate upon the Earth, ſet an Infant upon his Throne. Revolts have been frequent both in the Eaſt and Weſt and that Nation, which ſcorns to have intercourſe with the reſt of Mankind, has ſeen the great Wall, which ſeparates it from its barbarous Neighbours, thrown down, and its Provinces, which the firſt Influences of the riſing Sun, render wonderfully fertile, laid waſte*

*BUT of all the Revolutions that have happen'd in this Age, that of* Great-Britain *is the moſt remarkable, the moſt ſurprizing, and the moſt fatal in all its Circumſtances. That Iſland, which, for a long Space of Time, free from all Troubles, ſaw all the Reſt of the World involv'd in Wars, is now plung'd into Blood and Confuſion. I have undertaken to write the Hiſtory of the Troubles that have imbroil'd it, and I have compiled it from the moſt exact and faithful Memoirs that I could find. I have written*

*ten it without Paſſion and without Partiality. For though I take that Part in theſe Affairs which my Religion, my Honour, and my Birth oblige me to take in them, yet I obſerve an exact Neutrality. I have not the leaſt Deſign of pleaſing or diſpleaſing any Perſon, and I am ſo far from being the Miniſter of other Mens Paſſions, that for my Part, had I any of my own, I would look upon it as baſe to let them appear in this Hiſtory.*

*I MAKE uſe of the Word* Puritan, *not as a Term of Reproach; but as a Word which the* Scots *and* Engliſh *Divines have always made uſe of in their Books, to deſcribe ſuch Proteſtants in* Britain *as abhor the Eccleſiaſtical Hierarchy, the Liturgy, and all the Ceremonies of Religion that are are not preſcrib'd in the Holy Scripture.*

*I DO not in the leaſt mean to comprehend under this Denomination any foreign Proteſtants. For though there be ſome of them that have neither Biſhops nor Chapters, yet they don't look upon Epiſcopacy to be an Antichriſtian Order contrary to the Goſpel. Neither do they account it Idolatry to receive the Communion kneeling, or that to take the Sacrament from the Hand of the Miniſter, is not communicating. In ſhort they don't think that all would be undone if they ſhould adminiſter Baptiſm with the Sign of the Croſs, and ſo of the like things which paſs for fundamental Points among ſt theſe* Puritans. *There have been ſome Miniſters of* Geneva *that have dedicated their Books to* Engliſh *Biſhops, and have given them the ſame Titles and the ſame Honours that the* Engliſh *Divines are wont to give them. In the Synod of* Dort, Balthazar Lydius, *Miniſter of the Place, in opening the Synod, ſaluted the Biſhop of* Landaff *in particular, and gave him the Title of moſt Reverend Prelate. The eloquent* Daniel Tilenus, *Profeſſor of* Sedan, *wrote a Book againſt the* Puritans *of* Scotland, *with his highflown Style ridiculing their indiſcreet Zeal for the Diſcipline of* Geneva, *though he was of that very Communion: And his Succeſſor* Peter du Mulin, *likewiſe an eloquent Man, having publiſh'd his Book* of the Vocation of Paſtors, *which diſpleas'd King* James, *the Biſhop of* Wincheſter *and he wrote ſome learned and reſpectful Letters to one another about Epiſcopacy: Beſides, he dedicated a Book to his Brethren, the Canons of* Canterbury. *So that there are no* Puritans *but ſuch as are mentioned in this Hiſtory. King* James *ſpeaks of them with a great deal of Bitterneſs in his* Royal Preſent, *and ſtrictly charges his Son to be aware of them. And truly, the Troubles they created him during his Reign, ſufficiently ſhew, that he had good Reaſon to be afraid of them, and to deal with them, as the* Athenians *were dealt with by that King of* Perſia, *who out of a deep Reſentment of the Injuries he had receiv'd from that People, order'd one of his Pages to ſay to him every Morning and Evening, with a loud Voice,* Sir, Remember the *Athenians.*

*I COMPUTE the Time according to the old Style, as is practis'd in* Great Britain, *however, without regarding that the* Engliſh *begin their Year on the* 25th *of* March: *But as to the Species of Money, I have put the Sums in* French *Livers, twelve whereof make a Pound Sterling* *, *of old* Eſterling, *which ſignifies* Levantine *or* Eaſtern, *becauſe 'tis ſaid, that ſome* Eaſtern *People had coined a Species of Money, the Silver of which was exceeding fine. 'Tis more probable, that 'tis rather from* Sterlingus, *which is a Piece of Money that weighs thirty two Grains of Corn, whereof Mention is made in the Canon Law,* C. 3. De Arbitris & Conſtitut. 12. De

* They are accordingly reduc'd in the Tranſlation.

Procu-

Procurator.——*And indeed an* English *Penny weighs exactly thirty Two Grains of Wheat. As for the Names of Offices and Courts of Juſtice, either Eccleſiaſtical or Secular, I ſhew once for all how they are called in* Great Britain, *and afterwards I keep cloſe to their* French *Denomination.*

*AS for the reſt, I deſire that the Reader would be pleas'd to read this Hiſtory from the Beginning, becauſe if he ſhould read whatever comes next to hand upon opening the Book, and not conſider the whole Coherency of it, he may find himſelf in an unknown Country, where he will loſe himſelf, and perhaps, be very ſoon weary'd. For I have explain'd many Cuſtoms in their proper Place, which he would not underſtand in other Paſſages, where it was abſolutely neceſſary to mention them. I hope he will not diſlike my having ſtrew'd ſome Flowers here and there in ſome little Digreſſions, ſince they are not ſo long as to make him loſe the Thread of the Hiſtory. I have made uſe of them the more freely, in order to ſet it off in ſome Places, where the Narration would otherwiſe have been too dry and tedious: Becauſe not being able to find the Certainty of the Particulars of the Battles and Sieges in* England, *I have been obliged to ſet down only the Events of them.*

*AS for thoſe in* Scotland, *he will therein ſee all the Particulars, but let him not be ſurpriz'd to find that I call* Montroſe's *Fights, Battles; for though he fought many of them without either Cannon or Horſe, yet they have been ſo bloody, and the Number of the Dead ſo great, that they may juſtly paſs for Battles. Whatever Judgment he may make of that Liberty, or of any other Thing in the Management of this Work, I ſhall ſtill be the moſt ſevere Critick of it my ſelf; and I ſhall aſk no other Favour, but that which* William *of* Malmeſbury, *the firſt Hiſtorian of* England, *next to the Venerable* Bede, *very juſtly deſir'd, if any Body has a Mind to write of theſe things after me, he will be beholden to me for having collected them, and I ſhall give him free leave to chuſe whatever he ſhall find the beſt.*

---

A LIST

A

# LIST

OF THE

# SUBSCRIBERS NAMES.

## A.

*HIS Grace the Duke of* ATHOL.
*Sir* Robert Anſtruther *Bart.*
*Sir* Arthur Atchiſon *Bart.*
*Sir* Robert Abdy, *Bart.*
*Major* William Areſkin.
Gilbert Affleck *of* Dalham *Eſq*; Suffolk.
James Abercromby *of* Glaſhough *Eſq*;
William Adair, *Eſq*;

## B.

*The Right Honourable the Earl of* BERKSHIRE.
*The Right Honourable the Lord* BARGENY.
*The Right Honourable* William *Lord* BRUCE.
*His Excellency* Henry Boyle, *Eſq*; *one of the Lords Juſtices of* Ireland.
*The Honourable* Alexander Brody *Lord* LYON.
*Sir* Michael Bruce *of* Stonehouſe, *Bart.*
James Bruce, *Eſq*;
*Captain* John Blair.
*Captain* John Bennet.
George Bowes, *Eſq*;
John Burton, *D. D.*
William Bridgeman *of* Comb, *Eſq*;
Stephen Beckingham, *Eſq*,
Bellingham Boyle, *Eſq*;
John Burk, *Eſq*;
Freeman Bouvry, *Eſq*;
John Beaufort, *M. D.*
*The Rev. Mr.* James Barclay, *Canon of* Windſor.
*The Rev. Mr.* Barron.
*Mr.* George Buchan.
*Mr.* Francis Beauchamp.
Richard Banner, *Eſq*;

## C

*The Right Honourable the Earl of* CRAWFORD, 2 *Copies.*
*The Right Honourable the Earl of* CASSILS.
*The Right Honourable the Earl of* CROMARTY.
*The Right Honourable the Earl of* CLANCARTY.
*The Honourable* George Cary, *Eſq*;
*Sir* William Compton, *Bart.*
*Sir* James Campbell *of* Auchinbreck, *Bart.*
*Sir* John Hynd Cotton, *Bart.*
John Cotton *of* Connington, *Eſq*;
*Captain* John Chalmers, *of* Gadgirth.
*The Rev. Mr.* Alexander Chalmers.
*The Rev. Mr.* James Chalmers.
Charles Chambers, *Attorney at Law.*
*The Rev. Mr.* Archibald Cumming.
Alexander Cunningham *of* Craigends, *Eſq*;
Andrew Cratty, *Eſq*;
Dennis Clark, *Eſq*;
*Captain* William Clealand.
James Cockburn, *Eſq*;
William Cockburn, *M. D.*
Francis Carrington, *Eſq*;
Thomas Calderwood *of* Bolton, *Eſq*;
Peter Cheap, *Eſq*;
*Mr.* John Cornwall.
*Mr.* Anthony Cook.
*Mr.* William Calvert.
*Mr.* George Campbel, *Banker.*
Robert Cruickſhank, *Eſq*;
*Mr.* John Cruickſhank.
George Cheyne, *M. D.*

## D.

*The Right Honourable the Earl of* DUNDONALD.

# SUBSCRIBERS NAMES.

*The Right Honourable the Lord* DARTMOUTH.
*The Honourable Captain* Robert Douglas.
*The Honourable* O Brian Dilks, *Esq*;
*Mrs.* Isabella Drummond.
Gavin Drummond, *Esq*;
*Major General* Dalzel.
*Sir* George Dunbar *of* Mochram, *Bart.*
Patrick Dunbar, *Esq*;
*Captain* William Dick.

E.

*The Right Honourable the Lord* ELPHINGSTON.
*The Right Honourable the Lord* ELIBANK.
*Sir* Henry Englefield, *Bart.*
Charles Ecklin, *Esq*;
*Captain* William Edgeworth.

F.

*The Right Honourable the Lord Viscount* FALKLAND.
*The Honourable Captain* John Forrester.
*Sir* John Freke, *Bart.*
William Fullerton, *M. D.*
John Fullerton, *Esq*;
Thomas Fothringham *of* Powry, *Esq*;
James Ferguson *of* Pitfour, *Esq*;
*Captain* Adam Ferguson.
John Fitzgerald, *Esq*;
*Mr.* Alexander Falconer.

G.

*The Right Honourable the Lord* GARLEYS.
*The Right Honourable the Lord* GOWER.
*Sir* William Gordon *of* Park, *Bart.*
*Sir* James Grant *of* Grant, *Bart.*
*Captain* George Grant.
*Captain* James Grant.
*Colonel* William Grant.
*Colonel* Philip Goodwin.
*Captain* Francis Graham.
*Captain* Alexander Geddes.
Arthur Gordon *Jun. of* Carnusy, *Esq*;
Arthur Gower. *Esq*;
Robert Godschal, *Esq*; *Alderman of* London.
Richard Gipps, *Esq*;
Robert Graham, *of* Fintry, *Esq*;
James Graham *of* Airth, *Esq*; *Judge Admiral of* Scotland.
Charles Gray, *Esq*;
John Green, *Esq*;
Patrick Guthry, *Esq*;
John Gascoign, *Esq*;
Thomas Græme *of* Philadelphia, *M. D.*
James Græme, *Esq*; *of* South Carolina.
*Sir* John Giffard, *Bart.*
Alexander Grant, *Sadler.*

H.

*His Grace the Duke of* HAMILTON.
William Hamilton, *Esq*;
*Captain* George Harrison.
*Captain* William Hegginson.
*Captain* William Hoar.
James Hay, *M. D.*
William Hatfield *of* Lilly, *Clerk*, Hertfordshire.
Robert Heysham *of* Slagenhoe, *Esq*; Hertfordshire.
Jacob Houblon, *Esq*;
Moses Hart, *Jun. Esq*;
*The Rev. Mr.* Nath. Hoole *of* Wansted.

J.

*The Right Honourable the Earl of* JERSEY.
*The Right Honourable the Earl of* ISLA.
*The Right Honourable the Earl of* INCHIQUIN.
*Brigadier General* Jones.
*Captain* Robert Jenkins.

K.

*Sir* James Kinloch, *Bart.*
*Dr.* William King.
Hugh Kennedy, *Esq*;
Charles Ker *of* Chatto, *Esq*;
Robert Ker *Sen. Esq*;
Robert Ker. *Jun. Esq*;
*Captain* James Ker.
*The Rev.* George Kelly.

L.

*The Right Honourable the Earl of* LAUDERDALE.
*The Honourable Mrs.* Leake.
Ernest Lesly *of* Balquhain, *Esq*;
George Lockhart of *Carnwarth*, *Esq*;
James Leith *of* Harthill, *Esq*; 6 *Copies.*
Richard Lockwood, *Esq*;
John Layfaght, *Esq*;
*The Library of St.* Peter's *College*, Cambridge.
*The Library of Trinity Hall College*, Cambridge.

M.

*The Right Honourable the Earl of* MORTON.
*The Right Honourable the Lord* MAITLAND.
*The Right Honourable the Viscount of* MONTJOY.
*The Honourable* George Maitland, *Esq*;
*Colonel* Richard Maitland.
James Maitland, *Goldsmith.*
*Mr.* William Maitland.

*Sir*

# SUBSCRIBERS NAMES.

*Sir* Alexander Murray *of* Stanhop, *Bart.*
*Sir* Alexander Murray *of* Blackbaronry, *Bart.*
Charles Murray, *Esq*;
William Murray *Jun. of* Auchtertire, *Esq*;
John Murray, *Surgeon.*
*Sir* George Mackenzie *of* Cromarty, *Bart.*
John Mackenzie, *Esq*;
*Captain* Keneth Mackenzie.
*Sir* William Maxwell *of* Monreith. *Bart.*
*Sir* Robert Morton *of* Gogar.
Thomas Maidstone, *Esq*;
Thomas Moncreif *Jun. of* Moncreif, *Esq*;
James Menzies *of* Culdares, *Esq*;
*Captain* George Malcom.
John Mouro *of* Newmore, *Esq*;
William Metcalf *of* Firdham Abby, *Esq*; Cambridgeshire.
*The Rev. Mr.* John Marion.
*Mr.* George Middleton, *Banker.*
*Mr.* Andrew Mitchel, *Apothecary.*
David Moncrief, *Esq*;

N.

*His Grace the Duke of* NORFOLK.
*Sir* John Napier *of* Lutten Hoe, Bedfordshire, *Bart.*
*Sir* William Nairn *of* Dunsinnan, *Bart.*
*Sir* James Nasmith, *Bart.*
Thomas Nutting *of* Cambridge, *Merchant.*

O

*Sir* Edward O Brian, *Bart.*
*Captain* George Ogilvie.
*The Rev. Mr.* James Orme *of* New York.

P

*Sir* Robert Pollock *of* Pollock, *Bart.*
*Sir* Archibald Primrose *of* Dunipace, *Bart.*
Humphry Parsons, *Esq*; *Alderman of* London.
Robert Pringle *of* Clifton, *Sen. Esq*;
Robert Pringle *of* Clifton, *Jun. Esq*;
Charles Pye, *Esq*;
Thomas Pierson *of* Middleton, *Esq*; Norfolk.
*The Rev. Mr.* Peters, *Lecturer of St.* Clement's

R.

James Rutherford *of* Bowland, *Esq*;
*Captain* John Rutherford.
*Mr.* Thomas Rutherford.
*Captain* James Ramsay.
*The Rev. Mr.* Robert Robertson *of* Nevis.
*The Rev. Mr.* Robert Robertshaw.
James Monro, *M. D.*

S.

*The Right Honourable the Earl of* STRATHMORE.
*The Right Honourable the Earl of* SELKIRK.
*The Honourable* Hays St. Leger, *Esq*;
*Sir* Edward Smyth, *Bart.*
John Scot *of* Ancrum, *Esq*;
*Captain* James Scot.
William Stirling *of* Halbertshire, *Esq*;
*Captain* John Stirling.
*Mr.* James Stirling.
Alexander Seaton *of* Munie, *Esq*;
William Strahan, *L. L. D. Advocate in Doctor's Commons.*
Alexander Strahan, *Esq*;
*Captain* Charles Strahan.
Edward Sheldon *of* Weston, *Esq*;
Thomas Stradling *of St.* Dinat's Castle, *Esq*;
*The Rev. Mr.* Scriven.
Guy Sindrey, *Town Clerk of* Cambridge.
*Mr.* William Scoby.
*Mr.* Arthur Shepherd.
*Mr.* Charles Smith *of* Boulogn, 2 *Copies.*

T.

*The most Honourable the Marquis of* TWEEDDALE.
*The Right Honourable the Earl of* THANET.
William Tyron, *Esq*;
*Mr.* Thomas Tyron.
John Turner, *M. D. of* Penryn, Cornwall, 2 *Copies.*
*Mr.* Lawrence Trent.
*Captain* John Threpland.

V.

*The Right Honourable the Lord* VILLARS
*The Right Honourable the Lord* VANE.

W.

*The Right Honourable the Earl of* WIGTON.
*The Right Honourable the Earl of* WEEMS.
*Sir* James Wood, *Bart.*
*Captain* Peter Wood.
*Captain* William Wight.
*Captain* Alexander Wilson.
*Captain* William Wilkinson.
James Walchop *of* Edmonston, *Esq*;
Andrew Walchop *of* Niddrey, *Esq*;
James Watson *of* Saughton, *Esq*;
Thomas Watts, *Esq*;
*Mr.* William Watts.
John Walkingshaw, *Esq*;
Philip Walker, *Esq*;
*The Rev.* Joshua Watson, *D. D.*
*The Rev. Mr.* Charles Wragg.
*Mr.* Jacob Wragg.

# *E R R A T A.*

*PAGE* 48. *line* 46. *read Dumfermling.* *p.* 51. *l.* 40. *r.* Majeſty. *p.* 59. *l.* 28. *r.* Unanimity. *p.* 74. *l.* 7. *r.* divided. *p.* 75. *l.* 25. *r. Brache.* *p.* 90. *l.* 12. *r.* Kings. *p.* 103. *l.* 10. *r. Charleton.* *p.* 116. *on the Margin, for Shrewſhury, r. Shropſhire.* *p.* 119. *l.* 26. *r. Wainman.* *p.* 133. *l.* 30. *r.* the King declared. *p.* 151. *l.* 22. *r.* 200,000. *p.* 160. *l.* 8. *r.* of the. *p.* 198. *l.* 16. *r. Bamff.* *p.* 214. *l. pen. r. Lanrick.* *p.* 228. *l.* 8. *for* Horſe *r.* Houſe. *p.* 246. *l.* 9. *r.* whereby. *p.* 276. *l.* 37. *for* by *r.* be. *p.* 369. *l.* 16. *del.* to *and r.* returned. *p.* 372. *l.* 38. *for* they *r.* that. *p.* 399. *l.* 40. *r. Kenſington.* *p.* 402. *l.* 43. *r. Kirkudbright.* *p.* 456. *l.* 45. *r. Pym.* *p.* 457. *l.* 9. *r. Pym.* *p.* 466. *l.* 28. *for* who *r.* that.

# THE HISTORY OF THE TROUBLES OF *GREAT-BRITAIN.*

## BOOK I.

WHEN *CHARLES* I. King of *Great-Britain*, was crowned in *Scotland*, his native Country, his Dominions injoyed a profound Peace, and his Subjects, taking Advantage of the Quarrels among their Neighbours, poſſeſſed that Plenty which attends the Freedom of Commerce. They taſted the Sweets of a Reign which Heaven loads with Favours, and they wanted nothing that could make the Kingdoms happy and flouriſhing. There appeared not the leaſt Cauſe of Diſturbance, nor any Thing that looked ominous. The Prince, having ſucceeded no leſs to the Virtues than to the Throne of his Father, was beloved and admired by every Body; and it ſeemed to be in his Power to make himſelf Umpire of the Differences of thoſe two Potentates of *Europe*, who are like the two great Luminaries, from which, according to their good or bad aſpect, flow the Influences of Peace or War upon all the other States. 1633.

*ENGLAND* could hardly bear his Abſence, for the ſhort Time he was obliged to ſpend in viſiting the Northern Part of this Iſland, which was then one of the moſt fortunate, where the King was received with all the Demonſtrations of Joy imaginable. Nothing could exceed the magnificent Entries, nor the ſumptuous Entertainments that were made for him every where; with which he was ſo well pleaſed, that the Day

1633. of his Entry into the City of *Edinburgh* he declared, that the Demonſtrations of the Affection of his People gave him the greateſt Satisfaction that ever he had had in his Life, and he was ſorry for not having brought the Queen with him, without whom he found always ſomething wanting in his greateſt Pleaſures.

*The King's Coronation.*

EVERY Thing being prepared for his Coronation, the Day before the Solemnity, he left his Palace of *Holy-Rood Houſe*, and went to lie in the Caſtle; from whence the Day following, being the 21ſt of *June*, he came down in great State, accompanied by the Nobility of the Kingdom, who had gone to attend his Majeſty. They were all mounted upon Horſes well decked with Trappings, and cloathed with long Scarlet Robes trailing upon the Ground, trimmed with Ermine, and lined with white Satin, the Lappets tucked up upon the left Shoulder, all having their Swords by their Sides, and the Lords, Viſcounts, Earls, Marquiſes and Dukes holding their Coronets in their Hands. The Scepter, Sword and Crown were carried by the eldeſt Earls then preſent, according to the Cuſtom always obſerved in *Scotland* at great Solemnities. Then the King appeared in a long Purple Mantle, lined with Ermine, ſurrounded with Guards, having at their Head *Keith*, Earl Marſhal of the Kingdom, which Office is hereditary in his Family, on Account of a memorable Victory which one of the Anceſtors of that Earl obtained over the *Danes* near the Village of St. *Bride*, where he killed with his own Hand their General *Camus*, who was in great Hopes to have ſapped the Foundation of the *Scots* Monarchy, and to carry in Triumph King *Malcom* II. who was then upon the Throne, and who was the firſt of the Kings of *Scotland* that gave Lands in Fief to the Nobility, reſerving to himſelf the Guardianſhip of their Children, and the Diſpoſal of them in Marriage while under Age.

THE King diſmounted at the Gate of the Church of the Abbey of *Holy-Rood Houſe*, guarded by the Earl of *Errol*, hereditary Conſtable of *Scotland*. 'Tis ſaid that this Office is annexed to that Family; becauſe that in the Time of King *Kenneth* III. about the Year 980, the Founder of the Family, named *Hay*, with his two Sons, tilling the Ground, near a Place where the *Danes* were fighting the *Scots* in a pitched Battle, and perceiving that his Countrymen were flying before the Enemy, this good Man, inflamed with a juſt Indignation, armed himſelf and his two Sons with the Yokes of their Oxen, and throwing themſelves into a narrow Paſs, ſtopped the Runaways, put them in Heart again, by pretending that there was a freſh Succour near at Hand; and having made them face about with freſh Vigour, obtained the Glory of having ſaved his native Country from a foreign Yoke.

AT the Entry of the Church the King was received by the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, Primate of *Scotland*, aſſiſted by the Biſhops of *Murray* and *Roſs* in their Rochets and Copes; who led him to a Throne erected in the Middle of the Church, where, after the *Te Deum*, having heard a Sermon preached by the Biſhop of *Brechin*, he ſtept down to the Altar, adorned after the *Engliſh* Manner, and was anointed and crowned, and received the Sacrament from the Hands of the Archbiſhop, who likewiſe girt the Sword about him, which the King offered upon the Altar, and redeemed immediately. He preſently mounted the Throne again in his royal Ornaments, where, having ſolemnly promiſed to maintain the Laws and Religion publickly profeſſed in the Kingdom, he received the Oaths of Fidelity, firſt from the Biſhops, who kiſſed his Cheek, and then from all the Nobility, who kiſſed his Hand. Theſe Homages being done, and the King at Arms having made the Sign to the Nobility to put on their

Coronets, the Chancellor proclaimed a general Pardon to all Criminals; and while the Heraulds cried from a Window of the Church, *God bleſs King Charles*, the great Almoner threw amongſt a Multitude of People, that were ſtanding without, a great many Handfuls of Gold and Silver Pieces, that had been ſtruck on purpoſe for this Solemnity. 1633.

It was but of late that the Kings of *Scotland* began to be crowned: *Edgar* having been the firſt in the Year 1101, by *Godrick*, Biſhop of St. *Andrews*, then Suffragan of the Archbiſhop of *York*. But in the Year 1108, all the Biſhops of *Scotland* were ſubjected immediately to the holy See by Pope *Clement* III. out of Favour to King *William*, a moſt pious Prince; and that Privilege was afterwards confirmed by Pope *Celeſtin* III. in the Year 1192, notwithſtanding the Pretenſions of the Archbiſhop of *York*, till 1472, when *Patrick Graham*, of the Family of *Montroſe*, was created Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, and Primate of all the Kingdom, by Pope *Sixtus* IV. who heightened that new Dignity by the Legation *à latere* which he gave him for three Months.

But the Kings of *Scotland* have been Chriſtians ever ſince *Donald* I. in whoſe Reign the Emperor *Severus* in the Year 211, having come over from *Gaul* into *Great-Britain*, with a more powerful Army than any of his Predeceſſors, extended the Bounds of the Empire beyond the Intrenchment that *Adrian* had cauſed to be made, between the Rivers of *Tyne* and *Solway*, of the Length of 8000 Paces: For having made his Way as far as the famous Foreſt of *Caledon*, he drove the Inhabitants of the Country into the Mountains; but, becauſe of the Ruggedneſs of the Ways, not being able to ſend but ſmall Parties for ſubduing them, he made Peace with them, and cauſed a new Retrenchment to be made between the Mouth of the River of *Clyd*, where the ſtrong Caſtle of *Dumbarton* ſtands, and the Place where the River *Aven* falls into that of *Forth*, which is the narroweſt Part of the Iſland. The Remains of which Work is to be ſeen at this Day, with a round Temple, dedicated to the God *Terminus*, upon the River of *Carron*; which Temple remains intire, excepting the upper Part of the Gate, where, without doubt, there had been ſome Inſcription, which King *Edward* I. of *England* carried off, with all the antient Monuments of the Country. That Prince vainly flattered himſelf that he ſhould be able to triumph over the Liberty of this warlike Nation, of which it is extremely jealous, and to reduce this antient Kingdom into a Province: For having taken out of the famous Abbey of *Scoon*, upon the River of *Tay*, a Marble Stone, upon which the Kings of *Scotland* were wont to be crowned, he cauſed it to be ſet in a Chair, and placed in *Weſtminſter-Abbey*, where 'tis to be ſeen at this Day, and upon which, according to this Diſtich, depends the Fate of the *Scotiſh* Empire.

*Ni fallat fatum, Scoti quocumque locatum*
*Invenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.*

But though this laſt Retrenchment was the fated Boundary of the *Roman* Empire, yet it was not a limit to the Kingdom of the Son of God, to which the utmoſt Parts of the Earth are promiſed: For the Croſs was planted in Places where the *Roman* Eagles could not penetrate; to wit, in the *Hebrides*, or Weſtern Iſlands of *Scotland*, which have produced many learned Monks, by the common People called *Culdeos*, ſignifying, *Colentes Deum*, who led ſuch holy Lives, that after their Deaths their Cells were conſecrated, and converted into Churches; whence it comes that, in the antient *Scotiſh* Language, Temples are called *Kils*, that is to ſay, Cells. 'Tis to be preſumed that the Goſpel came to them from the Eaſt, becauſe

1633. cauſe they obſerved *Eaſter* after the Manner of the Eaſtern Nations: And 'tis probably from that Cuſtom, which was likewiſe obſerved in *England* before the coming of St. *Auguſtin*, the Apoſtle of the *Engliſh*, that in *England* that Feaſt is called *Eaſter*.

*The King calls a Parliament.* THE Week after the Coronation, the King met his Parliament, in which the principal Affairs that came under their Conſideration were a Regulation of the Tithes, with which his Majeſty was willing that the Proteſtant Clergy of the Kingdom ſhould be more handſomly provided than formerly; and the Revocation, which the King had made at the Beginning of his Reign, of the Church Lands diſmembered from the Crown, which had been annexed to it upon the Change of Religion in *Scotland*. The Deciſion that was made diſpleaſed many of the Members. But we muſt trace theſe Things to their Source, and ſhew that the three Eſtates of the Kingdom have had no Reaſon to complain of the King's Intentions, with Reſpect to theſe Matters; on the contrary, that they ought to have been very well pleaſed with his Goodneſs and Juſtice.

WHEN the *Scots* began to ſeparate themſelves from the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, during the Regency of Queen *Mary* of *Lorrain*, the Widow of *James* V. the Miniſters, of whom *John Knox* was the Head, who came to *Scotland* in order to reform it after the Manner of *Geneva*, turned all the eccleſiaſtical Order upſide down, cauſed all the religious Houſes and Churches to be pulled down, at leaſt the Quires and Steeples, which they looked upon to be the moſt criminal Parts, and expoſing the Goods of the Church to be pillaged, like the King of *Sodom*, they ſought nothing but the Souls, not ſeeming to deſire any Share of the Plunder. This was a powerful Bait to the Nobility and Gentry of the Nation, conſidering the Contempt holy Things had fallen under at that Time, through the Ignorance and Vices of the Overſeers of the Church, to ſide with the Reformers, who invited the Nobility and Gentry to ſeize all the Benefices that lay moſt convenient for them, which they did moſt readily, without much Intreaty.

OF old the Benefices conſiſted in two Things, in Lands farmed out for ſome Years, or let in Fee-farm, and in Tithes. For to each Abbey belonged a great many Benefices, of which the Abbot gathered the Tithes, and gave a ſmall yearly Allowance to the Curates that officiated: Whence, in a great Meaſure, proceeded the Miſchief, becauſe thoſe that ſerved at the Altar, having no Tithes belonging to it, (though by ſome Fathers the Tithes are called the *Altars*, becauſe they belong to them) the Curates were poor, and becauſe of their Poverty, they led looſe Lives, which made the People deſpiſe the Sacrifices of the Altars. After then that the Nobility and Gentry had taken Poſſeſſion of the Benefices, they bethought themſelves of Means for ſecuring themſelves in it, and making Application to the Incumbents, they prevailed ſo far, ſome by a little Money, others by Threatnings, or Promiſe of Protection to ſuch as apprehended the Danger, that they forced out of them Leaſes of their Tithes for a great Number of Years, allowing them a ſmall yearly Penſion; and as for the Lands, they compelled them to make them over to be held in Fee-farm. Nay, there were ſome Incumbents, who ſeeing this Deſtruction of the Church, parted willingly with their Benefices in the ſame Manner in Favour of their Nephews.

ALL theſe Uſurpers had ſufficiently ſecured themſelves with Reſpect to the Tithes; for in *Scotland* the Incumbents were allowed to give long Leaſes of their Lands; that kind of Alienation not being prohibited by the Laws till the Year 1617, when the Biſhops were confined to nineteen Years, and the Eccleſiaſticks of the ſecond Order to their Lives and five

five Years after, which their Succeſſors were obliged to ſtand to But be- 1633.
cauſe the renting out of the Church Lands was not valid, without a Confirmation from the Pope and the King, the Pope's Authority being aboliſhed in *Scotland* by an Act of the Parliament held at *Edinburgh* the 24th of *Auguſt* 1560, they obtained an Act in the laſt Parliament of Queen *Mary*, on the 15th of *December* 1564, in Confirmation of all the Leaſes of Church Lands made by the Prelates (under which Name were comprehended in *Scotland*, the Priors as well as the Abbots and Biſhops) ſince the 8th of *March* 1558, when the Troubles about Religion began; and of all Leaſes made before. For there were ſome that were older by two Hundred, nay, three Hundred Years, confirmed by the Popes. That religious Princeſs was forced in that unhappy Juncture to paſs that Act, though ſhe had prohibited and annulled all Leaſes by a Proclamation.

Now, though the Religion was changed, and that *Scotland* no more acknowledged the holy See, its Authority being again prohibited in the firſt Parliament held by King *James* VI. in 1567, when any Incumbent happened to die, that King preſented another to the Benefice, but ſtill a Laick; for the Miniſters to whom the King had offered them at firſt, refuſed them with Deteſtation. This Laick Incumbent then had a Seat and Voice in Parliament, as Biſhop, Abbot or Prior; and if there was any Part of the Benefices not farmed out, they let it to their Friends in Fee-Farm, ſome to their own Children, either immediately, or under the Name of a third Perſon. They received likewiſe the Homages, the Ground-Rents, and all the Rights of Lords of the Manour. But being only Tenants for Life, they could not leave the Fees to their Heirs; and therefore having conſulted Lawyers, they got the Lands of the Benefices, of which they were Titulars, to be erected into Baronies. Theſe Erections were made partly before the annexing of the Church Lands to the Crown, and partly after, to wit, the Lands of the Abbeys and Priories; as for the Lands of the Biſhopricks, they were never erected into Temporalities, becauſe the King had ſtill a Deſign to re-eſtabliſh the Biſhops. By this Means the Benefices being ſecularized, and the Nature of them changed; all thoſe, in whoſe Favour they had been erected into Baronies, acquired a hereditary Right for themſelves and their Heirs to the Ground and Quit-Rents, and to all Rights belonging to Lords of the Manours, as feodal Lords of thoſe Lands, and all thoſe that poſſeſſed them in Fee-farm, became the Vaſſals of thoſe *Lords of Erection*: Such are they called in *Scotland*.

Upon the Majority of King *James*, all the Church Lands, as well of Biſhopricks, Abbeys, and Priories, as of Prebends, Chaplainies, *&c.* were annexed to the Crown by an Act of the firſt Parliament held by King *James* after his Majority, on the 29th of *July* 1587, except nevertheleſs ſome Benefices and Commanderies of *Malta*, which had been already erected into Baronies, and ſome others that the King had beſtowed upon ſome particular perſons, whom he made Barons afterwards. The Tithes were alſo excepted, which, in that Act, are called *the Spiritualities of the Benefices*. By this Act of Annexation, the King became ſuperior of all the Church Vaſſals, who paid his Majeſty the Ground Rents, if they were not Vaſſals of the Titulars excepted in the Act: And becauſe the Lands annexed to the Crown cannot be diſmembered from it, unleſs by giving them in Fee-farm; the ſame Parliament allowed the diſmembering of the Church Lands, for that Intent, ſo that the King could give them to ſuch as he had a liking for, but could make no more new Erections.

For all that, this ſame King continued to make Erections in Favour of ſeveral Perſons, who, to ſecure themſelves from the Act of Annexation,

1633. had Intereſt enough to get them to be ratified by the Parliament. This was a Favour that no body was denied: However, it was ordained, that theſe new Barons ſhould hold their Baronies of the Crown, and, in doing Homage to the King upon the Change of a Lord, ſhould preſent him, ſome, with twenty five Pounds Sterling, ſome, with forty one Pound thirteen Shillings and four Pence, once for all. This Sort of Homage is called in *Scotland Blench-holding*, becauſe it is more free and eaſy than that of Ground-rent or Ward-holding, and is not due unleſs it be demanded. They were likewiſe obliged to give a competent yearly Allowance to all the Miniſters who had Benefices within their Baronies, according as they ſhould be regulated by the Commiſſioners that ſhould be appointed for that End.

KING *James* pitied the Condition of the Miniſters, which was very poor: For though at the beginning of the Reformation, in the Year 1561 it was ordained, that the Third of the Benefices ſhould be employed for the Maintenance of the Miniſters, which was ratified by the Parliament in 1567: Yet of the two Eſtimates that were made of them, one was ſo pitiful, and ſo much under-rated, that it ſcarce deſerved the Name of an Alms; and the other of the Year 1584, though a little more reaſonable, was made with ſo much Reluctancy of the Parties concerned, that all that the Miniſters could get of it was ſpent in the Charges of collecting it; inſomuch, that many choſe rather to quit their Share of it, than to be plagued with the tedious Proceedings at Law, or to fall under the Curſe of the Sons of *Eli*, and proſtrate themſelves before thoſe ſevere Maſters for a Bit of Bread. Therefore in the Year 1606, this good King having anew ratified all the Erections, he gave Commiſſion to ſome of the three Eſtates, for augmenting the yearly Allowance of the Miniſters who had Cures in the Benefices erected into Baronies: And becauſe then all the Barons of Erections renewed their Contracts with the King, a Stop was put to them, until ſuch Time as the yearly Allowances of the Miniſters, the higheſt of which did not exceed twenty five Pounds Sterling, were rated, in order to inſert them in a Clauſe of the Contracts.

THE ſame Year 1606, the Biſhops were re-eſtabliſhed and put again in Poſſeſſion of their Dignities, Lands and Caſtles, the Act of Annexation being reſcinded for that Effect, and they allowed to have Recourſe to Juſtice againſt the Fee-farms. They never could recover ſome Papers of Conſequence that were in the Hands of the great Men of the Kingdom. Nevertheleſs, the greateſt Part of thoſe Fee-farms were made void from Time to Time, upon ſome Defect in the Forms of the Contracts, but chiefly for want of the Conſent of the Chapters, which were not reſtored to their Temporalities till 1617, excepting the Priory of *St. Andrews*, the fatteſt Benefice in *Scotland*, of which the Duke of *Lenox*, Lord High Chamberlain and Admiral of the Kingdom, was poſſeſſed. It was in the ſame Year 1617, that King *James* being returned to *Scotland*, after fourteen Years Abſence, endeavoured to make void the Erections: But finding ſo ſtrong an Oppoſition from the Lords that held them, that pacifick Prince deſiſted, contenting himſelf with naming new Commiſſioners, for ſettling the yearly Allowance of the Miniſters at thirty three Pounds ſix Shillings and eight Pence Sterling, which he obtained of the Lords of Erection with great Difficulty: For 'tis not to be imagined with what Zeal they embraced the frugal Opinion of that Apoſtle, who was vexed at the pouring the Perfume upon the Head of our Saviour, and how much they grumbled to part with the Skins of the Badgers, while they had covered themſelves with the Silk and Scarlet of the Tabernacle.

KING

King *Charles*, upon his Acceſſion to the Crown, made a vigorous At- 1633.
tack upon the Erections, and a general Revocation of every Thing that had been diſmembered from the Crown, as from his own Patrimony, that of the Prince, whoſe Title in *Scotland* is *Duke of Rothſay*, from Benefices, Patronages of ſome Cures, hereditary Offices, *&c.* The Juſtice of that Revocation was founded upon the Laws of Nature and Nations, which provide, that all Perſons injured, eſpecially Minors, which the State always is, be fully reſtored to their Rights. It was likewiſe founded upon the Laws and Cuſtoms of *Scotland*; and indeed, the Revocations made by other Kings, and particularly by *James* VI. in the Year 1587, are to be ſeen in the Regiſters of the Parliament of that Kingdom, and this of King *Charles* was entered in the Regiſter of the Council, on the 9th of *February* and the 21ſt of *July* 1626, and was afterwards publickly ratified by the Parliament in Preſence of his Majeſty this Year 1633.

What bred moſt Uneaſineſs amongſt the Nobility, was the Revocation of the Erections of Benefices, both in their Temporalities and Spiritualities: For by the Temporality of Benefices, they had a great many Vaſſals who formerly held of the Abbots and Priors, whom they treated with the utmoſt Rigor, whenever it happened that they could take the leaſt Advantage of them, by their failing to render the meaneſt Services; and by the Spirituality, they tyrannized over the Vaſſals, who durſt not gather in their Harveſts till the Fields were tithed; ſo that very often all the Corn was rotten upon the Ground; which obliged many of thoſe Vaſſals to make a Thouſand Submiſſions to their Superiors, in order to obtain a Leaſe of their Tithes, though at four Times the Value. The King was of the ſame Mind with his Father, to give the Benefices to the Miniſters with the Title of Abbots and Priors, who in that Quality would have Seat and Voice in Parliament. He was not afraid of being denied as the late King had been, for Epiſcopacy having been for a long Time re-eſtabliſhed, the Rigour and Exceſs of the firſt Reformers were much abated; and that immoderate Zeal which attends all Novelties in Religion, was no more to be found but in the Minds of ſuch as were for having their Weakneſs or affected Ignorance to paſs for Scruples of Conſcience.

In the Year 1626, the King having ſent the Earl of *Nithſdale* into *Scotland* about the ſame Affair, the Lords of Erection met at *Edinburgh*, and ſent Deputies to Court; the King likewiſe appointed ſome, who were of his Privy Council, and who had a Conference before his Majeſty, with ſome Perſons who were there for the Clergy; but of ſo mean Parts, that had it not been for the Zeal the King ſhewed for their Cauſe, it had been dropped: However the King at that Time laid aſide his Deſign of re-eſtabliſhing the Abbots and Priors, but continued ſtedfaſt in his Reſolution of going on with the Revocation, and making it turn to the Advantage of the Miniſters; the Lords of Erection, afraid of the Rigour of the Laws, ſubmitted to the King's Pleaſure, except ſuch as were poſſeſſed of Erections before the Act of Annexation. Theſe begged of his Majeſty, that he would be pleaſed to order ſuch a Compenſation as he ſhould think fit to be given them for the Erections, and upon what Conditions they were to diſpoſe of their Tithes to the Vaſſals; and in fine, what Augmentation he would have made to the Miniſters Stipends. In order to engage the King to be favourable to them, they offered him a Tithe of all the Tithes, which was afterwards called, *The yearly Right of Tithes.* Whereupon the King, having a Mind to uſe them better than they expected, reſolved to redeem thoſe Lands at Ten *per Cent.* and declared, that in Regard of the Reſignation they made of them to him, he would pay

1633 pay them eighty three Pounds ſix Shillings and eight Pence Sterling, for eight Pound ſix Shillings and eight Pence of Ground-rent, which ſhould be a certain Revenue, and that they ſhould ſtill continue in Poſſeſſion till the Payment of the Sum; ſo that the King gained nothing by that Bargain, but Vaſſals, whereby they themſelves were great Gainers, being made the King's Vaſſals: And inſtead of Tithes, the King ordered that the Miniſter of each Benefice ſhould have, in Corn or Money, the Value of near fifty Pounds Sterling of Rent, with the Parſonage, and a Piece of Land adjoining of four Acres and a half: And as for the Overplus of the Tithes, that each Proprietor ſhould buy it at the Rate of ſeven Years Purchaſe. The King having thus ordered Matters, he named Commiſſioners of the three Eſtates for valuing the Tithes, and making Proviſion for the Miniſters out of them, according to his Decree, and the Remainder to be left to the Proprietors, except the yearly Right of Tithes payable to the King, which the Proprietors were not to buy off. And this yearly Right was given by his Majeſty to the Earl of *Lowdun*, on the 7th of *May* 1642.

Now, all that the King had decreed concerning the Lands and Tithes of the Erections, and what the Commiſſioners did afterwards according to his Majeſty's Deciſion in Favour of the Miniſters and Proprietors, as alſo the yearly Right, was alſo ratified in the firſt Parliament held by his Majeſty in Perſon. The ſame Parliament likewiſe confirmed the eccleſiaſtical Immunities, with all the Laws formerly made for the Eſtabliſhment of Religion in the State it then was. The Act of Parliament made in the Year 1606, eſtabliſhing the King's ſupreme Authority over all Perſons, and over all Cauſes, with the ſame Fulneſs of Power, that the greateſt of his Predeceſſors had poſſeſſed and exerciſed it, was alſo confirmed: But as this Act had a Clauſe in it, that, according to the Act of Parliament made in 1609, it ſhould be in the Power of the Kings to make Laws concerning the Decency of the Garbs of the Eccleſiaſticks and Magiſtrates; ſome having conſented to the firſt Part of the Act, oppoſed the ſaid Clauſe. Whereupon the King having preſſed them to give their Opinions upon the whole Act, in the Terms it was drawn up in, they anſwered, that it was a Demand conſiſting of many Articles; and that it was neither neceſſary nor reaſonable to confound that Power with his Majeſty's royal Prerogatives, in order to ſurprize the Parliament. Theſe were the Earls of *Rothes*, *Eglington*, *Lowdon*, and the Lord *Balmarino*, a Man of great Judgement, very cunning and active, but deeply engaged in the Puritan Faction.

1634. The Year after the King had returned to *London*, this Lord cauſed a Writing, in the form of a Remonſtrance to the King, to be diſperſed, wherein the Author complained of many Things that had been paſſed in the laſt Parliament by Force, and againſt the Laws and Method of Parliament, but wherein he ſtruck indirectly at the King's Authority. Whereupon this Lord being accuſed and convicted of being the Author or Promoter of it, he was condemned to die. But the King, who could not conſtrain his natural Lenity, and who took Pleaſure in the Exerciſe of Clemency above his other Virtues, pardoned him, hoping by that Indulgence, to gain over to his Intereſt one of the ableſt Men in that Kingdom. During his Trial at *Edinburgh*, there got together a Multitude of People at the Entry of the Court of Juſtice, who all in a Mutiny gave ſome of the Judges inſolent Language as they entered. For the Noiſe of the Liturgy had been already ſpread amongſt the People, who had a great Regard for this Lord, becauſe of his Zeal for what they called the Purity of the Religion of the Country; and he himſelf being a Lord of Erection, was not the only Mal-content amongſt the Nobility.

1634.

*The Puritans are offended at the King's Reſpect for the Clergy.*

But beſides the Affair of Erections, both the Nobility and People were grievouſly offended at the Reſpect the King had for the Clergy. The Confidence he had in the Biſhops, and the Care he took to heighten their Authority, provoked them to the higheſt Degree. For in *Scotland*, as well as elſewhere, they are apt to look upon the Riches and Honours of the Clergy with much Jealouſy, as if the Eccleſiaſticks had fallen from the Clouds; that they ſhould be related to no Body, and that their Dignities ſhould make them become Strangers in their own Families. The preceding Year the King had increaſed the Number of Biſhops, by erecting *Edinburgh*, till then belonging to the Dioceſs of *St. Andrews*, into a Biſhoprick, and chuſing for firſt Biſhop, Doctor *William Forbes*, a Man of great Worth, but hated and much ſuſpected by the Puritans, becauſe he had a great Regard for the Opinions of the holy Fathers; and that he choſe rather to follow theſe Guides in the Interpretation of the holy Scripture, than the modern Divines. The King afterwards eſtabliſhed their Court, after the Manner of that of *England*, which was called, *the Court of the High Commiſſion*, as being founded upon his Majeſty's Commiſſion alone, without being confirmed by the Parliament; every Biſhop having Power to hold it in his own Dioceſs, and to judge all Affairs within eccleſiaſtical Cognizance without Appeal, by the Canons which the Biſhops were then about drawing up: And that they might have the beſt Share in the Government of the State, the King made the Archbiſhop of *St. Andrews* Chancellour of *Scotland*, and all the Biſhops Privy Counſellors. There were twelve of them in the Kingdom, under two Archbiſhops, of which he of *St. Andrews*, which was the firſt See, had for Suffragans the Biſhops of *Edinburgh*, *Dumblain*, *Dunkel*, *Brechin*, *Aberdeen*, *Murray*, *Roſs*, *Caithneſs*, and the *Orkneys*: And the other three, to wit, the Biſhops of *Galloway*, *Argyl*, and of the *Iſles*, were in the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*'s Province. The King had likewiſe a Mind, that the Biſhops of *Scotland* ſhould have the ſame Rank that the Prelates had in *England*, where the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who was called *Primate and Metropolitan of all England*, walked before the Princes and the Officers of the Crown; and the Archbiſhop of *York*, who was called *Primate and Metropolitan of England*, followed immediately the Chancellor, or Keeper of the Seals, the other Biſhops following at a great Diſtance behind the Earls and Viſcounts. Theſe were in general the Cauſes of diſcontent amongſt the Nobility and the Puritan Commonalty, and the Motives of their Spite. But Things were not as yet ripe for an open Rupture.

The King was carrying on an Affair with the Biſhops, which gave the Mal-contents a more ſpecious Pretence for riſing up in Arms. His Majeſty was diſpleaſed with the Confuſion and Indecency that he had obſerved in the divine Service in *Scotland*, and knowing that the Diſorder proceeded from the want of a publick Liturgy, whereby all well eſtabliſhed Churches had ſettled the Order, and preſerved the Uniformity of their Service; the King ordered the Biſhops to convene the moſt knowing of the Clergy of their Dioceſes, and to compoſe a Liturgy, after the Model of that of *England*, which he would not offer them, leſt it ſhould give Jealouſy to that Nation, which cannot bear the leaſt Thing that has any Mark of Dependence upon the Religion or State of *England*. All that the King deſired was, that their Liturgy might be much like that of the *Engliſh*, and that there might be no material Difference between them.

King *James* had had the ſame Deſign, and had cauſed a national Synod to be held at *Aberdeen* for that End, in the Year 1616, wherein it was ordained that a Liturgy ſhould be compoſed as ſoon as poſſible, for the publick Uſe of all the Kingdom. But that Work not going forward,

1634. in the Year 1618, he propoſed to the Biſhops five Articles of the *Engliſh* Diſcipline, which he ordered them to cauſe to be obſerved in their Dioceſes. 1. "That both the Miniſters and People ſhould receive the Com-" munion kneeling, and that the People ſhould receive it from the Hands " of the Miniſters. 2. That the Miniſters ſhould go to baptize Children " in private Houſes, in caſe they were in Danger of Death. 3. That " the Biſhops ſhould confirm Children being come to the Years of Diſ-" cretion, and capable to anſwer to the Catechiſm. 4. That the Mini-" ſters ſhould adminiſter the Sacrament to the Sick that deſired it. 5. That " the Feaſts of the Nativity, Death, Reſurrection, and Aſcenſion of our " Saviour, as alſo *Whitſunday*, ſhould be obſerved." Beſides theſe, the *Engliſh* obſerved the Feaſts of the Apoſtles and Evangeliſts, with the Vigils, and thoſe of the Annunciation and Purification of the Virgin, the Feaſts of St. *John* the Baptiſt, St. *Stephen*, the *Innocents*, and St. *Michael* the Archangel: *All-Saints*, the *Circumciſion*, *Epiphany*, the *Mondays* and *Tueſdays* of *Eaſter* and *Whitſun* Weeks. The King wrote in very preſſing Terms, that he would be obeyed, and that by his royal Authority he could order Things of that Nature, after the Example of the Kings *David* and *Solomon*, and of the Emperors *Conſtantin*, *Theodoſius* and *Juſtinian*.

But the Biſhops having remonſtrated to the King, that the Things would reliſh better with the People, and be more eaſily introduced, if they were impoſed by the Authority of a national Synod, to which the King conſented, and cauſed one to be called that ſame Year 1618, in the Town of *Perth*, and ſent thither a Commiſſioner to repreſent his Perſon. The Biſhops went there with the moſt learned and moderate of their Clergy, and allowed the Puritan Miniſters to reaſon upon the Articles. At laſt, after great Debates made with much Heat on both Sides, to which the moſt venerable Synods have been ſubject, it was decreed, that the Things, which the King had propoſed containing nothing that claſhed with the Proteſtant Faith, and being very uſeful for the Edification of the People, and for heightening the Veneration of the Sacraments, which were treated with very little Reſpect, ſhould be obſerved over all the Kingdom; and that all the Miniſters at their Ordination ſhould ſign the Decrees of the Synod, and take an Oath from the Hands of the Biſhop, to put them in Practice in their Pariſhes. The King afterwards having called a Parliament at *Edinburgh*, ſent the Marquis of *Hamilton* to preſide there in his Place. This was a moſt courteous Nobleman, and much beloved in the Country, who managed the Humours of the Members ſo well, that the Decrees of the Synod were confirmed by Act of Parliament. In this Procedure the King imitated the ancient Emperors, who leaving the Deciſion of Matters of Faith to the Biſhops, approved of them, and cauſed the Canons to be publiſhed by their imperial Authority, that all might ſubmit and be obedient to them, as well under the Pain of eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, as by the Authority of the Laws.

The Puritans notwithſtanding publiſhed Books, wherein they endeavoured to prove, that the Synod of *Perth* had not been convened in the due Form of Synods; that there was no Freedom, and that the Things that had been decided therein, were ſcandalous, ſuperſtitious, and altogether contrary to the Purity of the Goſpel: That it was Idolatry to receive the Sacrament kneeling, and that the Nature of the Communion was, that every Body ſhould break the Bread, and having taken a Bit of it, ſhould preſent it with the Cup, to the Perſon that ſhould ſit next him at the Table: That the Adminiſtration of Baptiſm out of the Church was abuſive, and favoured the Opinion of the abſolute Neceſſity of Baptiſm: That the Confirmation of Children by the Impoſition of the Hands of the Biſhops,

Biſhops, was a Popiſh Sacrament: That it was contrary to the Nature of the Communion, to celebrate it any where but in the Church; and that the Obſervation of Feaſts was a *Jewiſh* Superſtition. Beſides, they made their Pulpits ring again upon theſe Matters, and filled the Minds of the People with ſo many Scruples, that in the Epiſcopal Cities, when the Biſhops with their Clergy began to adminiſter the Sacrament, according to the Decree of the Synod, the Churches were deſerted, although the People were left at Liberty to receive the Sacrament either kneeling, or ſitting after the old Manner. The greateſt Part of the People run to the Fields to perform their Devotions, and believed, that without hurting their Conſciences, they could not be preſent at an idolatrous Service, nor receive the Sacrament from the Hand of the Miniſter, without tranſgreſſing the Inſtitution of our Saviour, and depriving themſelves of all the Benefit of the Communion. But of all the Decrees of the Synod none but that being put in Execution, except, that on *Chriſtmas-Day*, the Miniſter who happened to preach, made a Sermon upon the Nativity, and changed his Text on *Eaſter-Day*, if it did not relate to the Myſtery of the Day; the People by Degrees accuſtomed themſelves to receive the Sacrament from the Hand of the Miniſter, but ſtill ſitting, and there were none but the zealous Puritans that ſtood it out; who, though they were rigid Obſervers of the *Sabbath* Day, choſe rather not to go at all to Church on *Eaſter-Day*, than to hear a Sermon preached there upon the Reſurrection of our Saviour. 1634.

Things continued in this State during the reſt of King *James*'s Reign. At the beginning of the Reign of the King his Son, the Miniſters of *Edinburgh* ſeeing themſelves in a Manner forſaken by almoſt all their Brethren, in the Obſervance of the modern Diſcipline, on Account of which they were at great Odds with a conſiderable Number of their Flocks; and being extremely troubled to ſee them leave the Town on the Communion Days, and go to the Puritan Miniſters in the Country, they began to think of finding out ſome Remedy for it. For theſe Miniſters, at their being received into the Miniſtry, either did not at all ſign the Canons of the Synod of *Perth*, or at leaſt were no ways preſſed by the Biſhops to put them in practice. On the contrary, they connived at all their Diſorders, and even careſſed the moſt noted of the obſtinate, in order, by that Means, to leſſen the Hatred that the People bore againſt them. Theſe Conſiderations obliged the Miniſters of that City to write to the King, begging of his Majeſty, either to diſpence with the Obedience they owed to the Statutes of the Synod, or to oblige all the reſt of the Clergy of the Kingdom to comply with them, that they alone might not bear all the Envy of the People, who charged them with being the only Favourers of that unlawful Synod. This Affair coming to the Knowledge of the chief Puritans of the City, they added their Requeſt, and charged the Bearer of the Diſpatches, with other Letters and Preſents to ſome of the Courtiers, in order to oblige them to contribute their utmoſt Endeavours, that all the Clergy of *Scotland* might in general be freed from that Yoke, which was inſupportable to tender Conſciences. But the King anſwered them, that, after the Example of his Father of bleſſed Memory, he would ſupport the Synod, and expected that all the Miniſters of the Kingdom ſhould conform themſelves to it. This was what thoſe of *Edinburgh* chiefly aimed at in the Alternative which they offered to the King, hoping that his Majeſty being well informed of the ſmall Account that was made of the Synod, he would take Care to have its Decrees punctually obſerved. 1635. & 1636.

The

1635. & 1636.

THE King therefore, in all Things purſuing the Intentions of his royal Father, wrote oftentimes to the Biſhops of *Scotland*, ordering them to ſet about the compoſing of a Liturgy, that might be the ſame in ſubſtance with that of *England*; that by that Uniformity, the Unity of the Faith of the two Kingdoms might be known: And as to what was purely ceremonial, they might regulate it according as they ſhould think fit; the different Cuſtoms of Churches occaſioning no Prejudice to the Unity of Faith. It will be fit to trace this Matter further back.

WHEN King *Henry* VIII. raiſed a Schiſm in the Church, he did not intend to make any Alterations in the Doctrine of the Catholick Faith; on the contrary, having made an Ordinance that was called *the Law of the ſix Articles*, which contained the ſix principal Points, about which there was then a Diſpute, he cauſed all ſuch as refuſed to comply with them to be ſeverely puniſhed. But the Biſhops of *England* having ſhaken off their Subjection to St. *Peter*'s Chair, eſtabliſhed in *Rome* for preſerving the Unity of the Government of the Church; it was not poſſible for him to prevent the Diſciples of *Luther* and *Zuinglius*, either from propagating their Doctrine in his Kingdom, or its taking Root in many Places. The Duke of *Somerſet*, Uncle to the Prince of *Wales*, by his Mother, favoured it in private; but upon the Death of *Henry*, being declared Protector of the King and Kingdom, he inſtilled it into the Mind of Prince *Edward* his Nephew, and by an Order of the Council having commanded, that the People ſhould receive the Sacrament in both Kinds, and the Images to be taken out of the Churches; he cauſed a Liturgy to be compoſed in the vulgar Tongue, which was approved of by the three Eſtates of the Kingdom, in the Year 1549, the ſecond of *Edward*'s Reign.

A SHORT Time after the Publication of the Liturgy, *Bucer* having been invited by *Cranmer*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *to come quickly and labour in the Harveſt*, he came, and immediately ſent for *Peter Martyr*, who likewiſe in great Haſte came over to *England*. *Bucer* having cauſed the Liturgy to be explained to him, wrote to *Calvin* in what State he had found Religion in that Kingdom: *Calvin* anſwered him, that he wiſhed the Prayer for the Dead, though very antient, the Chriſm in Confirmation, and the extreme Unction of the Sick, were left out of the Liturgy; and adviſed him to leave off that Moderation, which he had formerly obſerved in the Reformation of the Church. He wrote in the ſame Senſe to the Protector and the Archbiſhop, complaining that the whole Body of the Maſs was to be found in their Liturgy. This Remonſtrance had ſo great effect, that though the King, in the Anſwer he gave to the Petition of the People, who, upon the Suppreſſion of the antient Service, had riſen in Rebellion, had declared to them, that the new Liturgy was intirely conform to the Word of God, and the Doctrine of the primitive Church; yet the Things that diſpleaſed *Calvin* were left out of the Liturgy; and a ſecond Liturgy being compoſed to the liking of *Bucer* and *Martyr*, it was confirmed by the Parliament, in the Year 1552.

To the Celebration of all the divine Service in the vulgar Tongue, was added the Tranſlation of the holy Scripture, the frequent reading of which was recommended to the People. The great Benefit, that ſuch as apply themſelves to it with a Spirit of Humility and Piety, may reap by it, made them look upon that Liberty as very precious; becauſe they ſaw, that the Uſe of it, which formerly was ſo much recommended to all the faithful by the antient Fathers, under the Direction of, and with Submiſſion to their Paſtors, had ſince grown into a Scruple of Conſcience amongſt the People, as if there had been Danger in reading it. They believed, that they received no leſs Conſolation in praying to God with Spirit and Knowledge,

and they felt an extraordinary Fervour of Devotion, having the Will and Affections heated by this new Light that was ſpread over their Underſtandings. Theſe two powerful Allurements made the People believe, that the Reformers aimed at nothing but the Re-eſtabliſhment of the Exerciſes of Piety, and were the moſt effectual Means, whereby they formed their Communion ſeparate from the Catholick; whereas all theſe Things, let them be never ſo good and deſirable, neither can nor ought to be put in Practice, but in the Unity of the Church, as it depends upon its ſole Authority to re-eſtabliſh them. 1635. & 1636.

This Reformation of *Edward* VI. was aboliſhed upon the Death of that Prince, who reigned but a ſhort Time: For his Siſter Queen *Mary* reſtored all Things to the ſame State they were in before *Henry* divorced Queen *Katherine* her Mother. But *Elizabeth* ſucceeding her, ſhe ſet *Edward*'s Reformation on Foot again; and having cauſed ſomething in that Prince's ſecond Liturgy to be reviſed and corrected, it was confirmed anew by the Parliament, ordaining, that no other Form of Prayers ſhould be read publickly in any Part of the Kingdom; and that the Catholicks, whom they called *Recuſants*, becauſe of their refuſing to be preſent at this Service, ſhould not be forced to aſſiſt at it, provided that they gave two Thirds of their Incomes, which they ſhould be obliged to pay yearly to the Queen. For the Sake of theſe, this Prayer in the Litany of *Edward*'s Liturgy, *Deliver us from the Tyranny of the Biſhop of* Rome, *and from all his deteſtable Enormities*, was ſtruck out; and it remained ſo without Alteration, during all the Reign of that Princeſs, notwithſtanding all the Diſturbances raiſed by thoſe, who, for too much affecting a ſtrict Purity of Religion, began at that Time to be called *Puritans*. Theſe were People, who having retired out of the Kingdom, becauſe of *Mary*'s Severity, became ſo much in Love with the Diſcipline they had met with in ſome Places beyond Sea; that as 'tis natural for Men in all Changes to affect Extreams, they thought they had not got well out of *Rome*, till they had got into *Geneva*. Their Number increaſed extreamly during *Elizabeth*'s Reign, and they created her a great deal of Trouble, inſomuch that ſhe was often heard to ſay, *That ſhe knew very well what would content the Catholicks, but that ſhe never could learn what would content the Puritans.* But the Satisfaction they could not get from her, they expected from King *James*, becauſe of his Education amongſt the zealous Puritans of *Scotland*. And, indeed, he was no ſooner arrived in *England*, than the Puritans offered him many Objections againſt the Liturgy, and they importuned him ſo much, that in the Month of *January* 1603, he ordered a Conference at *Hampton Court*, which that Prince, with many Biſhops and Lords of his Council, held for three whole Days; during which Time the Puritans were heard, *John Reynolds*, Profeſſor of Divinity in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, being Spokeſman of the Meeting. At laſt the King, with the Conſent of the Biſhops, cauſed ſome Expreſſions of the Liturgy to be ſoftened, in order to pleaſe thoſe jealous People: And in the Rubrick of the Adminiſtration of Baptiſm in private Houſes, where, in general Terms, all Sorts of Perſons were indifferently allowed to baptize Children in Caſe of Neceſſity; that was limited to Curates, and ſuch Perſons as had a Call to the Miniſtry. 'Tis true the King himſelf had ſome Scruple about Laick Baptiſm, and ſpoke of the Baptiſm performed by Midwives with ſome Warmth: But the Biſhops of *London* and *Wincheſter*, well verſed in the Writings of the Fathers, removed all his Scruples about it, and repreſented to his Majeſty, that the Cuſtom was very antient, and to diſpute the Validity of Laick Baptiſm, was arraigning the primitive Church;

1635. & 1636. whereupon the King was ſatisfied, and condemned all Sort of Anabaptiſm; under whatſoever Pretence. For ever ſince, in *England*, Baptiſm adminiſtered in due Form by any Perſon, has been reputed valid; and the *Engliſh* Clergy contented themſelves with ſaying, *Fieri non debuit, factum valet.* The Conference ended with a Requeſt the King made to the Biſhops, to ſet about a new Verſion of the Bible, complaining that he had never ſeen a good one of it; that that of the *Engliſh Geneva* Bible was the worſt of all, and that its marginal Notes, in many Places, contained a falſe, ſcandalous, and ſeditious Doctrine.

THE Liturgy of *Scotland* was framed particularly according to the modern Liturgy of *Elizabeth*, in adding to it ſomething of *Edward*'s firſt; of which there are ſome Copies ſtill extant. The Puritans did not diſlike to ſee that their Liturgy followed every where the Verſion of the Bible, commonly called King *James*'s; whereas that of *England* for the moſt Part follows the vulgar Tranſlation, eſpecially in the *Pſalms*, which are taken out of that ancient Expounder, whom the Puritans very much deſpiſe. Beſides, they found another Alteration to the better, to wit, that the Epiſtle was more ſeldom taken out of the Books, which the Proteſtants look upon to be Apocryphal, according to the Canon of the *Jews*, than it is taken in the *Engliſh* Liturgy. But the other Differences ſeemed to them ſo important and eſſential, that, without inſiſting upon the Bleſſing of the baptiſmal Fonts, of which no Mention is made in the *Engliſh* Liturgy, they offered to ſhew that the whole Body of the Maſs was to be found either expreſly or virtually in the new *Scotiſh* Liturgy.

IN the firſt Place, they pitched upon the *Offertory*, which was left out of *Elizabeth*'s Liturgy, and put in this of *Scotland*, where it was injoined, that after ſinging the Nicene Creed, while the Prieſt officiating ſhould read ſome Paſſages of the holy Scripture for the Offertory, the Deacon ſhould receive the Offerings of the People in a Baſon, and the Prieſt having preſented it before the Lord, ſhould afterwards ſet it upon the holy Table, with the Bread and Wine prepared for the Sacrament. "Then "he ſhould ſay the Prayer of the Liturgy for the whole State of *Chriſt*'s "Church, for the King, Biſhops, Prieſts and Curates, and for all the "Neceſſities of the People, with a Thankſgiving for all thoſe, who ha-"ving finiſhed their Courſe in Faith, do now reſt from their Labours, and "for the wonderful Grace and Virtue that God has declared in all his "Saints, who have been the choice Veſſels of his Grace, and the Lights "of the World in their ſeveral Generations." The Service being ended, that which was offered was to be divided in two, one half for the Curate, and the other for the Poor.

IN the ſecond Place, they were exceedingly ſtartled at the bleſſing of the Elements, which are the Bread and Wine, which in the *Scotiſh* Liturgy is called the Prayer of Conſecration, which the Prieſt was to ſay at ſuch a Part of the holy Table, as he might freely and decently make Uſe of his two Hands; that is to ſay, they interpreted, ſtanding before the Table, to be turning his Back to the People; becauſe as the Table was to be placed at the upper End of the Quire, the Prieſt could not go out of the Place where he was at the left Hand of the Table, to be more commodious, than ſtanding before the Table, where he could with all Freedom extend his Arms, and make the Sign of the Croſs over the Elements; for they could not imagine, that the Liturgy meant any other free and decent Uſe of the Prieſt's Hands, but that. They likewiſe obſerved that the Prieſt,

in

in reciting theſe Words of the Goſpel, *He took Bread*, was obliged to take the Patten; in like Manner in ſaying, *He took the Cup*, to take the Chalice; and to put his Hand over as much Wine as he intended to conſecrate, whether it were in a Chalice, or in a Flagon; whence they inferred that the Liturgy taught, that the Intention of the Perſon conſecrating was neceſſary to the Validity of the Sacrament. 1635. & 1636.

But above all, they were frighted at the Words of the Prayer of Conſecration. *Hear us, O merciful Father, we moſt humbly beſeech thee, and of thy almighty Goodneſs vouchſafe ſo to bleſs and ſanctify with thy Word and Holy Spirit theſe thy Gifts and Creatures of Bread and Wine, that they may be unto us the Body and Blood of thy moſt dearly beloved Son*; which is not to be found in the *Engliſh* Liturgy, but only the following Words, *Hear us, O merciful Father, we beſeech thee, and grant that we, receiving theſe thy Creatures of Bread and Wine, according to thy Son our Saviour* Jeſus Chriſt's *holy Inſtitution, in Remembrance of his Death and Paſſion, may be Partakers of his moſt bleſſed Body and Blood.* Theſe Expreſſions, in their Opinion, ſavoured of the Belief of Tranſubſtantiation, which, ſaid they, was plainly to be ſeen, as well by the Catholick Words, which the Prieſt was obliged to ſay at the Communion, *The Body of our Lord* Jeſus Chriſt, *which was given for thee, preſerve thy Body and Soul unto everlaſting Life*, without what follows in the *Engliſh* Liturgy, *And feed on him in thine Heart by Faith*; as by the Anſwer of *Amen*, which the People was obliged to make to the Words of the Prieſt, according to the antient Cuſtom of the Church. Their jealouſy increaſed at what was preſcribed to the Prieſt, not to conſecrate, but, as near as he could conjecture, what would be neceſſary for the Communion of the Congregation; that if it was needful to bring more Bread and Wine, the officiating Prieſt might pronounce the Words of Conſecration over them, beginning at theſe Words, *who in the Night that he was betrayed*, &c. And if, after the Communion, there was any Remnants left, the Prieſt ſhould cover them with a Corporal, and without ſuffering them to be carried out of the Church, ſhould cauſe them to be made an End of by ſuch Communicants as he ſhould think fit to pitch upon for that Purpoſe.

In the third Place, the Sacrifice ſeemed to them to be plainly diſcovered in the Prayer, which immediately followed the Conſecration, which the Liturgy calls *the Prayer of Oblation*, in which the Prieſt ſaid in Name of all the People: *We thy humble Servants do celebrate and make here before thy divine Majeſty, with theſe thy holy Gifts, the Memorial which thy Son hath willed us to make, having in Remembrance his bleſſed Paſſion, mighty Reſurrection, and glorious Aſcenſion, rendering unto thee moſt hearty Thanks for the innumerable Benefits procured unto us by the ſame. And we intirely deſire thy fatherly Goodneſs, mercifully to accept this our Sacrifice of Praiſe, &c. And here we offer and preſent unto thee, O Lord, our ſelves, our Souls and Bodies to be a reaſonable, holy, and lively Sacrifice unto thee, humbly beſeeching thee, that whoſoever ſhall be Partakers of this holy Communion, may worthily receive the moſt precious Body and Blood of thy Son* Jeſus Chriſt, *and be filled with thy Grace and heavenly Benediction, and made one Body with him, that he may dwell in them, and they in him. And although we be unworthy, through our manifold Sins, to offer unto thee any Sacrifice: Yet we beſeech thee to accept this our bounden Duty and Service, not weighing our Merits, but pardoning our Offences.* The Prayer was concluded with the Lord's Prayer, with this Preamble, *we are bold to ſay*, &c. which ſeemed to them to mean, that becauſe of the Propitiation made by the Sacrifice,

we

1635. & 1636. we have the Boldneſs to call God our Father. In fine, they were afraid that the taking away of the Cup, might be inſinuated in the Order of the Adminiſtration of the Lord's Supper, which contained, that the Prieſts and Deacons ſhall firſt receive the Communion in both Kinds, and then the People in due Order; becauſe it not being ſaid in both Kinds, as in the *Engliſh* Liturgy, in their Opinion, it was an ambiguous and myſterious Expreſſion.

BUT, that their Jealouſy might appear to be well founded, and that no Levity of Belief might be imputed to them, they quoted many Paſſages of Divines, who had written upon theſe Matters, about that Time, with Approbation, in order to ſerve as a Commentary to the Text of the Liturgy. Doctor *Montague*, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, one of the moſt learned Men of the Age, was the firſt they quoted, who ſays, "That if Men were "diſpoſed for Peace, there needed no Diſpute about the real Preſence; "becauſe 'tis agreed on both Sides, that the Body of *Chriſt* is really pre- "ſent in the holy Sacrament, and all the Diſpute is only about the Manner "of that Preſence: For Doctor *Andrews*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, in writing "againſt Cardinal *Bellarmin*, acknowledges, that they agree with the Ca- "tholicks in the Object, and only diſpute about the Manner, which they "do not raſhly define, but leave it among the Queſtions of the School, "whether it be by Tranſubſtantiation or Conſubſtantiation, and do not "put it amongſt the Articles of Faith, which ought not to be multiplied; "becauſe that Sacrament is a Myſtery, nay a tremendous Myſtery, the Re- "ſidue of which ought to be conſumed by Fire, that is to ſay, in the Al- "luſion of the Fathers, adored by Faith, and not curiouſly pryed into by "Reaſon." They likewiſe cited Doctor *Laurence*, who, conformably to theſe, teaches; "That he very much approves of thoſe who expreſs the "Manner of the Preſence in general and indefinite Terms; as, ſays he, "this Expreſſion, *Chriſt is there corporally*, diſpleaſeth me; ſo this other, "*His Body is not there*, diſpleaſeth me no leſs; becauſe St. *Paul*, the "Church of *England*, and the Church of God, have always ſaid, that the "Body of *Chriſt* is in the Sacrament, truly, ſubſtantially, and eſſen- "tially."

THEN, for the Sacrifice, they inſtanced Doctor *Heylon*, who ſays, "That as the Paſſion of our Saviour had by God's Appointment been pre- "figured to the *Jews* by the legal Sacrifices, before it happened; ſo by "the Inſtitution of our Saviour, it ought to be commemorated by us Chri- "ſtians in the holy Supper after it hath happened. It was a Sacrifice in "Figure, a Sacrifice in the very Fact, and conſequently a Sacrifice in the "Memorial after it fell out. There was a Sacrifice amongſt the *Jews*, "and there muſt be one amongſt the Chriſtians: And if they have a Sa- "crifice, they muſt have Prieſts who ſacrifice, and Altars to ſacrifice "upon; for without Prieſt and without Altar, no ſacrifice can be made. "There was then a bloody Sacrifice, now it is not bloody; a Prieſt then "deſcended of *Aaron*, now deſcended of *Melchiſedec*; an Altar then for "the *Moſaick* Sacrifices, another now for the Goſpel Sacrifices. At the "Inſtitution of the Sacrament, the Apoſtles were made Prieſts by *Jeſus* "*Chriſt*, and received a Power for themſelves and Succeſſors, to cele- "brate thoſe holy Myſteries. That Commandment, *Do this*, is for the "Prieſt, who has Power to conſecrate; and this, *Take and eat*, is for the "Prieſt and People."

Lastly, in order to avouch their Opinion of taking away the Cup, they brought in Doctor *White*, Biſhop of *Ely*, who with *Montague* writes; " That the Communion in both Kinds had no other Foundation but the " Tradition of the Church, and that it was commanded in no Place of " the holy Scripture, no more than the Service in the vulgar Tongues": And becauſe the Reſervation of the holy Sacrament is an Argument for the preſent Practice of the Catholicks, the moſt learned Biſhop *Andrews* was again brought upon the Stage, teaching; " That it could not be de- " nied but the Reſervation of the Sacrament had been long practiſed in " the primitive Church: That in the Times of Perſecution the People " were ſuffered to carry out of the Church ſuch a Portion of the Sacra- " ment as they deſired; to keep it by them, and to take it from Time to " Time for their Conſolation: But it was always ſent to the Sick, though " at never ſo great a Diſtance; it was likewiſe thought fit to keep it for " preſſing Occaſions, that if the Prieſt was not in a Condition to go to con- " ſecrate in the ſick Perſon's Houſe, the Sacrament might at leaſt be kept " ready to be ſent thither. 1635. & 1636.

'Tis certain that all theſe Additions and Alterations in the Order of the *Engliſh* Liturgy, proceeded not from the Inclinations of the Biſhops of *Scotland*, who loved rather to have ſomething retrenched, than to add any Thing to it; beſides, they had put up a Petition to the King, that he would be pleaſed to leave it to the Diſcretion of the Miniſters to make or not to make the ſign of the Croſs in the Adminiſtration of Baptiſm; to make Uſe of the Ring in Marriage, or to leave it off; and to read the Leſſons of the Books which the Proteſtants look upon to be Apocryphal, or not to read them: To all which the King ſeemed to be inclined. But the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, whom the King truſted with all the eccleſiaſtical Affairs of the three Kingdoms, full of Zeal for Pomp and Ceremony in the divine Service, and wanting to ſee in all his Majeſty's Dominions a Liturgy the neareſt to the antient, that the proteſtant Communion could bear, drew up Memorials himſelf of all the Matters and Form of the Liturgy, and made the Biſhops of *Scotland* approve of them. But as there is Danger in all Changes that Men undertake to make in Religion, as well as in the State; the Archbiſhop undervalued too much the Difficulties he had to meet with from the *Scots*, who are generally more rigid and ſcrupulous in Matters of Faith and Worſhip, than the *Engliſh:* For theſe being already accuſtomed to the Body of the Liturgy, it ought to have been their Buſineſs to ſhew the Way to their Neighbours, in what was new: Beſides, it may be ſaid, that that Prelate did not enough conſider, that the new Liturgy would be the more ſuſpected by the Puritans, that he had a Hand in it: For they were perſuaded, that the Archbiſhop was about re-eſtabliſhing the Catholick Religion in *England*. And to demonſtrate to all the World, that it was not a whimſical Notion, and that they did not accuſe him wrongfully, a *Scots* Miniſter wrote a Pamphlet, intitled, *The Conviction of the* Canterburians *by their own Depoſitions*, wherein having collected from the Writings of that Prelate, and of the moſt eminent Biſhops and Doctors, who, he ſaid, were of his Faction, many Paſſages upon controverted Points, which expreſſed a great deal of Conformity of Belief with the Catholick Doctrine in Things preciſely belonging to Faith, that Piece was ſubſcribed by the Clerk of the National Synods of *Scotland*, and preſented to the Parliament aſſembled in *England*.

'Tis not to be doubted, but that Archbiſhop intended to grub up what he thought was the Tare of Puritaniſm from the Field of *England*. But

1635. & 1636. he was so far from having any Thoughts of re-establishing the Catholick Communion there, that, on the contrary, he hoped by that outward Face he put upon every Thing, and which very much resembled the primitive Church; and by preaching up a Moderation in Opinions, to which the *English* have been more inclined than the other Protestants, ever since King *James* ordered the Heads of the most famous Universities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, to admonish the Students of Divinity, to begin their Studies by the reading of the holy Fathers, and not of the modern foreign Divines, who maintain Maxims contrary both to the Political and Ecclesiastical Government of *England*. The Archbishop, I say, by these two Means hoped to bring over the Catholicks of that Kingdom to the *English* Communion, and to break that Bond of Unity which ties them to St. *Peter*'s See, the Center and Form of the Catholick Communion. It was no less in Favour of these than of the most moderate of his own Communion, that he retrenched and altered some Thing for the better, in the publick Service, wherein there were some Expressions that gave Offence to both of them. He struck out of the Prayer for the King these Words; *Thou, Lord, who art the God of thy Elect, and of their Seed*, at the Time that the King had no Children; but they laid to his Charge, that it was because he believed, that no Man without Temerity could presume upon his Predestination. In like Manner he retrenched this Part of one of the Prayers for fasting Days; *Thou hast delivered us from Superstition and Idolatry, in which we were quite sunk, and hast led us into the most clear Light of thy holy Word, whereby we have been taught how we must serve and honour thee, and how we ought to live with our Neighbour in Peace and Truth*, &c. Because this Prayer left no Room for having a charitable Opinion of their Ancestors, who had died in the Catholick Communion, if it was true, that they were sunk in Idolatry and Superstition. The Archbishop likewise altered in the Prayers of the Anniversary of the Gun-powder Treason on the Fifth of *November*, these Words; *Destroy, O Lord, that* Babylonish *and Antichristian Sect, who say of* Jerusalem, *let her be destroyed*, &c, *whose Religion is Rebellion, and their Faith, Faction*, &c. into these; *Destroy that* Babylonish *and Antichristian Sect of those who say*, &c. *who turn Religion into Rebellion, and Faith into Faction*, &c. For these Words may be applied to all bad Subjects of what Religion soever they be; whereas the first, meaning the Catholicks, are false; for the Catholick Religion teacheth equally the Fear of God, and the Honour due to the Prince, and never suffers, under any Pretence whatsoever, that the first Table of the Law should break the second. So that if some particular Persons have exceeded those Bounds, the Religion is still innocent, and cannot justly be called Rebellion, because of these Excesses, no more than the dangerous Maxims of *Buchannan*, and of him who wrote under the Name of *Junius Brutus*; nor those of some other Protestants upon that Subject, ought to be imputed to the Protestant Religion.

But whatever the Intentions of that excellent Man were, Posterity will hardly believe, that the *English*, formerly the *Benjamins* of the Father, and the *Josephs* among their Brethren, had so much forgotten the eminent Piety and great Worth of their Ancestors, of so many Saints and famous Doctors, which that Nation has given to the Church, as to have imbrued their Hands in the Blood of their high Priest, and sacrificed to their Passions so illustrious a Head, that neither the Innocency of his Life, altogether exemplary, nor his venerable old Age, were able to soften them. As his Learning was eminent, his Morals were very strict; and it might be added, that he was a Bishop indued with the Spirit and Vigour

gour of St. *Ambroſe*, if, with the Brother of that Saint, he had believed that the Catholick Biſhops are thoſe who have Communion with the Biſhop of *Rome*. 1635. & 1636.

*The Liturgy authorized, and read at* Edinburgh.

The Liturgy of *Scotland* having been framed in this Manner, the Biſhops deſired of the King, that it might be publiſhed by his Authority; and the Mal-contents themſelves, who knew very well, that it would prove the Stumbling-block, and that the whole Storm would fall upon the Biſhops and their Adherents, lent a helping Hand in it. Whereupon the King, it having the Approbation of the Biſhops; and beſides, being informed that it would be well received without the leaſt Oppoſition in *Scotland*, diſpatched Letters to his Council, for authorizing and eſtabliſhing the Liturgy. The King's Letters were entered into the Regiſter without the leaſt Exception, by the unanimous Conſent of all the Council, and his Majeſty's Proclamation was afterwards publiſhed by Sound of Trumpet at *Edinburgh*, and all the other royal Boroughs, the 20th of *December* 1636, as followeth; " That the King having ſundry Times, ſince his go-
" ing down to *Scotland*, recommended to the Biſhops of that his antient
" Kingdom, to ſet about the forming of a publick Liturgy, which he was
" deſirous ſhould be uniformly obſerved over all the Kingdom: That Li-
" turgy being now finiſhed, though he did not doubt but all his Subjects,
" as well Eccleſiaſticks as Laicks, would receive it with all Submiſſion;
" nevertheleſs judging it neceſſary to make known to all, that it having
" been his Will and Pleaſure to authorize it, he had ordered his Privy
" Council to publiſh his Proclamation, whereby he commanded all his
" Subjects, of what Condition ſoever they were, to conform themſelves
" to that Form of publick Prayers, which by the Advice of his Biſhops,
" he judged to be moſt convenient for regulating the divine Service in the
" Kingdom: In like Manner he ordained all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Prieſts,
" and other Eccleſiaſticks, to take Care that all pay due Obedience, and
" that the Diſobedient be ſeverely puniſhed, and that each Kirk-Seſſion ** *Veſtry.*
" have two Copies at leaſt, before *Eaſter-Day* of the following Year, for
" the Uſe of the Pariſh.

But in order ſtill the more to diſpoſe the Minds of the People for the Reception of the Liturgy, the reading of it was delayed to the Month of *July*, and it was ordained, that it ſhould be begun in the City of *Edinburgh*, that the Lords of *Seſſion*, who were to break up the End of that Month, and the Nobility that were in Town about their Affairs at that Time, might be preſent, and give an Account in their ſeveral Countries, how the Liturgy had been received. On the 16th of the Month, the Miniſters of *Edinburgh*, after the Forenoon's Sermon, acquainted the People, that the *Sunday* following the Liturgy would be publickly read in all the Pariſhes of the City. All that Week paſſed without the leaſt Appearance of Diſcontent, either among the Miniſters, or People; inſomuch that it was thought the Liturgy would be received with great Applauſe. But on *Sunday* the 23d, as the Biſhop, in the Cathedral, and ſome Miniſters, in the Pariſh Churches, had begun the Morning Prayers; a great many of the People in all the Churches roſe up, and made ſuch a Noiſe, and were ſo inſolent, throwing Chairs againſt the Pews of the Clergy, that the Magiſtrates had Difficulty to appeaſe the Tumult; and in Spite of them, the People were ſo inraged, that the Biſhop was aſſaulted by the Rabble in going out of the Church; and in all Probability had been murdered, if the Earl of *Weems* had not quickly ſent ſome Men, in order to reſcue and carry him to a Houſe near the ſame Church.

A Coun-

1637. A COUNCIL was held betwixt Sermons, in order to prevent the like Diſturbance at the Evening Prayers, which were read much more peaceably, becauſe of the Guards that had been placed at the Gates of the Churches: Notwithſtanding which, the People who had aſſembled in the Streets, inſulted the Miniſters as they came out of the Church, and the Biſhop was very near being ſtoned and torn in Pieces, though he was in the Earl of *Roxburgh*'s Coach, who was then Keeper of the Privy Seal, whom the Council had ſent for to *Leith*, where he had been at Sermon that Morning. It was obſerved that ſome of the Officers of the Crown, and of the higheſt Rank in the King's Council, who by their Preſence ought to have countenanced the publick Reading of the Liturgy which they had approved of, had abſented themſelves from the Church that Day, contrary to their Cuſtom. That gave the Biſhops Reaſon to ſuſpect, that this Inſurrection of the People had not happened by Accident, but that ſome of the great Men of the Kingdom had had a Hand in it. The Magiſtrates and head Men of the City laying the Blame of all the Diſorder upon the Populace, wrote their Senſe of it in moſt reſpectful Terms to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; and the next Morning having met with the Council, in order to deliberate upon Means for finding out the Heads of the Commotion, and bringing them to condign Puniſhment, they offered in a very handſome Manner their Authority and Credit in the City for having the King obeyed, teſtifying very great Readineſs to give his Majeſty Satisfaction.

BUT ſoon after, as ſome Perſons of Quality, in Concert with many Miniſters, had preſented a Petition to the Council, craving, that the Uſe of the Liturgy might be ſuſpended till the King ſhould be more fully informed of it; the Council ordered, that the Biſhops ſhould not urge the reading of it, till his Majeſty had received that Petition, and declared his Mind more fully upon it. It was then, that ſome of the Council themſelves began to declare openly againſt the Liturgy, which before they had approved of; amongſt the reſt Sir *Thomas Hope*, the King's Advocate, who made Uſe of an Evaſion that was very ridiculous, ſaying, "That by his "Conſent to the Liturgy, he meant not an active, but a paſſive Obedi-"ence; and that he had no Thoughts of accepting it, but of ſuffering in "condemning it.

AT this Time it was given out in the City of *Edinburgh*, that *Alexander Henderſon*, a famous Miniſter among the Puritans, and the Soul of the Preſbyterian Party, with many other Miniſters that had oppoſed the Liturgy, deſired to confer with the Biſhops, and to give Reaſons for their Oppoſition. The Earls of *Traquair*, *Roxborough*, and *Southeſk* acquainted the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, and the other Biſhops that were then in Town with it, and begged of them to humour the Miniſters in that, becauſe that Conference would quiet the Minds of the People, and prevent new Diſorders. The Biſhops anſwered; That it was not reaſonable to bring their Authority in Queſtion, or to ſubmit to a Diſpute, the Liturgy that had been approved by the ſupreme Authority of the Kingdom, both Eccleſiaſtical and Political. That nevertheleſs for the Sake of Peace, they would accept the Conference, and having drawn up the Conditions of it, which theſe Lords thought reaſonable to be ſent to the King, that his Majeſty might give his Conſent to them, the Earl of *Southeſk* deſired, that they would allow him to communicate them to the Miniſters, who demanded the Conference. Theſe having ſeen them, the Earl reported to the Biſhops, that the Miniſters declined the Conference, but with one

Voice demanded a National Aſſembly. The Nobility, indeed, blamed the Miniſters for having gone from their firſt Demand, but they kept ſtill united with them in the Main of the Affair, and in the Purſuit of the Aſſembly. 1637.

*The King ſupports the Liturgy, and removes the Court of Seſſions from* Edinburgh.

About the Middle of *October* the Harveſt being over, a great Number, as well of the Nobility, as of the Miniſters and People, having come to *Edinburgh*, in order to learn what Anſwer the King had made to their Petition; a Proclamation was publiſhed the 17th, ordering all thoſe that had come to the City, to leave it in twenty four Hours, under the Pain of high Treaſon; and becauſe the Inhabitants of that City had oppoſed the Reading of the Liturgy, and had offered Violence to their Biſhop, the Court of Seſſions was removed for ſix Months to *Linlithgow*, a Town twelve Miles diſtant from *Edinburgh*, where there is a fine royal Palace, ſituate upon a Lake full of Fiſh; and afterwards to *Dundee*, a Town in the Shire of *Angus*, ſituate on the Banks of the River of *Tay*, there to continue during his Majeſty's Pleaſure.

The Petitioners were ſenſibly touched at this Proclamation, and the next Morning having got together in great Numbers, they went in Crowds, ſome to the Town-Council, others to that of his Majeſty, requiring them to join in declaring againſt the Liturgy, and to allow the Miniſters *Andrew Ramſay* and *Henry Rollok* to reſume their Charges in *Edinburgh*, from which they had been ſuſpended by the Council, for having refuſed to read the Liturgy; and to reſtore *Patrick Henderſon*, a Laick Reader, to his Office. Theſe Demands were made with ſo much Commotion, that the People, who naturally have a great deal of Zeal for Religion, exceeded the Bounds of Reſpect that Day, and kept the Council in a Manner beſieged, till the Nobility of the ſame Party quieted the Tumult. After this was over, and that the Inhabitants had retired to their Houſes, the Petitioners preſented a Petition againſt the Biſhops, wherein they accuſed them of having abuſed the King's Authority, in order to ſurprize his Subjects, in impoſing upon them, contrary to the Laws, a Form of idolatrous Service, and a Book of Canons, which gave the Biſhops an abſolute Power to change the Religion at their Pleaſure. The Petitioners demanded Juſtice of theſe Attempts, and in Caſe the Council would not conſent, till the King ſhould be firſt informed of it; they begged that at leaſt their Petition might be ſent to his Majeſty, who would be ſo good as to do them Juſtice.

The King having received the Petition, with an Account of all that had paſſed, he was highly offended, and thought fit to delay declaring himſelf upon the Matter, according as he ſhould ſee the Behaviour of the Petitioners, who, in their Petition to his Majeſty had taken no Notice of the Diſorders of the 18th of *October*. The King only ordered his Council to inform his Subjects of his Averſion to all Abuſe and Superſtition in Religion, and that he had no Intention to do any Prejudice to the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom: Which was done by a Proclamation publiſhed at *Linlithgow* the 7th of *December*.

At the ſame Time, the King ſent for the Earl of *Traquair*, Lord High Treaſurer, whom his Majeſty ſoon ſent back with Inſtructions, and a Proclamation, which the Earl cauſed to be publiſhed in the Month of *February* 1638, in the Town of *Stirling*, where his Majeſty's Council was then held. The Proclamation was, "That the Liturgy had been com-

1638. " poſed by the expreſs Command of his Majeſty. That he condemned " all thoſe tumultuary Proceedings of his Subjects, by Petitions and Com- " plaints againſt the innocent Biſhops: That all thoſe that had ſubſcribed " them, were Diſturbers of the publick Tranquillity: That he pardoned " all thoſe that ſhould retract what they had done, and ſhould continue " in their Obedience, and declared guilty of Rebellion ſuch as ſhould per- " ſiſt in it; promiſing ſtill to comply with the juſt and humble Remon- " ſtrances of all his Subjects, provided they kept within the Bounds of " Reſpect and Obedience: That except the Inhabitants, and the Dome- " ſticks of the Lords of the Council, all others that were in the Town, " ſhould depart within ſix Hours after the Publication of the Proclama- " tion, under the Pain of high Treaſon." After the Proclamation had been publiſhed, the Earls of *Hume* and *Crawford* proteſted againſt it in the Name of all the Petitioners. The Tenor of their Proteſtation was; " That the Liturgy was full of Idolatry and Superſtition, and ought not " to be impoſed upon them without the Approbation of a National As- " ſembly, which ought to determine theſe Matters: That it was a mani- " feſt Injuſtice to deny them the Liberty of accuſing the Biſhops who were " guilty of great Crimes: That until they had cleared themſelves, they " did not acknowledge them for Judges, either in Temporals or Spirituals; " and they proteſted againſt all that ſhould be decreed in Council, while " the Biſhops ſat there, as void: That the *High-Commiſſion* was a tyran- " nical Uſurpation: That all their Petitions and Meetings were lawful, " having been done with no other Deſign, but for maintaining the Glory " of God, the Honour of his Majeſty, and the Liberties of the Kingdom." This Proteſtation being publickly read at *Stirling*, a Copy of it was poſted up upon a Stake in the Market Place. It was reported over all the Kingdom, that, in Conſequence of this Proteſtation, which, ſome Days after, was repeated at *Linlithgow* and *Edinburgh*, ſome of the Petitioners were tranſported with ſo much Fury, that they run headlong to pull the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, with the Biſhops of *Galloway* and *Brechin*, out of their Lodgings, in order to put them to Death, had it not been that the Earl of *Rothes* and ſome other Lords, though declared Enemies of the Biſhops, abhorring the wicked Attempt, vigorouſly oppoſed that Outrage.

THE Petitioners went from *Stirling* to *Edinburgh*, where having drawn together a vaſt Multitude of all Sorts of Perſons, in order to deliberate upon ſo preſſing an Affair, they reſolved to enter into a ſtrict Union and Confederacy together, which they called the *Covenant*. This Covenant conſiſted of three Heads, the firſt was a renewing of the Oath that their Forefathers had taken, to defend, as well the Purity of Religion, as the King's Perſon and Rights, againſt the Uſurpations of *Rome*, and to adhere inviolably to the Confeſſion of Faith, which was drawn up in the Year 1580, confirmed by a National Aſſembly and the Eſtates of Parliament in 1581, and by an Order of Council ſubſcribed by all Sorts of Perſons in 1590. The Confeſſion contains, in very bitter and injurious Terms, a diſavowing of all the Articles, which the Proteſtants of the Communion of *Zuinglius* and *Calvin* reject in the Catholick Faith, and expreſſes not what they poſitively believe, (which is to be found in another ample Confeſſion, not unlike that of the *Swiſs*, which is inſerted in the Acts of Parliament) but what they do not believe, which they condemn with execrable Words. The ſecond Head contained a Recital of all the Acts of Parliament made in *Scotland* for maintaining the Religion, reformed after their Manner, as well in Diſcipline, as in Doctrine. The third contained an Engagement to four Things. " 1. Not to practiſe any more the Cere-

" monies

&

" monies newly introduced into the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, 1638.
" nor to approve the eccleſiaſtical Government by Biſhops, nor their Seat
" and Voice in the Parliament and Courts of Juſtice, until a free Meeting
" of an Aſſembly and Parliament had decided theſe Matters. 2. To de-
" teſt and abhor all thoſe Novelties, which, among the other Popiſh
" Points, are abjured in the Confeſſion of Faith, becauſe having ſeriouſly
" examined them, (which was plainly anticipating the Judgement both of
" the Aſſembly and Parliament) they had found that they tended to the
" Re-eſtabliſhment of the *Romiſh* Religion and Tyranny, and that they
" were manifeſtly contrary to the Intention of the Reformers of Religion
" in *Scotland*, and to the very Words of the Confeſſion of Faith, which
" ought to be underſtood of all thoſe Innovations, no leſs than each of
" them had been therein particularly expreſſed. 3. To take a ſolemn
" Oath, that all and every one in his Profeſſion, ſhall defend the King's
" Perſon and Authority, as his Majeſty ſhall defend the Religion, Liber-
" ties, and Laws of the Kingdom, and that they ſhall mutually defend
" one another in maintaining this Cauſe, againſt all Perſons whatſoever.
" 4. Seriouſly to reform themſelves, their Families, Lives, and Manners,
" as it became People that had renewed the Covenant with God.

The King was very much diſpleaſed with this Covenant, which his Majeſty condemned as a raſh, and unlawful Action, tending to an open Rebellion, alledging; 1. That the Covenanters had no Authority to enter into that League, nor to require an Oath of one another. 2. That although they had a lawful Authority to renew the Oath, they could not interpret it according to the preſent State of their Affairs, it being moſt certain, that to interpret a Law requires no leſs Authority, than that from whence it proceeded. 3. That it was a preſumptuous Undertaking, to add any Thing to the Oath, and to enter into a defenſive League againſt all thoſe that ſhould oppoſe them, without any Exception whatſoever: Laſtly, that all Leagues amongſt Subjects, without the Conſent and Approbation of the King, were declared ſeditious and criminal by the ninth Parliament of Queen *Mary*, and by the tenth of King *James*. The Covenanters anſwered to all theſe Exceptions of the King, and that Diſpute occaſioned many Diſcourſes, which were publiſhed on both Sides, wherein the Power of Princes and the Liberties of the People were fully treated.

But notwithſtanding all the King's Declarations againſt the Covenant, it was ſubſcribed in the Month of *February* by all thoſe that were preſent in the City of *Edinburgh*, from whence Copies of it were ſent through the Shires, where every Body ſubſcribed it with ſo much Eagerneſs, that before the End of *April*, a Man was ſcarce reckoned a Proteſtant, who had not ſubſcribed the Covenant. Nevertheleſs, not only the Catholicks, with all thoſe of the Clergy that adhered to the Biſhops, refuſed it, but likewiſe many of thoſe that were in publick Employments, did the ſame. There was alſo ſome Oppoſition from the Univerſities, eſpecially that of *Aberdeen*, which ſtarted many Difficulties about it, which afforded Matter for a long Diſpute amongſt their Divines: And from that Time forward the Kingdom was divided into two Parties, under the Name of *Covenanters*, and *Anticovenanters*, like the *Guelfs* and *Ghibellins*.

*The King ſends the Duke of* Hamilton *to* Scotland.

The King taking this formed Diviſion much to Heart, called ſome Lords of his Council to Court, in order to deliberate upon Means for extinguiſhing this Fire, which threatened the Kingdom with a Civil War. At the ſame Time the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, and ſome other Biſhops, went

1638. went thither likewiſe. After a long Conſultation, it was reſolved to agree the Quarrel amicably, and not to make uſe of Force, but at the laſt Extremity. Whereupon the King having given Commiſſion with full Power to the Duke of *Hamilton* to compoſe the Difference, and to act with the ſame Power as if his Majeſty were there in Perſon, he ſent him his *High Commiſſioner* into *Scotland*, accompanied with thoſe Members of his Council. The Duke having ſtaid ſome Time, and aſſembled his Majeſty's Council at *Dalkeith*, four Miles from *Edinburgh*, he arrived there in the Month of *June*, with a great Retinue of Attendants that had gone to meet him, in which were the greateſt Part of the Miniſters of the Kingdom. The Duke, in order to ſoften the Minds of the People, which he found very much exaſperated, wrote to the King, to allow the Council, the Seſſion, and the other Courts of Juſtice to return to *Edinburgh*, whoſe Abſence had created a great deal of Uneaſineſs in that City; which being very readily obtained, by expreſs Order of his Majeſty, he treated with the Covenanters about renouncing their Covenant; and gave them to underſtand, that they could not otherwiſe expect to obtain a National Aſſembly, which they ſo paſſionately deſired, for regulating their eccleſiaſtical Affairs.

THE Covenanters made Anſwer, that that could not be done without manifeſt Perjury, and an abominable Profanation of the Name of God: But becauſe the King had taken the Covenant to be a Conſpiracy againſt the royal Authority, and made a heavy Complaint, that in their Engagement of a mutual Defence againſt all Sorts of Perſons, the Perſon of his Majeſty and of his Succeſſors were not excepted in it, they preſented to the Duke an ample Remonſtrance in Form of an Explication of the Covenant, wherein they declared in Terms full of Reſpect, never to have had the leaſt Thought, to undertake any Thing for breaking in upon, or leſſening in the leaſt the Dignity and Authority of his Majeſty.

AFTER the Negotiation was broke off, without being able to conclude any Thing, the Covenanters begged of the Duke, that at his Return to Court, he would preſent their Petition to the King. But before he ſet out, in the Month of *July* he cauſed to be publiſhed a royal Proclamation, whereby the King declared, " That he would maintain the Proteſtant Re-
" ligion, and that he would no more preſs the Liturgy, or the Books of
" Canons and Ordination, but by lawful Means: That he would reform
" the Court of High Commiſſion, and ſpeedily give Orders for the calling
" of an Aſſembly, and the meeting of a Parliament." The Covenanters immediately upon that read publickly their Proteſtation, which was to this Effect; " That they had never doubted of his Majeſty's Sincerity, in
" the Profeſſion of the Proteſtant Religion: That what the King had
" granted them, was not a ſufficient Remedy for the preſent Diſtemper,
" becauſe he did not aboliſh the Liturgy, nor the High Commiſſion, both
" which having been impoſed upon them contrary to the Laws: That
" their Meetings ought not to be condemned in abuſive Terms, they be-
" ing lawful: And that they would never break them up till the Purity
" of Religion, and the Peace of the Kingdom ſhould be well eſtabliſhed by
" a National and free Aſſembly." The Duke ſet out with a Deſign to return to the Kingdom before the 5th of *Auguſt*, and having found the King at *Greenwich*, he delivered him the Covenanters Petition, and received new Inſtructions from his Majeſty, with which he went to *Scotland* before the Day appointed.

THE Duke forthwith preſented to the Covenanters eleven Articles from the King, to which his Majeſty would have them agree, in order to obtain an Aſſembly, and a meeting of Parliament. The Articles were, " 1. That the Miniſters that had been depoſed, or ſuſpended by the Preſ- " byteries, ſince the firſt of *February* laſt, without Warrant of the Ordi- " nary, ſhould return to their Charges, wherein they ſhould not be di- " ſturbed, but after having been convicted by the Forms of Juſtice, of " the Crimes they had been accuſed of. 2. That the Moderators of the " Preſbyteries, who had been turned out of their Offices ſince the afore- " ſaid Day without Warrant of the Ordinary, ſhould be reſtored; and all " thoſe that the Preſbyteries had put in their Places, ſhould deſiſt from " performing that Duty. 3. That the Miniſters who had been received " by the Preſbyteries, ſince the aforeſaid Day, ſhould abſtain from per- " forming that Function. 4. That all the People ſhould frequent their " own Churches, and hear their own Miniſters; and that the Elders " ſhould aſſiſt the Miniſters in the Kirk-Seſſions, in all the Exerciſes of " Diſcipline, according to the Cuſtom heretofore obſerved. 5. That the " Biſhops and Miniſters ſhould be regularly and peaceably paid their Re- " venues and Stipends. 6. That the Miniſters ſhould retire to their Cures, " and that none of them ſhould come to the Aſſembly, but ſuch as ſhall " be choſen Commiſſioners from the Preſbyteries. 7. That according to " the Act of Aſſembly 1606, which declares the Moderators of Preſbyte- " ries to be neceſſary Members of the Aſſembly, they ſhould be all depu- " ted to the Aſſembly from their Preſbyteries. 8. That the Biſhops and " Miniſters, who ſhall attend the Aſſembly, ſhould be ſafe, both in their " Perſons and Honour. 9. That the Commiſſioners from Preſbyteries " ſhould be choſen by the Miniſters of that Preſbytery only: And that no " Laick, of what Quality ſoever, ſhould meddle in it. 10. That all " Meetings ſhould be broke up, and that every one retiring to his own " Home, ſhould abſtain from every Thing that might in the leaſt trouble " the Peace of the Kingdom. Laſtly, that ſeeing the King was ſtill diſ- " pleaſed with the Covenant, and that the Reſpect they owe his Majeſty " required, that ſome Courſe be taken, whereby he might receive ſome " Satisfaction therein; in the mean Time no body ſhould be preſſed to " ſign the Covenant, and that the Miniſters ſhould not mention it in their " Pulpits."

1638.

*Eleven Articles preſented to the Covenanters from the King.*

The Covenanters made Anſwer to all theſe Propoſitions; " That they " could not be judge of thoſe which concerned the Power and the Actions " of Preſbyteries, nor determine whether their Proceedings were juſt or " not; but that theſe very Preſbyteries being ſubject to the Provincial and " National Aſſemblies, it was very reaſonable, that if they could not give " an Account of their Proceedings to the National Aſſembly, and make it " appear, that they were conformable to the Rule of the Holy Scripture, " and to the ordinary Practice of this Church; they ſhould undergo the " Puniſhment and Cenſure they had deſerved: That becauſe from all " Hands there were ſeveral Complaints againſt the Biſhops, for having " incroached upon the Preſbyteries, on Account of their Diſobedience to " the Biſhops, that Matter of Complaint ought not to be a Hinderance to " the calling of a general Aſſembly, but ought rather to be a powerful " Motive for calling it, ſince 'tis the Aſſembly alone, that ought to judge " and determine all Things controverted in the Church: That it belonged " to the Preſbyteries, to which both the Elders and Pariſhioners are ſub- " ject, to take Cognizance of the Cauſe of Diſorder, which might proceed " from the Miniſters, as well as from the Pariſhioners, who ought all to

*The Covenanters Anſwer to the eleven Articles.*

1638. " comply with the Orders of the Preſbyteries, until the meeting of a ge-
" neral Aſſembly, the diſcontinuing of which occaſioned great Diſorder,
" both in the Preſbyteries and Pariſhes: That the Biſhops and Miniſters
" might have Recourſe to the Laws, for what regarded their Revenues
" and Stipends, and that Complaints of that Nature ought not to be a
" Hinderance to the calling of an Aſſembly. That no Miniſters ſhould
" come to the Aſſembly, or the Place where it ſhall ſit, but ſuch as ſhould
" be Commiſſioners, or who otherwiſe ſhould be ſo far intereſted to be
" there, that his Excellency and the Aſſembly ſhould reſt ſatisfied about
" it: That the Act of the Aſſembly of 1606, which has not been ac-
" knowledged as lawful, meant perpetual Moderators, which have ceaſed
" long ſince; and that it belonged to the Aſſembly it ſelf to judge of what
" Members it ought to be compoſed: That as for them, they obliged
" themſelves not to do any Violence either to the Biſhops or Miniſters;
" that, on the contrary, they would do their utmoſt to prevent it. That
" as they had never met with any other Deſign, but in order to find out
" Remedies for the Miſchiefs that threatened the Church and State with
" Deſolation; they could not break off their Meetings, where they be-
" haved themſelves as faithful Subjects, until the Diſtempers of both were
" cured: That they believed they had given his Excellency invincible
" Reaſons, why they could not depart from, nor alter the Covenant with-
" out offending God, and wounding their Conſciences: That they paſſi-
" onately wiſhed, that the King and all his Subjects were Partakers of the
" Comfort they had received by that holy League, and they believed that
" they were bound in Conſcience, to perſuade all his Majeſty's good Sub-
" jects to join with them for the good of Religion, and the Peace of
" the Kingdom: That as they did not invite their Brethren to ſign the
" Covenant, but with all Meekneſs, without forcing or threatning the
" meaneſt Perſon, they hoped his Majeſty would have no Reaſon to be
" diſſatisfied with them on that Account.

THIS being all the Anſwer that the Duke could get from the Covenanters, and leſt they ſhould call an Aſſembly without the King's Conſent, he was very earneſt with them not to undertake any Thing, till he ſhould return to his Majeſty, in order to conſult with him about Means that might ſatisfy them as to their Demand of an Aſſembly, which he obtained of them with great Difficulty, provided, however, that he ſhould return to *Scotland* before the 22 of *September*, upon Failure of which it ſhould be lawful for them to take Care of their Affairs. In the mean Time a ſolemn Faſt was celebrated in *Scotland*, and the Covenanters, not expecting the calling of an Aſſembly by the King, ſo ſoon as they thought the State of their Affairs required, publiſhed a Treatiſe, ſhewing, that the Church, in the like Circumſtance, could take Care of her ſelf: That the Power of calling an Aſſembly in Caſe the Prince be an Enemy to Truth, or negligent in advancing the good of the Church, is in the Church her ſelf; and that the Proteſtant Communion of *Scotland* was obliged to act in that Manner in the State it then was; when after ſo many Errors and Abuſes that had crept into Religion, *Arminianiſm* was openly preached in the Pulpits; by *Arminianiſm*, they meant the Doctrine of *James Arminius*, Profeſſor at *Leyden*, concerning Predeſtination and Grace, which has divided the Communion of *Calvin* in the *Low Countries*, and has much imbroiled it in other Places. 'Tis very true there is a Diſpute in the Church about theſe profound Myſteries, and that the Catholicks quarrel together thereupon with too much heat; but, however, without any Danger of Schiſm, becauſe both Parties inviolably adhere to the Center of Unity,

Unity, and receiving with Reſpect and Submiſſion the Deciſions that come from the principal Church, which is the Mother of all the reſt, and where the Principality of the Apoſtolical See has always flouriſhed, they hold their Peace, when the Biſhop, who has that ſupreme Direction, commands Silence. 1638.

These Complaints of the Covenanters were fully ſet forth in a Diſcourſe, which was publiſhed, *of the Neceſſity of Aſſemblies*, wherein Care was taken to inſert Anſwers to the Reaſons that might be alledged for the King's Prerogative. The Difficulty that pinched them moſt, proceeded from an Act of Parliament made in 1606, wherein the calling of Aſſemblies is put amongſt the royal Prerogatives, to which they anſwered; 1. "That there was a Difference betwixt a ſolemn calling, by way "of Citation, and publick Authority, and a voluntary meeting by "Way of Requeſt and Advice: That the firſt belonged to the "King, and could not be done by any other Perſon without Uſurpa-"tion, becauſe it belonged to *Moſes* alone to ſound the Trumpet; but "that the ſecond was in the Power of the Church. 2. That a Diſtinction "muſt likewiſe be made between a poſitive Power of calling Aſſemblies, "and a negative and deſtructive Power: That by the Act, the firſt be-"longed to the King, but not the laſt, becauſe the Act explains only by "what Right the King had Power to call Aſſemblies, but gave him no "new Power, which might derogate from the Liberties that God has gi-"ven his Church, which has none more valuable, than that of having "Power to meet: And that although that Axiom were true, that who-"ever has a Right not to will, has a Right to will, yet the reciprocal was "not always ſo; that whoever has a Right to will, has a Right not to will. "Laſtly, that to take the Act aright, nothing is meant by it, but the "Calling made with Reſpect to ſome particular Circumſtances of Time "and Place, as was plain by the Act of Parliament made in 1592, which "leaves the Church at Liberty, when thoſe Circumſtances are not deter-"mined by the King. The Covenanters had not the leaſt Regard to the "Intereſt of the Biſhops in the Aſſembly; and this Difficulty, that the "Church is in the Biſhop, and that the Aſſembly of Prelates is the Repre-"ſentative of the Church, gave them no Uneaſineſs; becauſe, ſaid they, "the Biſhops of *Scotland* had no more Right to repreſent the Church, "than a handful of Inhabitants, that ſhould turn Robbers, would have "to repreſent the Corporation of the Town; or a Tumor that ſhould ren-"der the Body monſtrous, to repreſent the Body."

The Duke having found the King altogether diſpoſed, not only to ſatisfy the Deſires of the Covenanters, but alſo to undeceive them of their Apprehenſions, he made ſo much Haſte, that he arrived ſooner than he was expected. Immediately upon his Arrival at *Edinburgh*, a Proclamation was publiſhed, which the Duke thought muſt needs ſatisfy the Covenanters to the full. The chief Points of the Proclamation were; "That the King annulled all the Acts of Council in Favour of the Li-"turgy and Book of Canons: That he ſuſpended the Court of High Com-"miſſion: That no Perſon ſhould be any more obliged to obſerve the five "Articles of the Synod of *Perth*: That the Biſhops ſhould be ſubject to "the Cenſure of an Aſſembly: That the Miniſters at their Admiſſion to "the Miniſtry, ſhould be obliged to take no other Oath, but what is or-"dered by Parliament; That the Confeſſion of Faith made in the Year "1580, ſhould be ſigned by all the Kingdom: That his Majeſty ſhould "call a General Aſſembly to be held at *Glaſgow* the 21ſt of *November* "this

*The King's Proclamation in Favour of the Covenanters.*

1638. " this Year 1638, and a Parliament at *Edinburgh* the 15th of *May* of the " following Year; And that, for the Sake of Peace, he ſhould forget all " that had paſſed." All the Lords of the Council were extreamly pleaſed with this Proclamation, and highly commended the King's Goodneſs and Piety, in having taken the true Method for preſerving the Purity of Religion, and the Peace of the Kingdom. Theſe ſame Lords, in the Letter of Thanks which they wrote to the King, made an Offer to his Majeſty of their Lives and Fortunes, for defending his ſacred Perſon, and his royal Authority in the Profeſſion of that Confeſſion of Faith of 1580, which, they all ſolemnly ſigned after the Duke, who repreſented the King, and afterwards they appointed Commiſſioners in the Shires, for ſeeing it ſworn to, and ſigned by all the Subjects of the Kingdom. The moderate Covenanters were ſatisfied with the Expreſſions of the King's Will in the Proclamation that had been publiſhed, and in many Places they ſigned that Confeſſion anew, which from that Time began to be called *the King's Covenant.*

*The rigid Covenanters proteſt againſt the Proclamation.*

BUT the rigid Covenanters did not comply with the Proclamation; they thought that it tacitly condemned their preceding Actions, and deprived them of the Liberty of an Aſſembly. Therefore diſtruſting, as they ſaid, not the King's Sincerity, but of thoſe who were in Favour about his Majeſty, whoſe Advice they ſuſpected, they drew up a long Proteſtation, and delivered a Copy of it to the King's Herauld. The Purport of it was; " That what the King had granted them did not remove " their juſt Fears and Apprehenſions, and was not ſufficient for curing the " Wound of the State and Church: That his Majeſty called their Fear a " panick Terror, which was founded upon a real Change both of Religion and Laws, by introducing a Worſhip and eccleſiaſtical Government " altogether Popiſh: That the King, in his Letters to the Council, having " formerly ſo much cried up thoſe Forms of Service and Government, " they could not be ſatisfied with a bare Suſpenſion of their Uſe, if his " Majeſty did not formally condemn them: That the General Aſſembly " was deprived of its juſt Liberty, as well in the Election of its Members, " as in the Matters that were to be treated there; for the King by his " Proclamation ordered the Biſhops to be there, though they ought not " to be admitted without a Deputation from the Preſbyteries, nor until " they had declared, that they would make no Innovations in Religion, " although it was in the Power of the Aſſemblies to aboliſh all eccleſiaſtical Laws that ſhould be found prejudicial to the Church, and a ſtumbling Block to the People: That the Biſhops being ſubjected by his Majeſty to the Cenſure of the Aſſembly, they ought to appear there, not " to have a Seat and Voice, but as Criminals, in order to anſwer to the " Accuſations that had been, or ſhould be brought againſt them: That by " the King's Proclamation annexed to this Proteſtation, the Biſhops ſhould " be duly cited to appear in the Quality of Criminals before the Aſſembly: " That they could not anew ſign the Confeſſion of the Year 1580, in the " Terms it was propoſed, becauſe that would be ſtinting too much the " Covenant they had made; and its defenſive League being cut off, the " Covenant would be quite defeated; but though that Diſappointment " ſhould not follow, there would ſtill be Harm in multiplying Oaths to " no Purpoſe, and playing with them as Children do with their Puppets: " That the Papiſts would take Occaſion from that, to continue ſtill to upbraid them with changing their Religion monthly: That the other reformed Churches would be ſurprized at their Levity, if, in the ſame " Year, their Confeſſion of Faith ſhould come forth, one while very full,

" mentioning many Abuſes they had abjured; another while, much a- 1638.
" bridged in more general and indefinite Terms, which would make the
" World believe, that they had repented their having gone too great a
" Length the firſt Time: That as, of Neceſſity, they muſt either abſo-
" lutely refuſe the Oath, or take it according to the Intention of the Power
" that impoſed it, it was evident that the King had no other Deſign in
" impoſing this new Oath, but to oblige every Perſon to maintain the Re-
" ligion as it is at preſent profeſſed in the Kingdom, and conſequently, as
" it comprehends Epiſcopacy and the Innovations introduced ſince the
" Reformation: So that in taking this new Oath, they would be forced,
" but contrary to the former and to Truth, to acknowledge that the Li-
" turgy and the Canons are not Innovations in Religion: That though
" they were forbidden by the Proclamation, yet if they ſhould, in any
" Manner, declare that the Liturgy and Canons were not contrary to the
" Confeſſion of Faith, in a little Time theſe very Books, or ſome ſuch
" others, might be impoſed upon them: That though there be no more
" Difference between the Confeſſion they had juſt now ſigned, and that
" which was ſigned in 1580, than there is between the Old and New
" Teſtament: Nevertheleſs, as it would be a horrible Impiety for a Man,
" after having ſigned both the Teſtaments, to ſign only the Old, for
" Fear of diſpleaſing a *Jewiſh* Magiſtrate who rejects the New; juſt ſo, if
" they ſhould now ſign the Confeſſion ſeparated from the Explication they
" have made of it, and if, by that Means, they agreed with thoſe, who
" having ſigned the Confeſſion, at the ſame Time rejected that neceſſary
" Explication, under Pretence of ſome material Difference between the
" two; whereas 'tis nothing but the Confeſſion explained; that Action
" would be a manifeſt betraying of the Cauſe of God, and of their own
" Conſciences; that they were reſolved conſtantly and inviolably to ad-
" here to their Covenant, which had been ſealed from above, and con-
" firmed by the Fire of Heaven, and the wonderful Operations of the
" Holy Ghoſt, in the Hearts both of the Paſtors and People; that laſtly
" they appealed from the Council to the Aſſembly and Parliament, as to
" the only ſupreme Tribunals of the Kingdom.

By this Proteſtation the Lords of the Council ſaw, that their Example in ſubſcribing the King's Covenant would be followed by few, and the Appeal of the Covenanters from the Council to the Parliament ſurprized them above all Things, ſeeing that had been forbidden under the Pain of High Treaſon by the eighth Seſſion of Parliament under King *James*, in the Year 1548. By the Proceedings of the Covenanters the Duke likewiſe judged, that nothing was to be expected from the Aſſembly; and that far from quieting the Minds of the People, it would irritate them the more; for he had been given to underſtand, that they had left no Stone unturned in order to have all the Commiſſioners to the Aſſembly rigid Covenanters, and of the moſt zealous for the Covenant, and for excluding the Biſhops from the Place they ought to have in it, the Covenanters having determined that ſuch as ſhould be cited before the Aſſembly could have no Place there, had cauſed a Libel to be drawn up, containing many Articles of Accuſation againſt the Biſhops, as well in what concerned their epiſcopal Adminiſtration, as in what regarded their Perſons, which they loaded with heinous Crimes. The Covenanters cauſed this Libel to be preſented to the Preſbytery of *Edinburgh*, the 24th of *October*, by ſome among them that were not Commiſſioners to the Aſſembly, that it might not ſeem that the Biſhops had the ſame Perſons for Judges and Parties, though by Virtue of the Covenant, they were all the ſame Thing. Theſe then begged of

1638. the Miniſters of that Preſbytery, either to do them Juſtice in what they complained of, as if all the Biſhops had been ſubject to that Preſbytery, or if they liked it better, to remit the Affair to the Aſſembly. The Preſbytery having conſidered the Requeſt, ordered that the infamous and ſcandalous Libel ſhould be remitted to the Aſſembly, and in the mean Time, that it ſhould be publickly read the *Sunday* following in all the Churches within their Diſtrict after the firſt Sermon. This was accordingly done, and ſhortly after in all the Churches of the Kingdom, to the End, ſaid they, that the Delinquents might not pretend Ignorance for not appearing before the Aſſembly. It ſeemed to many, that this Procedure againſt all Forms of Juſtice, was done with no other Deſign, but to render the Biſhops odious amongſt the People, becauſe the Aſſembly, in proceeding againſt the Biſhops did not charge them with any Thing but Epiſcopacy, and did not at all enter into the Detail of their perſonal Vices, with which the unjuſt Libel was ſtuffed; which could proceed from no other Cauſe, but for want of Proofs of thoſe pretended Crimes, there being no Likelihood, that the Aſſembly would have ſpared the Biſhops, whom it had repreſented as Criminals before the People.

*The Aſſembly is opened at* Glaſgow.

THE Time for opening the Aſſembly approaching, on the 17th of *November* the Duke went to *Glaſgow* in great Pomp, being accompanied by all the Lords of the Council, who had had Orders from the King to aſſiſt him, and by a great Number of the Nobility and Gentry, who had flocked thither from all Parts. The Aſſembly was opened the 21ſt, and the eldeſt Miniſter of the Town having made a Sermon, propoſed to begin with electing a Moderator. But the Duke remonſtrated, that firſt of all his Commiſſion muſt be read. He was ſeated under a Canopy in a Chair raiſed high from the Floor, having under him on both Sides, the Earls of *Traquair*, *Roxburgh*, *Argyl*, *Lauderdale*, *Southeſk*, and Sir *Lewis Stuart*, the King's Advocate, whom his Majeſty had appointed to be the Duke's Aſſeſſors. But the Aſſembly would not allow them to vote, pretending that they ſate there only in the Quality of Counſellors, and not as Members of the Aſſembly. Beſides, they ſaid, that the King, of his own Accord, had never been, either in Perſon, or by his Commiſſioner, in any of the thirty nine Aſſemblies, which the Church of *Scotland* had held ſince the Reformation. But at the Deſire of the Aſſemblies, his Majeſty ſometimes ſent his Commiſſioners, and ſometimes he vouchſafed to be preſent in Perſon, not in order to multiply Voices, but to preſide after the Manner of the ancient Emperors, who were preſent in the Councils, as Biſhops in external Things: And that if this Aſſembly had been honoured with his Majeſty's Preſence, they all hoped that he would have been ſatisfied with giving his Advice, without calling other Perſons, who had no Commiſſion from the Church, of Purpoſe for carrying Matters by the Majority of Voices.

AFTER the reading of the Duke's Commiſſion, Doctor *Robert Hamilton* preſented him from the Biſhops an Exception againſt the Aſſembly, and demanded an Inſtrument in Proof of its having been produced, after it ſhould be publickly read. The Aſſembly anſwered, that they could not enter upon Buſineſs before the Election of a Moderator; and at the ſame Time *Alexander Henderſon* was unanimouſly elected to perform that Office, who having taken his Place, the Duke required again, that the Biſhops Exception might be read; but the Moderator ſtill anſwered, that the Aſſembly could deliberate upon nothing, till it ſhould appear, that it was compoſed of all its lawful Members, and for that End the Commiſſi-

ons

ons of all the Commiſſioners muſt firſt of all be ſeen. The Duke knew that the Exception contained many Reaſons of Nullity againſt the Election of the moſt Part of the Members of the Aſſembly, for which Cauſe he preſſed the reading of it, before the Aſſembly ſhould examine the Commiſſions of the Commiſſioners; and it was for the ſame Reaſon, that the Aſſembly was obſtinately reſolved to have the Commiſſioners acknowledged, becauſe after that their Commiſſions ſhould once be approved of, there would be no Room for excepting againſt them. There was among the Commiſſioners ſome few of the Covenanters that were called moderate, and a few Anti-covenanters; but though their Voices were of no Weight, their Number being but ſmall, yet ſome Difficulties were ſtarted upon the Manner of their Election, which were neceſſary to be decided, before they could ſit amongſt the reſt, which however was not done. 1638.

By this Means the Aſſembly having all its Members in the Intereſt of the Covenant, on the 27th of the Month, ſuffered the Biſhops Exception to be read, the Tenor of which was: " That they the Biſhops, and others " underwritten, declared, as well for themſelves, as for, and in Name of " the Church of *Scotland*, that the moſt proper and moſt neceſſary Means " for healing the Diviſions whereby it was diſtracted, was a General Aſ- " ſembly lawfully convened, to which they were ready to ſubmit; and " that the calling of it belonged to the King, as it was acknowledged in " the Aſſembly of *Glaſgow* of 1610, and by the Parliament of 1612. So " that the Clergy could not lawfully meet, without the Conſent of his " Majeſty. But they found themſelves obliged to proteſt againſt the Aſ- " ſembly now met at *Glaſgow*, as unlawful, diſorderly, and of no Autho- " rity. Their Reaſons were, 1. That the Preſbyteries had elected their " Commiſſioners to the Aſſembly, and appointed a ſolemn Faſt on the " 16th of *September*, for obtaining the Bleſſings of Heaven upon the Aſ- " ſembly, whereas his Majeſty's Warrant for calling the Aſſembly was " not publiſhed till the 22. So that the Preſbyteries having proceeded to " that Election without being authorized by the King, it was altogether " void. 2. That though the Preſbyteries had had Authority for ſo do- " ing, they had forfeited it, by having depoſed the Moderators which the " Biſhops had named in their Dioceſan Synods, and by having elected " others in their Place, contrary to the Act of the Aſſembly of *Glaſgow* " of 1610, and the Act of Parliament of 1612, which appoint the Bi- " ſhops to be Moderators of the Preſbyteries, and in their Abſence the " Miniſters whom the Biſhops ſhould appoint in their Synod. 3. That " the Parliaments of the Years 1572, and 1612, having ordered the Mi- " niſters under Pain of Degradation, to ſign the Confeſſion of Faith within " the firſt Month of their Ordination, in Preſence of the Ordinaries, or of " their Commiſſaries, and to take from their Hands the Oath of *Supre-* " *macy*, which is acknowledging the King's ſupreme Authority in all " Things, as well Eccleſiaſtical as Secular; the greateſt Part of the Mi- " niſters deputed to this Aſſembly had done neither the one nor the other; " on the contrary, that they had not only refuſed to ſign the Confeſſion " of Faith, which, on the 24th of *September*, the King had commanded " all his Subjects ſolemnly to ſign, and to bind themſelves mutually to " defend his Perſon and Authority; but that they had likewiſe proteſted " againſt it, and as much as in them lay hindered, that none ſhould put " their Hand to it. 4. That the King, in condeſcending to call a General " Aſſembly, meant, that his Subjects ſhould keep to their Duty, and com- " ply with his Orders; but that thoſe Members of this Aſſembly, who have " adhered to the laſt Proteſtation againſt the King's Proclamation, were " in

*The Biſhops Exception againſt the Aſſembly.*

1638. " in the ſame State as before the King had cauſed the Pardon for what " had paſſed to be publiſhed: For having with Diſdain refuſed to accept " of that Pardon, as looking upon themſelves to be no Ways guilty, they " have ever ſince done their utmoſt to get every body to ſign their Cove- " nant, and continuing their ptivate Meetings notwithſtanding the King's " Prohibition; theſe ſame Covenanters had declared therein, that they " could at all Times meet lawfully in Aſſembly, and there with full Pow- " er determine all Things belonging to Religion, which is a manifeſt diſ- " owning his Majeſty's ſupreme Authority in all Things, and over all " Perſons. 5. That many of the Miniſters of the Aſſembly were incapa- " ble of being deputed to it, becauſe that ſome of them had made no " Conſcience of the Oath, which they had taken at their Admiſſion to " the Miniſtry from the Hands of the Ordinary, having practiſed the quite " contrary in Contempt of eccleſiaſtical Authority, and of the Cenſures " of the Church, whereby, in many Places, they had been ſuſpended; " and that others of them had encouraged Rebellion in their Sermons, " and ſpread ſeditious Libels amongſt the People, which grievouſly wound- " ed his Majeſty's ſupreme Authority, ſo much the more, that they taught " that pernicious Doctrine, that all ſovereign Authority was originally in " the collective Body of the People, from whence it was conveyed to the " Prince; and that not only in Caſe of Negligence on his Part, it remain- " ed in that Body for ſupplying the Defect, not having conferred it upon " the King, but to clothe him with it, and not to ſtrip themſelves of it; " but alſo that in Caſe of bad Government, it returned to its Fountain; " which happening, the King forfeited his Right, and the Subject was no " longer bound to obey him. 6. That the Miniſters had aſſociated them- " ſelves with a Lay-Elder out of each *Kirk-Seſſion**, and that theſe El- " ders, being commonly of the principal Nobility and Gentry of the Pa- " riſh, both by their Authority and Number, have influenced the Election " of the Miniſters for the Aſſembly: For ſince it was the Cuſtom, upon " ſuch Occaſions, to name five or ſix Miniſters, in order to make Choice " of one or two of them for the Aſſembly, and to make them withdraw " during the Election, the Laicks had more Voices than the Eccleſiaſticks, " contrary to the Forms of all the Churches in the World, and particu- " larly this of *Scotland*, where theſe forty Years the Preſbyteries have " never called any of theſe Lay Elders; and even when they did admit of " them, it was ſo ordered, that they were always fewer in Number than " the Miniſters, it being for no other End, but purely to have their Aſſi- " ſtance in the Exerciſe of Diſcipline, and not to contribute to the Ele- " ction of Commiſſioners to the Aſſembly. 7. That though the Preſence " of Laick Perſons was required at the Aſſembly, the King conſenting to it, " and that it was allowed them to make Remonſtrances there, and to of- " fer their Advice with Reſpect and Submiſſion to the Judgment of the " Aſſembly, yet it was an Incroachment upon the paſtoral Office, con- " trary to the holy Scripture, the Senſe and Practice of the univerſal " Church, that any Laick, who was not delegated by his Majeſty, whoſe " Right it is to have the principal Share in all the Deliberations and De- " ciſions, ſhould have a deciſive Voice in the Aſſembly. Therefore they " thought they had juſt Ground to beg of his Excellency in the Words of " the Fathers of the great Council of *Chalcedon*, to turn out the ſuper- " fluous Perſons. Nor will a pious Prince be offended with it; but with " *Theodoſius* the younger will ſay, That it is not juſt that thoſe, who " are not of the ſame Dignity with the holy Biſhops, ſhould take upon " them to treat of eccleſiaſtical Affairs. 8. That granting the pretended " Commiſſioners to this Aſſembly of *Glaſgow* had Authority, lawfully to " judge

* *Veſtry.*

" judge the Biſhops, nevertheleſs they have juſt Reaſon to except againſt 1638.
" them, becauſe the greateſt Part of them, before they came here, had
" not only condemned Epiſcopacy, but had alſo ſolemnly ſworn to main-
" tain the Covenant, wherein Epiſcopacy is abjured; which was an evi-
" dent Prepoſſeſſion, incompatible with the Quality of Judge. 9. That
" it was contrary both to Law and Reaſon, that the ſame Perſons ſhould
" be both Judges and Parties; but yet almoſt all the Commiſſioners to
" this Aſſembly had declared themſelves Parties againſt the Biſhops, in
" the Proteſtation that was made againſt the Biſhops at *Stirling*, where
" the Covenanters declined the Act of the Council, while the Biſhops
" ſhould have a Seat there, becauſe they looked upon them as Parties;
" beſides, that it was not to be doubted, but thoſe, who by their defama-
" tory Libels, and the violent Conſpiracy of their Covenant, (which had
" diſtracted the Minds of the People, and put Diviſion in all Families,
" to the Scandal of Religion) had perſecuted the Biſhops, were their
" Parties: For in order to engage every Body in it, the Covenanters had
" cauſed a ſolemn Faſt to be publiſhed and ſolemnized, not only in the
" Churches they were in Poſſeſſion of, but alſo in thoſe of many other
" Miniſters, who having refuſed to join them in their unreaſonable and
" impious Undertakings, had been compelled, ſome by open Force to
" ſign the Covenant, and others ſuſpended or depoſed by the Preſbyte-
" ries, notwithſtanding their Appeal, which the Law has allowed of,
" for the Support of Innocence. 10. That the Eccleſiaſtical and Impe-
" rial Laws having provided, that the Primates ſhould preſide in the Sy-
" nods, it was a grievous Thing to ſtrip them of that Prerogative of their
" Dignity, and to cauſe to preſide whomſoever an Aſſembly of Prieſts
" and Laicks ſhould chuſe, who might be a ſimple Prieſt or Laick, as has
" ſometimes happened in *Scotland*. 11. That if the Fathers of the Coun-
" cil of *Chalcedon* have decided, that it was a Sacrilege to bring down
" the high Dignity of Biſhops, to the low Degree of Prieſts; how abſurd
" would it be to ſubject them to the Sentence of Prieſts, or rather of a
" Court, whoſe Judges are one half Prieſts, and the other Laicks, con-
" trary to the Canons, and the Practice of the univerſal Church: Laſtly,
" the Biſhops took God to witneſs, that they did not offer this Exception
" upon a Conſciouſneſs of any Crime they felt themſelves guilty of, of-
" fering to be anſwerable for their Actions before their Judges, and
" even to undergo the Sentence of his Excellency: But that they could
" not be ſilent in this Juncture, without betraying the Intereſts of Reli-
" gion, the Rights of the Clergy, and the Honour of his Majeſty; the
" Covenanters having in this Aſſembly taken upon them, to the Reproach
" of Religion, and the Contempt of royal Authority, to annul and abo-
" liſh the Things eſtabliſhed by the Aſſemblies lawfully convened, and
" by Parliament: For were it not for that Conſideration, they ſolemnly
" declared, that they were ſo far from wiſhing ill to any Perſon, what-
" ever unjuſt Treatment they had met with, that, on the contrary, they
" were all ready, after having juſtified their Innocence, to reſign their
" Dignities at the King's Feet, and to ſacrifice, if it were poſſible, their
" own Lives for appeaſing the Storm.

Then was read another Exception of ſeveral Miniſters, who complained; " That the Laicks not having in former Times meddled with
" the Doctrine, but only aſſiſted the Miniſters in the Diſcipline, now take
" upon them to judge in the Preſbyteries and Aſſembly of the Spirits of
" the Prophets, which are not ſubject but to the Prophets." But as the Proteſtation of the Preſbytery of *Glaſgow* had been begun to be read,

1638. which had been written in more preſſing Terms, the Principal (Rector) of that Univerſity, though he had ſigned it himſelf, deſired that the Reading of it might be delayed for ſome Time, which the Moderator readily agreed to; and though the Duke inſiſted that it ſhould be read to the End, yet the Moderator refuſed it, alledging that every Man was at Freedom to withdraw his Proteſtation. The Duke anſwered him, That the Proteſtation was not only ſigned by the Principal, but by the moſt Part of the Miniſters of the Preſbytery of *Glaſgow*, many of which had ſigned the Covenant; and that having been preſented in Name of them all, it could not be withdrawn by one only, without the Conſent of the reſt. However, the Moderator continued ſtedfaſt in his Denial, and thought himſelf obliged, for the Credit of the Aſſembly, to put a Stop to the reading of a Proteſtation made by the Preſbytery of the Place, where the Aſſembly was held.

WHEREUPON the Duke having maturely weighed the Reaſons of the Biſhops Exception, and that of ſeveral Miniſters, reſolved to diſſolve and break up the Aſſembly, having found that the Reaſons of Nullity againſt the Aſſembly did not admit of a Reply, as well in Reſpect of the Quality of the Members of the Aſſembly, which was compoſed rather of a Meeting of Laicks, than of an Aſſembly, as of the Form of their Election; and that it would be contrary to all Juſtice, to ſuffer thoſe Men to be Judges of the Biſhops, who had declared themſelves their open Enemies, and who, by a ſolemn Oath, had conſpired together to aboliſh Epiſcopacy. According to this Reſolution the Duke having at Night advertiſed the Lords of the Council to meet the next Morning, the 28th of *November*, in the Cathedral Church, he went thither betimes, where having taken their Advice about breaking up the Aſſembly, he was confirmed in his Deſign. The Duke held a Council in the Chapter, at the ſame Time that the Aſſembly met in the Church, that, in going out from thence, none of the Council might acquaint the Covenanters with what had paſſed there.

THE ſame Morning *Archibald Johnſton*, the new Clerk of the Aſſembly, who had been elected contrary to the Right of *James Sandilands*, an Advocate and Commiſſary* of *Aberdeen*, preſented to the Aſſembly three or four Volumes, which contained the Acts of the General Aſſemblies ſince the Reformation. The Aſſembly had two Days before named Commiſſioners for reviſing them, who having made a Report that theſe Books were true Copies of the Acts of the reformed Church of *Scotland*, many were ſurprized how it had been poſſible in two Days to run over theſe large Volumes, which would have been Work enough for a whole Year to the moſt diligent Reviſer. For all that, the Moderator, without any more ado, moved, that it might be put to the Vote, whether theſe Books ought not to be acknowledged for authentick Writings, and the publick Regiſters of the Church of *Scotland*. But the Duke begged of him not to make ſo much Haſte in an Affair of ſuch Importance, and remonſtrated to the Aſſembly, that theſe Regiſters, that had lain ſo long in Obſcurity, could not be received for Eccleſiaſtical Laws, which ſhould be binding upon his Majeſty's Subjects, until his Advocate had reviſed them. Nevertheleſs the Aſſembly, without having Regard to his Remonſtrance, came to a Vote, and unanimouſly declared, that theſe Volumes were the true Body of the Canon Law of *Scotland*.

*Judge of the Biſhop's Court.

AFTER

After that was over, the Moderator cauſed to be read a Writing to ſerve for an Anſwer to the Biſhops Exception. This was a Collection of Citations out of the Books of their Diſcipline, which approved of the Government of Elders. But impartial Men could not ſee to what Purpoſe: For it ſeemed to them, that from there being ſuch Elders in the Kirk-Seſſions, and, perhaps, in the Preſbyteries, it did not follow that thoſe Elders ought to have Voice in the Aſſembly, or in the Election, the Excluſion of Miniſters that compoſe it. Then the Moderator, in Anſwer to that Exception of the Biſhops, that the Aſſembly could not be their Judge, having declared it ſelf a Party, alledged, that that was the Exception of the *Remonſtrants* againſt the Synod of *Dort*; ſuch are the Diſciples of *Arminius* called, becauſe of a Remonſtrance which they preſented to the States, about *Calvin*'s Doctrine of Predeſtination and Grace: But that all the Divines there aſſembled, and eſpecially thoſe of *Great-Britain*, rejected it as void and of no Force. 1638.

Doctor *Walter Balkanqual*, Dean of *Durham*, then ſtanding behind the Duke, begged Liberty of him and of the Moderator, to ſhew that the Things were not the ſame. He had been at that Synod with ſome other *Engliſh* Doctors and Biſhops: Not that they were there as Deputies from the Proteſtant Communion of *England*, which never aeknowledged the Authority of that Synod, nor in the leaſt ever ſubmitted to its Deciſions: But they were ſent there by King *James*, who was angry with the *Armians* for having joined the *Barnavelt* Faction againſt the Prince of *Orange*, whoſe Intereſt he had much at Heart. This Dean having obtained Liberty to ſpeak, ſaid; "That there was a great Difference between the "Exception of the Biſhops againſt the Aſſembly, and that of the Remon-"ſtrants againſt that of *Dort*, in the Manner of the Prepoſſeſſion of the "Members of the one and the other: For though many of thoſe of the "Synod of *Dort* had declared themſelves to be of the contrary Opinion "to that of the Remonſtrants, about all the Articles of *Arminius*'s Do-"ctrine againſt *Calvin*; however, it was not by any judicial Act, or any "Thing equivalent to ſuch an Act, ſuch as ſolemnly to ſwear that *Armi-"nius*'s Opinions were falſe, and to combine together in a Covenant a-"gainſt him; which the Members of the Aſſembly of *Glaſgow* had done "againſt the Biſhops: But it was only in diſcourſing familiarly, or in "preaching, or in writing againſt one another, as private Divines, who "both ſubmitting to the Judgment of the Synod, waited the final Deci-"ſion of the Points in Controverſy bewixt them. So that if the Remon-"ſtrants had had good Grounds for excepting againſt all thoſe that had "declared themſelves to be of the one or the other Opinion, it would "have been altogether impoſſible for them to find Judges that were Di-"vines, ſince 'tis the Cuſtom of thoſe of that Profeſſion, not to remain "neuter in Queſtions that are diſputed in the Schools, but to imbrace ei-"ther the Affirmative or the Negative, as the moſt probable Opinion. *Balkanqual* added, That if his Excellency and the Aſſembly were pleaſed, he "would maintain againſt the moſt learned of the Aſſembly, that neither "the Name nor the Office of Overſeer or Lay-Elder had ever been heard "in any Council, or in any particular Church before *Calvin*." Upon theſe Words, the Moderator anſwered with ſome Warmth; That it would have been thought very ſtrange in *England*, if any of the Aſſembly had ſtood up in the *Houſe of Convocation*, in order to ſpeak againſt their Eccleſiaſtical Government; and that the Doctor's Father, a Miniſter of *Edinburgh*, had been of another Opinion. To which *Balkanqual* replied, "That he would not have aſked Liberty to ſpeak in the Aſſembly, had

"it

1638. " it not been to clear to it a Tranſaction of the Synod of *Dort*, in which " he had ſome Concern; and that, as to what the Moderator caſt in his " Teeth about his deceaſed Father, nothing more trifling could have been " ſaid, there being ſome preſent there, whoſe Fathers had been Papiſts; " beſides, that it was not ſo ſtrange a Thing to ſee a Man have contrary " Opinions to thoſe of his Father, as to have ſome contrary to himſelf; " and that the Moderator knew very well, that there were many preſent " in the Aſſembly moſt exaſperated againſt Epiſcopacy now, who for- " merly had defended and eſpouſed its Intereſt with as much Zeal and " more Ambition than any Body whatever.

THE Moderator breaking off there, and turning to the Aſſembly, told them; " That ſeeing the Election of its Members as well as its Compe- " tency, were called in Queſtion, that Point muſt be cleared, of which " there could be no other Judge, but the Aſſembly itſelf. Therefore he " had a Mind to take the Suffrages of all the Commiſſioners, in order to " know whether they believed, that the Aſſembly was a competent Judge " of the Accuſations given in againſt the Biſhops, notwithſtanding the " Reaſons contained in their Exception." Whereupon the Duke, being reſolved not to let them proceed further, told them, " That he had had " an extreme Satisfaction in having, by the calling and opening of this Aſ- " ſembly, made the Sincerity of his Maſter's Intentions appear; but that " his Grief was no leſs to find himſelf obliged to diſſolve it: For what " Hopes could one have of a good Iſſue of this Aſſembly, to which the " Miniſters were deputed by Lay-Elders, wherein theſe Elders had Voice, " and to which the Biſhops were cited to undergo the Judgment of their " Parties, and that of the very Perſons who had condemned them in their " private Meetings? Therefore in the Name of the King he expreſly " prohibited them from meeting any more, and proteſted againſt all that " the Aſſembly ſhould do hereafter, as void of all lawful Authority. The Moderator made Anſwer by a Speech he had prepared for this Occaſion, wherein, after having expreſſed a great Reſentment of the Duke's Reſolution, and ſpoken to the Advantage of the King's Power over Religion, calling him *oecumenical Biſhop* in his three Kingdoms, he concluded, " That as the Duke had ſerved his Maſter with great Af- " fection and Fidelity, it was their Duty, on the other Hand, to be as " careful in preſerving the Rights of the Kingdom of the Son of God, " which is the Church."

*The Aſſembly diſſolved.*

AFTER the Moderator had finiſhed his Speech, ſome Lords ſpoke much in Juſtification of their Procedure in the Election of the Commiſſioners to the Aſſembly; but the Duke ſoon ſtopped their Mouths, by cauſing to be read two Papers which the Covenanters did not think had come to his Hands. Theſe Papers contained the ſecret Inſtructions which the Covenanters had drawn up at *Edinburgh*, in order to be ſent all over the Kingdom to their truſty Friends, who were to meet in the Preſbyteries; and the Deſign was to inform them of the Method they were to obſerve, to the End that the Commiſſioners to the Aſſembly might be choſen from among thoſe who had ſhewn the greateſt Zeal for the Covenant. For, ſaid they, " If their Enemies ſhould happen to get the bet- " ter of them in the Aſſembly, they would become a Laughing-Stock to " the World, and, by their own Slothfulneſs, would loſe the beſt Oppor- " tunity that ever could offer itſelf, for recovering both their Political " and Chriſtian Liberty." Theſe two Papers having been read, the Moderator and ſome of the Elders ſaid, that they knew nothing of them, that,

1638.

that, perhaps, theſe Inſtructions were nothing but the Advice of ſome particular Men to their Friends: But the Duke replied, that having from ſeveral Places had Copies written in the ſame Words, it was impoſſible that thoſe, who wrote the Originals, could hit upon the very ſame Words, without having concerted the Matter. Beſides, unbiaſſed Perſons were fully perſuaded of the Truth of the Fact, ſeeing the Aſſembly did not oblige the Duke to prove that theſe ſecret Inſtructions, which quite deſtroyed the Freedom of the Aſſembly, had been drawn up by the private Meetings of the Covenanters at *Edinburgh*. At laſt as the Clerk was going to read the Proteſtation of the Aſſembly, againſt the Duke's Procedure, he roſe up, and went out of the Church, and was followed by all the Lords of the Council, who, in the Letter they wrote to the King, of the Diſſolution of the Aſſembly, gave him a very good Account of the Duke's Fidelity and Prudence, though the Succeſs had not anſwered his Care, nor the Wiſdom he had ſhewn in all his Conduct.

As ſoon as the Duke was gone out, the Moderator deſired the Opinion of the Aſſembly upon two Things; 1. If, notwithſtanding the Order the Duke had given them from the King not to meet any more, they ought to continue the Aſſembly? All the Commiſſioners, except ſome that had retired with the Duke, anſwered, that the Parliament of the Year 1592, having declared, that the King's Prerogatives were not prejudicial to the Liberties of the Church, the King could not diſſolve the Aſſembly, which had met upon ſo important Affairs, and that they ought not to break up, till they had ſettled them; leſt it ſhould ſeem as if Religion depended upon the Will of the Prince. 2. If the Aſſembly, without having Regard to the Duke's Prohibition, by Order of the King, was not Judge competent of the Biſhops? It was anſwered with one Voice, That, notwithſtanding the Reaſons of their Exception, the Aſſembly could and ought to judge both the Perſons of the Biſhops and their Office; whereupon they began to attack them with great Heat.

The Biſhops were all very ill uſed, purely upon the Score of their being Biſhops, yet they were not all equally ſo; ſome of them were more roughly treated than others, becauſe they had exerciſed their Office with more Knowledge and Vigour than their Brethren, who had had nothing of Epiſcopacy but the Name, the Rank, and Revenue, which happens too often to be the Caſe. The Biſhops then were all degraded without Exception, and ſtripped of their Dignities. The Sentence run thus; "That "the pretended Biſhops having been legally cited before the Aſſembly, in"ſtead of appearing there, had offered an Exception full of abuſive Words "againſt its Members, and by that Means declared themſelves againſt the "Eccleſiaſtical Order and Government eſtabliſhed in the Kingdom. Which "the Aſſembly having conſidered, and examined the Complaints and Li"bels againſt them, they had been found Guilty. 1. For having in"fringed the Acts of the Aſſembly of *Montroſe* held in 1606, before E"piſcopacy had been eſtabliſhed in *Scotland*, which forbid Miniſters, that "ſhould be deputed to the Parliament, to incroach upon the Eccleſiaſti"cal Juriſdiction and Liberties, under the Pain of Depoſition, Infamy, "and Excommunication. 2. For having received Epiſcopal Conſecra"tion, which is condemned by the Confeſſion of Faith, and the Acts of "General Aſſemblies, as having no Foundation in the Word of God. "3. For having, by Virtue of that Juriſdiction which they had uſurped, "and of that of the High Commiſſion, introduced many Novelties in Re"ligion, to the Prejudice of the Reformation. For theſe Cauſes the Aſ-

1638. " bly, moved with Zeal for the Glory of God, and the Reformation of " the Church, hath ordained, that theſe pretended Biſhops be depoſed, " and by this Decree depoſeth them from the pretended Epiſcopal Fun- " ction, and declareth them incapable of ever hereafter entering the " Council, the Parliament, and the Committees, for repreſenting the Cler- " gy of the Kingdom there."

ALL the Biſhops indifferently were comprehended in this Degradation, but the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews* and *Glaſgow*; the Biſhops of *Edinburgh*, *Galloway*, *Roſs*, *Brechin*, *Aberdeen*, and *Dumblane* were beſides declared incapable of exerciſing any miniſterial Function, as Perſons infamous. They likewiſe were excommunicated with the greater Excommunication, and delivered over into the Hands of the Devil, to be looked upon by all the faithful as Pagans and Publicans. The Aſſembly ordered the Moderator to pronounce this Sentence in the Cathedral Church, after Sermon, in the Face of the Congregation; and all the Miniſters to intimate the Execution thereof to their Congregations over all the Kingdom. The other ſix Biſhops were not treated with ſo much Rigour. For the Aſſembly did not order the Sentence of Excommunication to be fulminated againſt them, unleſs they ſhould refuſe to acknowledge it, and ſubmit to the Sentence of their Degradation, as alſo to all the Acts of the Aſſembly; and to do Penance according to the Order that ſhould be preſcribed them by it. But the Biſhops of *Murray*, *Orkneys*, *Argyle*, and the *Iſles*, were declared incapable of the Miniſterial Function; and the Biſhops of *Dunkel* and *Caithneſs* were only ſuſpended, who, upon Condition of their Submiſſion to the Aſſembly, and of their Repentance, ſhould continue in their Miniſtery; the firſt in the Benefice of St. *Madoze*, and the laſt in ſome other Cure.

THE Aſſembly having thus depoſed the Biſhops, proceeded to the Abolition of Epiſcopacy, and declared that it had not only been condemned by many Acts of Aſſemblies, but, that going a little higher, it had even been abjured in the Confeſſion of Faith of the Year 1580, in theſe Words: *We deteſt the* Roman *Antichriſt, and his damnable Hierarchy.* They argued in this Manner. " That the *Roman* Hierarchy, according to the " Council of *Trent*, conſiſted in Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons, that is to " ſay, in Deacons who baptize and preach, which is the Hierarchy con- " demned in the Confeſſion, where it is called Antichriſtian: That it is " ſo called, not for making a Diſtinction between the Hierarchy of the " Church of *Rome*, and ſome other lawful one; but becauſe, wherever " the Hierarchy is found, it is ſaid to be of Antichriſt: That in like Man- " ner the other Grievances of the Papacy are called Antichriſtian, ſuch " as the Invocation of Saints, their Canonization, and the Dedication of " Altars; not that there is any other Invocation and Canonization that " be more lawful than thoſe of Antichriſt, but becauſe that ſince the " Myſtery of Iniquity has begun to work, all the Depravations, whether " in Doctrine, Worſhip, or Diſcipline, which the Pope hath impoſed upon " the Church, are juſtly called Antichriſtian."

ONE of the moſt learned Miniſters of the Aſſembly, named *Robert Bailly*, excepted againſt this Explication. He ſaw that it involved in Perjury all the Miniſters, who, at their Ordination, had ſworn the Articles of the Aſſembly of *Perth*, and promiſed Canonical Obedience to their Ordinaries. For that Reaſon, he deſired, that it might be ſaid, " That Epiſ- " copacy and the Ceremonies re-eſtabliſhed by the Aſſembly of *Perth*, had " been

" been aboliſhed by the Reformers, who drew up the Confeſſion without 1638.
" making Mention of the Abjuration which the Aſſembly had a Mind to
" add to it, and of which *Bailly* was aware, that he and thoſe, whoſe
" Caſe was the ſame with his, might not ſplit upon that Rock." Notwithſtanding which the Aſſembly continued obſtinate in their Opinion, that Epiſcopacy had been abjured in the Confeſſion, and then quoted a great many Acts of Aſſemblies, which ſhew; " That the Office of Biſhop, " as it was commonly underſtood in *Scotland*, had no Foundation in the " holy Scripture, but had been deviſed by human Folly, to the Ruin of " the Church of God: That it was unlawful in itſelf, and, that all ſuch " as had been inveſted in it, not having been called thereto by God, ought " to abdicate it, and leave off all paſtoral Function, till they be admitted " into it anew." Whereupon the Moderator aſking the Opinion of the Aſſembly, propoſed the Matter in theſe Terms. " If, according to the " Confeſſion of Faith, as it was profeſſed in the Years 1580, 1581, and " 1590, there was any other Biſhop but a Paſtor of a particular Flock, " having neither Pre-eminency nor Power over his Brethren; and if, ac- " cording to that Confeſſion, all other Epiſcopacy has not been abjured, " and ought not to be aboliſhed in the Church of *Scotland*?" All the Aſſembly with one Voice, except *Robert Bailly*, who was not allowed to vote, for Fear of ſome Diſpute, anſwered, " That all Epiſcopacy, diſtin- " guiſhed from that of Paſtor of a particular Flock, hath been abjured in " the reformed Church of *Scotland*, where it ought to be rejected; and " therefore Prohibition ought to be made, under Pain of Eccleſiaſtical Cen- " ſure, that no Perſon for the future preſume to uſurp that Office, or write " in its Defence; and that neither the Miniſters, nor People, any more " obey the pretended Authority of that Office." 'Tis very plain, that a more ample Concluſion neceſſarily followed from theſe Premiſſes: For though the Aſſembly, out of Cunning, did not decree the Abolition of Epiſcopacy but in their own Communion, that they might not incur the Indignation of the Proteſtant Hierarchy of *England*, which continued then in its firſt Vigour. Yet the Reaſoning upon the literal Senſe of the Confeſſion, and the Decrees of the former Aſſemblies that were quoted, directly inferred the Nullity of Epiſcopacy conſidered abſolutely and in it ſelf, and that it was an Uſurpation that ought to be condemned and aboliſhed, wherever it was, as well in *England*, and elſewhere, as in *Scotland*: Unleſs the Fathers of the Aſſembly thought, that what is declared Antichriſtian in the Confeſſion of *Scotland*, may be Chriſtian and Catholick in the Belief of *England*.

The other Deciſions of the Aſſembly were but Conſequences and Appendixes to this: For the Aſſembly declared, " That the lawful Power of " Provincial and National Preſbyteries and Synods, though it had been " unjuſtly ſuppreſſed, had never been lawfully aboliſhed, but that they " always could canonically ordain, ſuſpend, and degrade the Miniſters for " juſt Cauſes; chuſe their Moderators, and exerciſe all Eccleſiaſtical Ju- " riſdiction, each within its own Diſtrict, whatever Oppoſition the pre- " tended Biſhops had made againſt it. Then were condemned all the " Synods held by the Authority of the Biſhops, ſince the Re-eſtabliſhment " of Epiſcopacy in the Year 1606, and particularly that of *Perth*, the De- " crees of which were annulled, and the Oath, which the Biſhops made " the Miniſters take at their Admiſſion to the Miniſtry, was declared a- " buſive, and not obligatory, as having been extorted contrary to the " Laws and Liberties of their Church. As for the Eſtabliſhments which " the Biſhops had newly made, the Aſſembly had been a long Time be-

" fore

1638. " ſore prepared to condemn them with Execration, ſo that at one Sitting " Sentence was paſſed upon them. In the firſt Place the Liturgy was a- " nathematized, as well becauſe of the Manner in which it had been " compoſed, and impoſed upon them by the pretended Prelates, without " the Order and Authority of their Church, as becauſe of the Matter it " contained, there being in it many Errors and Seeds of great Superſti- " tion and Idolatry. The Book of Canons had the ſame Fate, as having " been invented by the ſame pretended Prelates, in order to exerciſe a " tyrannical Power, as well over the Conſciences, as over the Liberties " and Eſtates of the People; and alſo for enervating all the Eccleſiaſtical " Diſcipline and Government by Aſſemblies, Preſbyteries, and Kirk-Seſſi- " ons formerly eſtabliſhed in their Church. The Order of the Conſecra- " tion of Biſhops, and of Ordination, whether of Prieſts or Deacons was " comprehended under the ſame Execration, becauſe it was done by the " Biſhops, without either Eccleſiaſtical or Political Authority, and that " it eſtabliſhed in the Houſe of God, Offices that are not to be found in " his Word. Laſtly, the Court of High Commiſſion was demoliſhed, for " having been eſtabliſhed without the Conſent of the Aſſemblies and Par- " liament; beſides, that it deſtroyed all the Juriſdiction of the Eccleſiaſti- " cal Aſſemblies; that every Thing depended there upon the Diſcretion " of the Commiſſioners; and that it put the Power of the two Swords " into the Hands of Eccleſiaſticks, as well as the Keys into the Hands of " Laicks, who had Voice in that Court." This Aſſembly, however, had no Regard to that Incoveniency, when its own Intereſt was at Stake, and in the Opinion of many, in making the Decree, it fell into the ſame Abſurdity it had there condemned: For it appears to be altogether putting the Keys into the Hands of Laicks, to give them Voice in the Kirk-Seſſions, Preſbyteries, and Aſſemblies, where Affairs of greater Importance are treated of, than in the Court of the High Commiſſion.

MOREOVER, the Aſſembly declared, " That though the Eccleſiaſticks " were obliged to give their Advice in Matters concerning Religion, and " every Man's Conſcience; yet their Acceſs to, and Seat in the ſupreme " and inferiour Courts of Juſtice, were incompatible with their Profeſſion, " which ſets them apart for the Work of the Goſpel. For which Cauſe, " the firſt Miniſters after the Reformation never demanded a Seat in Par- " liament; on the contrary, they refuſed it when it was offered them. " But as they could not excuſe themſelves from accepting it, the Aſſem- " bly of *Montroſe*, foreſeeing the bad Conſequences of that Office, made " Regulations for limiting and reſtraining that Power in the Perſons of " Miniſters. Notwithſtanding which, Experience having made it appear " in the Biſhops, that the pernicious Conſequences they were afraid of, were " inevitable, the Aſſembly being reſolved to root out the Miſchief, with " one Voice, except two or three that had not thoroughly informed them- " ſelves about the Matter, ordered, that the Miniſters of their Communi- " on ſhould no longer hold any civil Office, ſuch as Counſellor of State, " Judge of the Treaſury, or of the Court of Seſſions, or have a Seat in " Parliament, or be Judges or Aſſeſſors in any Court of Juſtice. For that " End the Aſſembly annulled all the Acts of Aſſemblies to the contrary, " particularly of that of *Montroſe*, which having been conſtrained by " the ſupreme Authority, had rather tolerated theſe Offices for a Time, " than approved of them by a Freedom of Suffrage." Such as took no Part in this Affair, thought it very ſtrange, that thoſe of this Aſſembly, who believed, that the Inſtitution of Lay-Elders, and their Place in Eccleſiaſtical Councils were of divine Right, held at the ſame Time, that the

the Eccleſiaſticks, without infringing that Right, could not have Seat in his Majeſty's Councils. 1638.

Towards the End of the Aſſembly Judgment was given upon the Covenant, the final Deciſion of which was referred to it; and it was ſaid, "That the Covenanters having obliged themſelves at the firſt ſigning of "the Covenant, no more to practiſe the Novelties introduced into the "divine Service, nor to approve of the Eccleſiaſtical Government, till "the Aſſembly had paſſed its Judgment thereupon; it now declared, that "thoſe Things were repugnant to the Confeſſion of Faith, and ordained, "that all and every one ſhould hereafter ſign the Covenant, with this "Clauſe put before their Subſcriptions in theſe very Terms: *The Article* "*of the Covenant, which was ſent back to the Aſſembly, being now decided* "*by that of* Glaſgow, *which has declared the Acts of the Aſſembly of* Perth, "*the Epiſcopal Government, and the ſecular Power of Biſhops null, abuſive,* "*and unlawful, we ſign the Covenant, and according to the Deciſion of that* "*free and lawful Aſſembly.*"

In the mean Time the Duke of *Hamilton*, who was waiting to ſee an End put to the Aſſembly before he ſhould return to Court, being adviſed of this laſt Deciſion, cauſed a Declaration to be publiſhed at *Edinburgh*, wherein he made it known; "That it was no ways the King's In-"tention, that any Perſon ſhould ſign the Confeſſion of Faith, taken in "a Senſe that did not agree with the Epiſcopal Government, expreſly "forbidding all his Majeſty's Subjects, of what Condition ſoever they "were, to ſign the Confeſſion but conformably to this the King's Inten-"tion." The Covenanters had granted, that ſuch was his Majeſty's Intention; and had given it for a Reaſon of their refuſing to ſign the King's Covenant, having eſtabliſhed for a Maxim, *That all Oaths ought to be taken according to the Intention of the Perſon that impoſeth them.* But by the Anſwer they gave to the Duke's Declaration, it ſeems they were of another Opinion, at leaſt they ſung to another Tune: For they therein declared, *That Men were obliged to conſider* Rem Juratam *in an Oath, rather than the Intention of the Perſon that impoſeth it, or of him who takes it*; which ſeems to be ſomething new, and not maintainable; becauſe, to ſpeak in their Terms, *'Tis to play with Oaths as Children do with their Puppets.* Moreover, in this Anſwer, they ſaid, that upon the Remonſtrance they made to the Lords of the Council, theſe Lords had not ſigned the Confeſſion, having Regard to the King's Intention, that is to ſay, *as it is now profeſſed*, in order to comprehend in it the new Ceremonies and Epiſcopacy, but *as it was profeſſed in the Year* 1580; and in their Order injoyning all the Subjects to ſign it, they expreſſed themſelves in the ſame Manner. Whereupon the Aſſembly, leſt any Body ſhould venture to ſwear to the Confeſſion contrary to its true Senſe, and to take a new Oath, which ſhould contradict the firſt, and by that Means bring the Curſe of God upon himſelf, for having profaned his Name, and broken his Covenant, by its own Eccleſiaſtical Authority forbad all the Members of the reformed Church of *Scotland* to ſwear or ſign the Confeſſion inferring a contrary Senſe, but that they were all to ſign it in the Senſe of the Aſſembly, whoſe Buſineſs it was to give a judicial Explication of it.

At laſt, the Aſſembly having made an Act for yearly General Aſſemblies, and appointed the next to be held at *Edinburgh* in the Month of *July* 1639, for a Concluſion reſolved, that a Petition ſhould be ſent to the King, to beg of him to approve of the true Senſe they had given

the Confeſſion. The Sum of their Petition dated the 12th of *January*
1639. 1639 was, " That all the Commiſſioners of the Aſſembly met at *Glaſ-*
" *gow* by his Majeſty's Authority, conſidering the great Bleſſings, both
" upon Church and State, that flow from the Union of Religion and
" Juſtice, of Truth and Peace, when it pleaſeth the ſupreme Providence
" to order the royal Power to concur with the Eccleſiaſtical Authority;
" acknowledge with all Sincerity of Heart, how much all the Kingdom
" had been overjoyed and comforted by the Goodneſs and Piety of his
" Majeſty, who had graciouſly granted the Freedom of a National As-
" ſembly: That imagining they could not teſtify more truly their moſt
" grateful Acknowledgment, than in ſhewing themſelves worthy of ſo
" great a Favour, it had been their chief Care in all their Procedure to
" behave themſelves with ſuch Order and Moderation, as it became the
" faithful Subjects of ſo great a Prince: That his Preſence in Perſon
" would have been the Height of their Happineſs, which would have
" made them hope, that his Majeſty being taken with the Beauty of the
" Houſe of God, would have given his royal Approbation to all their
" Eccleſiaſtical Statutes: That they could not conceal, that their Joy had
" very ſoon been turned into Bitterneſs, when they had perceived, that
" his High Commiſſioner, who repreſented his ſacred Perſon, not only
" laboured, before the opening of the Aſſembly, to ſtint its Liberty,
" both in the Election of its Members, and in the choice of the Mat-
" ters to be treated of therein; but alſo as if his Excellency deſigned ra-
" ther to thwart than countenance their lawful Proceedings, he had ſuf-
" fered nothing to paſs in the Aſſembly while he remained there, with-
" out ſome Cenſure and Proteſtation: That after ſome Days that had
" been ſpent in debating, his Excellency, contrary to their Expectation,
" had riſen up, and to their great Grief, having commanded them not
" to aſſemble any more, by a Proclamation that would be found not to
" be grounded upon any Reaſon that can bear the Examination of Par-
" liament, or his Majeſty's own Judgment: So that had they obeyed that
" Order, ſo contrary to his laudable Intentions, the whole Kingdom had
" been hurried into an Abyſs of Miſeries: That they had choſen rather
" what was expedient as well for the good of Religion, as for the Ho-
" nour of his Majeſty, and the Welfare of his Subjects, than to give
" Way to the firſt Impulſe of his High Commiſſioner, which would
" have ruined all; whereupon they were ſo little afraid of the Trial of
" Light, which is an Enemy only to wicked Deeds; that on the con-
" trary, they promiſed themſelves, that the more it was conſidered with
" what Moderation they had behaved, without any Partiality towards
" the Power which God Almighty and his Majeſty had put into their
" Hands, the more all their Actions would be approved of and juſtified:
" That they were the more perſuaded of it, that having been in a Man-
" ner interdicted, they had redoubled their Care in proceeding with all
" Circumſpection as in the Preſence of God, and as if his Majeſty in Per-
" ſon had had an Eye upon the Aſſembly, where they had never fol-
" lowed any other Rule but the Word of God, and the Acts of their
" former Aſſemblies: That they had made it their Buſineſs rather to re-
" new the ancient Laws made in the Time of the late King of bleſſed
" Memory, for the Reformation of Religion, than to approve the No-
" velties, which the Avarice and Ambition of Men, abuſing their Au-
" thority for their own Intereſts, had introduced into Religion; ſo that
" the Aſſembly having ſo great Lights before their Eyes it could not
" authorize other Regulations but thoſe it hath eſtabliſhed, without war-

" ring

" ring againſt God: That though they knew that the beſt Actions are 1639.
" often miſinterpreted, yet they had wherewithal to comfort themſelves,
" conſidering that Truth is the Daughter of Time; ſo that though Ca-
" lumny often takes the Start, yet Truth follows cloſe at its Heels, and
" always gets the better of noble and generous Minds, to which Ca-
" lumny never finds Acceſs: That when his Majeſty ſhall be pleaſed
" maturely to conſider all that hath paſſed in the Aſſembly, they were
" willing to be reputed the worſt of all Men, and moſt unworthy to
" breathe the Air of his Majeſty's native Country, if the Cauſe they have
" maintained there did not purely tend to the Service of his divine Ma-
" jeſty, and to have his Houſe governed according to his Will; if they
" have not obſerved during all the Courſe of the Aſſembly moſt humble
" and loyal Regard for his Majeſty, whoſe Honour, next to that of God,
" was the moſt dear to them; if they have not kept within the Bounds
" of their Reformation, without making Reflections upon the Inſtitu-
" tions of other reformed Churches; if they have not rather failed by
" too much Lenity, than by Rigour in their Cenſures, never having
" exceeded the Rules preſcribed by the Church of *Scotland*; if, what-
" ever Men, who regard nothing but their own Intereſt, may object, the
" Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline and Government, confirmed by the Aſſembly,
" be not found uſeful for advancing the Kingdom of Jesus Christ,
" for ſtrengthening the Obedience due to his Majeſty in this Kingdom,
" for the Glory of the Crown, for the good of all his Subjects, and for
" the Terror of his Enemies; and if, to their Knowledge, and as much
" as human Weakneſs could permit, they have paſſed no Act, which
" could deſerve the Wrath and Indignation, wherewith they were ſo of-
" ten threatened, provided that their Deciſions be examined by the Prin-
" ciples which his Majeſty's Father, of immortal Memory, and their
" pious Anceſtors have laid down, and which Religion would not allow
" them to tranſgreſs: Laſtly, that having always, with ſo much Since-
" rity, had a Regard for the Glory of God, the good of Religion, the
" Honour of the King, the Cenſure of Impiety, and of People who had
" given themſelves up to Iniquity, and for the Re-eſtabliſhment of the
" true Government of their Church, without hurting in the leaſt Thing
" any other reformed Church, they were full of Hopes that the mild
" Influences of his Majeſty upon this Kingdom, diſpelling the Storms,
" would reſtore the Calm; and that the Confirmation of the Acts of the
" Aſſembly which he ſhould be pleaſed to make in the Parliament,
" which, by his Proclamation, was to meet in the Month of *May*, would
" eſtabliſh them ſo well in Religion, that his Crown would thereby re-
" ceive much Luſtre and Glory, and his People be proſperous and hap-
" py under his Majeſty's flouriſhing Reign."

This Letter was followed by a Declaration of the 4th of *February*, which the Covenanters addreſſed to all the good Chriſtians of *England*, in order to juſtify their Intentions and Actions, from the Calumnies wherewith their Enemies might traduce them. This Declaration was well received by all the *Engliſh*, who favoured the Cauſe of the Covenant, but it was ſuppreſſed by the King's Authority, who cauſed a Proclamation to be publiſhed the 27th of *February*, and ordered it to be read in all the Churches of *England*. *This was*, according to the Title, *a Declaration of his Majeſty, for informing all his moſt faithful Subjects of* England, *of the ſeditious Actions of ſome in* Scotland, *who, under a falſe Pretence of Religion, intended the intire Subverſion of his royal Authority.*

Never-

1639. Nevertheleſs the *Engliſh*, for the moſt Part, were little affected with it: They had a better Opinion of the *Scots*, and were nettled, that the King, far from having communicated this Affair to the Parliament, which his Predeceſſors would have aſſembled for Matters of leſs Conſequence, had not ſo much as imparted it to his Council in a Body. At laſt the King declares the Covenanters Rebels, and prepares to bring them to Reaſon by Force of Arms.

*The End of the firſt* BOOK.

THE

# THE HISTORY OF THE TROUBLES OF *GREAT-BRITAIN.*

## BOOK II.

THE Court did not reliſh this Deſign of War. Some, who minded nothing but themſelves, ſaw no Advantage in it, nor any Thing to be got but Blows; and they were heard frequently to wiſh, that the Emperor *Adrian*'s Wall were ſtill intire. Others, who favoured the Covenant and the Reformation of *Scotland*, were afraid, that by having Recourſe to Arms was to forge Fetters for themſelves, and abhorring a War wherein Victory itſelf would prove fatal to them, judged that thoſe, who had adviſed it, were equally Enemies to both Nations. Nevertheleſs, whatever Averſion they had to it, they were not ſorry that an Occaſion had offered, for obliging the King to call the Parliament of *England*, which might not only procure Redreſs of the Grievances of which they complained, but might likewiſe ſtifle this War in the Bud, and puniſh ſeverely the Authors of this Difference, as Diſturbers of the publick Tranquillity.

*The King raiſes both Land and Sea Forces, and the Covenanters prepare for a ſtout Defence.*

IN the mean Time, the King, without minding the Parliament, borrowed large Sums of the chief Nobility, and of the Gentlemen of the long Robe; but eſpecially of the Proteſtant Clergy of *England*, who being

1639. ing very much intereſted in this Quarrel, contributed largely for the Preparation which the King had ordered to be made, which gave Occaſion to the Ill-affected to Epiſcopacy, to call this War, the Biſhop's War. All thoſe of the King's Houſhold, as well Ordinaries as Extraordinaries, were ordered to follow his Majeſty in Perſon, with their Vaſſals armed. Many Volunteers went along in order to pleaſe the King, and a good Number of old Officers, who deſired no better, readily offered their Service; ſo that a very handſome Army was quickly raiſed. The Earl of *Arundel* was made Lieutenant General of it, and *York* was appointed to be the Place of Rendezvous. At the ſame Time the King ordered a certain Number of Men of War to be fitted out, which were manned with five or ſix Thouſand Men, with which the Duke of *Hamilton* was to ſail for *Scotland*, where his Majeſty had cauſed Commiſſions to be given to the Marquis of *Huntly*, the Earls of *Nithſdale* and *Airly*, for levying Men for his Service.

On the other Hand, the Covenanters were not idle, taking Care not to be ſurprized nor prevented. Their firſt Care was timely to furniſh themſelves with Arms and Ammunition, and to ſend to ſeek Aſſiſtance from all the neighbouring Princes and States, from whom they expected any Relief: And becauſe they were threatened by the *Lord Lieutenant of Ireland* with a Deſcent upon the Weſt Coaſt, where the Paſſage from *Ireland* to *Scotland* is ſhort, the Marquis of *Argyle* was intruſted to take Care of that Coaſt. The North Country was put under the Inſpection of the Marquis of *Montroſe*, and Colonel *Monro* had Orders to take Care that nothing ſhould ſtir in the Shires joining the Borders of *England*. The Covenanters having thus taken Care of all the moſt important Things, with great Eaſe made themſelves Maſters of the principal Fortreſſes of the Kingdom, to wit, the Caſtles of *Edinburgh* and *Dumbarton*, into which they put ſtrong Garriſons; and for the Security of the City of *Edinburgh*, with incredible Diligence they cauſed the Port of *Leith* to be fortified, which is but about a Mile and a half diſtant from it. This Place had been long in the Hands of the *French*, who, in the beginning of the calamitous Reign of Queen *Mary*, ſtood out a hard Siege againſt the reformed of *Scotland*, who were aſſiſted by an *Engliſh* Army, which Queen *Elizabeth* ſent them under the Command of the Lord *Gray*. At laſt the Chevalier *de Broſſe*, who commanded within, by Order of their moſt Chriſtian Majeſties, in the Year 1560, ſurrendered the Place a few Days after the Death of the Queen Regent, the Queen's Mother, who died in the Reputation of Sanctity, and was very much regretted by all the Proteſtants of the Kingdom. All the Fortifications of it were demoliſhed, in ſuch a Manner, however, that the Veſtiges are ſtill to be ſeen at this Day; but the Covenanters wrought upon another Plan, and made regular and modern Fortifications there. At the ſame Time, they diſarmed all ſuſpected Perſons, or who remained neuter; and having taken the Caſtle of *Dalkeith* by ſcaling the Walls, they carried off all the Arms and other warlike Stores, which the Duke of *Hamilton* had cauſed to be laid up there the Year before. It was in this Caſtle that they found the Crown, with the Sword and Scepter, which the principal Lords among the Covenanters cauſed to be carried with great Solemnity to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*. Amongſt theſe Preparations of War, they did not forget to cauſe to be publiſhed a long Remonſtrance, to ſerve as an Anſwer to the King's Proclamation of the 27th of *February*, and to give an Account to the *Engliſh* of all their Proceedings and Deſigns.

1639.

*The Marquis of* Huntly *and his Son the Earl of* Aboyn, *are the firſt that take up Arms for the King in* Scotland; *the Marquis of* Montroſe *marches againſt them.*

The Marquis of *Huntly*, who had formerly ſerved in his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Armies, and commanded the *Scots* Troop of Guards, which is the firſt of *France*, was the firſt who took up Arms for the King in the North Country: But the Marquis of *Montroſe*, who had a ſtrict Eye upon him, having aſſembled about a Thouſand Men, marched into the North, and made himſelf Maſter of *Turrif*, in the County of *Buchan*, where *Huntly* had ordered his Friends to meet him. The Marquis being come near this Village with two Thouſand Men, the moſt Part Horſe, received Advice, that it very much concerned the King's Service, not to ſhed any Blood as yet on either Side; whereupon he marched below the Village, and retired to his own Houſe. But having very ſoon after raiſed new Troops, in order to be revenged of the Trick that had been put upon him at *Turrif*, *Montroſe* got the Start of him again with fifteen Hundred Men. Then it was that an Interview was brought about between *Huntly* and *Montroſe* at *Inverury*, each of them accompanied by twelve Horſemen, where *Huntly* ſigned a Paper, whereby having bound himſelf to maintain the King's Authority with the Liberties and Religion of the Kingdom, he retired again to *Strathbogy*, where he was not long at Reſt: For the head Men of the Covenanters, who had come againſt him, being met at *Aberdeen*, with the Nobility and Gentry of the ſame Party in that Neighbourhood, they ſent *Laurence Oliphant* to *Huntly*, to deſire him to come to the Town to confer with them upon the publick Affairs. He made Anſwer, that he was very willing to go there, provided he had Aſſurance that he ſhould be at Liberty to return, which being granted him under their Hands, he went to *Aberdeen:* But *Montroſe* was immediately ſollicited not to ſuffer him to ſtay in the Country, whatever Promiſe he might give to live peaceably: And though *Montroſe* oppoſed with all his Might that they ſhould not go back from his Word, yet it not being in his Power alone to hinder it, *Huntly* and his eldeſt Son were carried Priſoners to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, from whence they were not releaſed till the Peace of *Berwick*.

*The Duke of* Hamilton *arrives with the Fleet in the Road of* Leith.

In the mean Time, the Duke of *Hamilton* arrived in the Month of *May*, with the Fleet before *Leith*, and having caſt Anchor in the Road, he ſent to the Governor of *Edinburgh*, ordering him to receive the King's Commands with Submiſſion, and to cauſe his Majeſty's Proclamation to be publiſhed, as it had already been at *York* the 25th of *April*, wherein the King expreſſed much Indignation againſt the Covenanters, even to forbid their Debtors and Tenants to pay them their Debts and Rents that they owed them. The Governor begged of the Duke not to preſs him for an Anſwer, until the Parliament had met, which was to be opened very ſoon according to his Majeſty's Proclamation, which had been publiſhed in the Month of *September* of the preceding Year. The Parliament being met, refuſed at firſt to obey the Duke's Order; but having received an expreſs Letter from his Majeſty, commanding them to ſeparate, the Order was obeyed; and beſides, hearing that the King was advancing with his Army, they choſe Sir *Alexander Leſly*, an old Soldier of great Experience, for their Generaliſſimo, to whom all the covenanted Lords ſwore Obedience in the Orders of War, and he reciprocally took an Oath, faithfully to diſcharge his Office. Whereupon every body betook themſelves to their Arms, and General *Leſly* having reviewed the Troops, which the Officers had raiſed in the different Countries, upon the *Links* (Downs) of *Leith*, he marched towards the Borders, and incamped at *Dunce* in the Shire of *Berwick*, ſix Miles from the Town of that Name. The King incamped a little on this Side of the Town of *Berwick*.

As

1639. As the Covenanters Army was ready to march, *Montroſe* was deſired to go to the Northern Parts, againſt the Earl of *Aboyn*, the Marquis of *Huntly*'s ſecond Son, who had taken the Field with three Thouſand Foot, and five Hundred Horſe. *Montroſe* having but eight Hundred Men, in all Haſte marched ſtraight to the Earl, who was incamped at *Cowy*, nine Miles from *Aberdeen*, where having driven back his advanced Guards, and cauſed ſome Canon Shot to be fired upon the main Body; all the Foot took to their Heels, and the Horſe having returned with *Aboyn* to the Bridge of *Dee*, two Miles from *Aberdeen*, three or four Companies of Men well accoutred, came out of the Town to join him. The Marquis having received a Reinforcement of three Hundred Men, purſued them to the Entry of the Bridge, where he found them well reſolved to diſpute the Paſſage. The Fight was there very obſtinate, but after that Colonel *Johnſton*, who performed Wonders, was diſabled by the Shard of a Stone which broke one of his Legs, and that Colonel *Gun*, not having taken Notice of a Feint that *Montroſe* made, as if he had a Deſign to paſs the River above the Bridge, had drawn off the Horſe from it, *Montroſe* forced it, and made himſelf Maſter of the Town. There are two Towns, the old and the new, ſituate upon the two Rivers of *Don* and *Dee*, which, beſides what they have in common with all the Rivers of *Scotland*, to abound in Salmon, have alſo that Peculiarity, that they produce Pearls, which are not of ſo fine a Water as the Oriental; but to make Amends, they are for the moſt Part larger and rounder. The old Town is an Epiſcopal See, and has a very famous Univerſity in it, of which was Doctor *Francis Mayronis*, of the Order of St. *Francis*, Author of that famous Act which is kept for a whole Day in the Hall of the *Sorbonne*, whence 'tis called *Sorbonnique:* The new Town ſtands about a Mile diſtant from the old in a fertile Soil, at the Mouth of *Dee*, which falls into the *German* Ocean. It was a City of great Commerce, rich, and very populous, which, though it unhappily ſuffered by its Loſſes, yet it is renowned for its Loyalty, having done and ſuffered more for the King's Service, than all the other Towns of the Kingdom. In all Probability, if Duke *Hamilton* had had Orders to land in that Harbour, fortify the Town, and join the *Gordons* in that Northern Country, where without Doubt, the moſt conſiderable Strength of the Kingdom lies, he would have given the Covenanters a great deal of Uneaſineſs; and by that powerful Diverſion, had obliged them to keep in the Heart of the Kingdom, the Army which *Leſly* marched to the Borders.

*Upon the March of the King's Army and of that of the Covenanters to the Borders, a Peace was clapped up, and the Troops were diſbanded.*

No Act of Hoſtility was committed between the two Armies. The Covenanters again petitioned the King, making abundance of Proteſtations of their Fidelity to his Perſon and Crown. Beſides, they ſent Letters to thoſe *Engliſh* Lords that they looked upon to be the beſt Patriots, ſuch, in their Opinion, were the Earls of *Eſſex*, *Pembrok*, and *Holland*; and in their Letters they ſtill took it for granted, that this War was approved of by no Man that had an Affection for the Freedom and Religion of the two Kingdoms. At the ſame Time the Earl of *Dumfermbing* having had Liberty to go to the royal Army, upon his Return he aſſured the Covenanters, that not only theſe Earls, but the greateſt Part of the Nobility, ſhewed an Averſion to this War, and favoured the Petition they had preſented to the King, which encouraged them to perſiſt with more Heat; ſo that after ſome Meſſages on both Sides, the King was pleaſed to allow that ſix of their Number ſhould come on the 10th of *June*, in order to treat in the Earl of *Arundel*'s Tent, with the like Number of *Engliſh* Lords.

The Treaty having continued for ſome Days, the King had a Mind to aſſiſt in Perſon, where, after with ſome Warmth, he had aſked the Covenanters ſeveral Queſtions, which they anſwered with much Submiſſion and Reſpect; the Peace was made by the Mediation of the moſt moderate of the King's Council, upon Conditions that fully ſatisfied both Parties, excepting, that the Covenanters complained, that the King, in the Narrative of the Proclamation of Pacification, called the late Aſſembly of *Glaſgow*, a Sham Aſſembly, and taxed their taking up Arms with Rebellion, which his Majeſty had the Goodneſs to ſoften at their Requeſt, and cauſed ſome bitter Words to be ſtruck out, and the Expreſſions that ſeemed to them ambiguous to be explained, in order to remove all Jealouſy from their Minds. The King, that nothing might be omitted to perſuade them of the Sincerity of his Intentions, declared; "That though "his Expreſſions ſeemed harſh in ſome Places, yet he had not the leſs "Affection for them: That he muſt have a Regard to his Reputation "among Foreigners, and that all Diſpute about Words was frivolous, "when they agreed in the Thing itſelf, eſpecially having anſwered their "Petition according to their Wiſhes." Indeed, the King had granted them a free General Aſſembly, which was to meet the ſixth of *Auguſt* following: And what overjoyed them, a Meeting of the Parliament, wherein he was to be preſent in Perſon the 20th of the ſame Month, in order to confirm and ratify all that the Aſſembly ſhould decree. 1639.

As ſoon as the Marquis of *Montroſe* had had the News of the Peace, which was happily concluded the 18th of *June*, with Orders to diſband the Troops in two Days; the Marquis, without giving Ear to what thoſe, who only wanted to pillage the Country, adviſed him, which was for ſome Time to conceal the Proclamation of Pacification, and to turn it to his own Advantage, he made it to be proclaimed immediately; and having ſent home his own Followers, he returned to *Edinburgh*, from whence he went to wait upon the King at *Berwick*, with three or four Lords of the Kingdom, whom his Majeſty had ſent for. The King told them, that he was ſorry he could not go to *Scotland* as he had intended, having received Letters from the Queen and his Council of *England*, that other very preſſing Affairs required his Preſence at *London*; but that he would depute the Earl of *Traquaire*, with full Power to repreſent him both in the General Aſſembly and Parliament. Whereupon the King returned to *London* and *Traquaire* to *Scotland*, veſted with the royal Authority.

*The Earl of* Traquaire *goes High Commiſſioner to* Scotland, *holds a General Aſſembly at* Edinburgh, *which confirms that of* Glaſgow.

The Earl opened the General Aſſembly at *Edinburgh* the 12th of *Auguſt*. The Acts of the Aſſembly of *Glaſgow* were there confirmed, the Earl thereto conſenting by Word of Mouth, and by a Paper ſigned with his Hand, to this Effect; "That he the Earl of *Traquaire*, his Majeſty's "High Commiſſioner in this preſent General Aſſembly, declared in Name "of the King, that his Majeſty, without having Regard to his own In"clinations, nor to many other important Conſiderations, being willing, "out of his matchleſs Goodneſs, to remedy the preſent Diviſions, and "to give intire Satisfaction to his Subjects, conſented, as he his Com"miſſioner gave his Conſent to the Act confirming the Acts of the Ge"neral Aſſembly of *Glaſgow*."

Then the Aſſembly preſented a Petition to the Earl and Council, to this Effect: "That all the Members of the Aſſembly having conſi"dered, that after ſo many of his Majeſty's Favours towards his People,

1639. " there wanted nothing to crown his Goodneſs, but that all his Subjects " might be joined in one Covenant with God, with his Majeſty, and " among themſelves; and preſuming that the chief Obſtacle to that " good Work, proceeded from the Informations given his Majeſty, that " their Intention was to ſhake off the Yoke of his Obedience, and to " leſſen the royal Dignity and Authority. In order to remove out of " the Way of the ſo much deſired Union that ſtumbling Block, and to " clear themſelves from that Reproach; they, in their own Names, and " as repreſenting all the Societies and Congregations of the Kingdom, " declared before God and Men, that they never had the leaſt Thought " of withdrawing themſelves from his Majeſty's Obedience, nor of caſt- " ing off that royal Authority, which, in a Series of a Hundred and " eight Kings, they and their Anceſtors had acknowledged with great " Submiſſion and Delight: That far from having had the leaſt Intention " to attempt any Thing which might prejudice the Dignity of his " Crown, on the contrary, they acknowledged, that all their Happineſs " depended upon the Welfare of his royal Majeſty's Perſon, who is God's " Vicegerent among them, for the Defence of Religion, and the Admi- " niſtration of Juſtice: That they had ſolemnly ſworn, and ſtill ſwore, " not only their mutual Defence and Aſſiſtance, every one according to " his Power, for the Cauſe of Religion, and the Security and Authority " of his ſacred Perſon, provided he ſhould maintain the true Religion, " the Liberties, and the Laws of the Church and State of the King- " dom; but alſo that they ſhould be always ready, as good and faithful " Subjects, to venture their Lives in maintaining, according to the Laws, " his Majeſty's Honour and Intereſt, at all Times, and in any Manner " that he ſhall be pleaſed to demand Proofs of their Fidelity and Obedi- " ence. Therefore having thus cleared themſelves from that Calumny, " they moſt humbly intreated his Excellency and the Lords of the Coun- " cil, that according to the laudable Example given by their Anceſtors " in the Year 1581, they would be pleaſed to ordain by an Act of Coun- " cil, that all his Majeſty's Subjects, of what Condition and Quality ſo- "ever, ſhould ſign the Covenant, which they had formerly ſigned, as a " Teſtimony of their Fidelity to God and the King."

The Council having deliberated upon this Supplication, ordered that the Covenant ſhould be ſigned by all the Subjects of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, of what Quality and Condition ſoever. Whereupon the Earl ſigned the Covenant, with the Explanation of the General Aſſembly of *Glaſgow*, in the Quality of a Subject, but refuſed it as his Majeſty's High Commiſſioner. Then the Earl deſired that the Aſſembly might declare, that the Things prohibited now in their Communion, might not be binding upon any Perſon when out of the Kingdom, and that they might freely follow the Cuſtoms of other Places without Danger of Cenſure. But *David Dick* the Moderator, in Name of the Aſſembly oppoſed that, alledging that that Liberty could not be allowed with a ſafe Conſcience, which obliged the Earl to require an Inſtrument, which was granted him.

*Two Biſhops abjure Epiſcopacy.*

DURING this Aſſembly, the Biſhops of *Dunkel* and the *Orkneys* abjured Epiſcopacy; and becauſe, perhaps, 'tis an Action without Example, here is the Biſhop of *Orkney*'s Abjuration, which was preſented to the Aſſembly ſigned with his own Hand, and by many Witneſſes, which ordered it to be inſerted in the Records for eternal Memory. " To all and every " one whom it may concern, and to whoſe Knowledge this preſent Deed " may

" may come, particularly to the Reverend and Honourable Members of 1639.
" the General Aſſembly of *Edinburgh*, I Mr. *George Græme*, formerly
" pretended Biſhop of the *Orkneys*, being heartily ſorry and grieved, for
" having, out of worldly Reſpects, embraced the Order of Epiſcopacy,
" which has no Foundation in the Word of God, and which hath had
" many terrible and pernicious Conſequences in many Parts of Chriſten-
" dom, eſpecially in this Church of *Scotland*; I have renounced and ab-
" jured, as by this preſent Declaration I renounce and abjure all Epiſ-
" copal Power and Juriſdiction condemned by the lawful General Aſſem-
" blies of this Church, and likewiſe abjured by Virtue of that National
" Oath, which was taken in the Years 1580, and 1581; and I promiſe
" and ſwear by the great Name of our Lord God, that while I live, I
" never ſhall exerciſe ſuch a Power in this Church, either directly or
" indirectly, and that I never ſhall approve of it, not even in my pub-
" lick or private Converſation; but on the contrary, that I ſhall firmly
" adhere to all the Acts of the General Aſſembly of *Glaſgow* of 1638,
" and ſincerely and faithfully with all my Might contribute upon all
" Occaſions for executing the Acts of that Aſſembly, and advancing the
" Work of the Reformation in this Country, to the Glory of God, the
" Peace of the State, and the Comfort of all good Chriſtians, ſo help
" me God." I have ſaid that this Action is without Example; for though there has been found many Biſhops, who having laboured in the Vineyard during the Heat of the Day, and fed with the Word of God the Flocks, over which the Holy Ghoſt had placed them Biſhops, have imbraced a ſolitary and religious Life, in order to employ the Decline of their Days in ſeriouſly examining their own Conſciences: And that many alſo after having preached the Goſpel to others, have been willing to ſee whether they themſelves were reprobate or not; and to think ſeriouſly of the Account they were to give of the Adminiſtration of their Charge, which, in the Language of the Fathers, ought to make the Angels tremble; yet there is not one to be found, who, at leaving it off, have abjured it as an Office contrary to the Goſpel, and an Order of Antichriſt, which he could not hold with a ſafe Conſcience. And 'tis as prepoſterous from thoſe Examples, to infer any Thing to the Prejudice of Epiſcopacy, as if, from the Retirement of ſome Emperors and Kings, who have ſtripped themſelves of their Purple, in order to put on the Hair-cloath of the Monks, one ſhould conclude ſomething to the Diſadvantage of Royalty, and the Imperial Dignity.

*The Earl opens the Parliament, which being ſoon broke up, he returns to Court, whither the Covenanters ſend Deputies to the King.*

The Aſſembly ended the 30th of *Auguſt*, by a Letter of Thanks to his Majeſt, and appointed another to be held at *Aberdeen* the 20th of *July* 1640. Then the Earl of *Traquaire* opened the Parliament, wherein Affairs became more perplexed and deſperate than ever. The Covenanters complained that they were not fairly dealt with, and that nothing of all that the King had promiſed in the Treaty of Pacification had been performed. On the other Hand, his Majeſty complaining of the Covenanters in much ſtronger Terms, diſowned a Writing which they affirmed truly to contain all the Conditions of the Peace, which the King ordered to be burnt by the Hands of the Hangman of *London*, and ſent Orders to his Commiſſioner to adjourn the Parliament to the 2d of *June* of the following Year. The Earl, according to his Mjeſty's Orders, about the End of *November*, adjourned the Parliament, which in full Aſſembly proteſted againſt that Adjournment; whereupon the Earl in all Haſte went to Court, in order to inform the King of all that had paſſed there, and of the turbulent State of the Kingdom.

About

1639. ABOUT the End of the Year, the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, Primate and Chancellor of *Scotland*, died at *London*, well ſtricken in Years. He had firſt been Parſon of *Calder*, and by his Merit arrived to the higheſt Dignities of the Kingdom. King *James* had employed him in the moſt important Negotiations, after that wiſe Prince had diſcovered his bright Parts, and the great Penetration he had in Affairs. His old Age had not clouded them; for this notable Man, in all his Conduct, preſerved to the laſt, both a ready Wit, and a ſound Judgment. It was the Height of his Happineſs, in the Opinion of Men, to die full of Years and Honour, before he ſaw the Deſolation of his native Country, wherein that of his Family was involved; and to be buried near the King his Maſter, in St. *Peter*'s Church of *Weſtminſter*, the burying Place of the Kings, and where the moſt ſtately Trophies of Death are to be ſeen.

THE Parliament diſpatched after *Traquaire* four Commiſſioners to the King, to wit, the Earls of *Lowdun* and *Dumfermling*, with Mr. *Douglas* and Mr. *Barklay*, the firſt Sheriff of the Shire of *Teviotdale*, and one of the ableſt Men in *Scotland*. Their Inſtructions were, "That they "ſhould not make their Application to the *Engliſh* Council, which had "no Authority over them, but to the King in Perſon, and ſhould aſk "of him Reparation of the Injuries that had been done them ſince the "Pacification. 1. Of the breaking up of the Parliament without their "Conſent, which was an Action for many Ages without Example, and "a manifeſt Breach of their Laws and Liberties, which the King had "newly promiſed to maintain and obſerve in all his Proceedings. 2. Of "the numerous Garriſons, even compoſed of *Engliſh* Soldiers, that had "been put into the Caſtles of *Edinburgh* and *Dumbarton*. 3. That the "*Scots* trading in *England* and *Ireland* were obliged to take an Oath "which condemned their Covenant." The Covenanters to theſe Inſtructions added an ample Declaration, for informing the *Engliſh* of the Matter of their Complaints. But in the Month of *March*, after the Commiſſioners had had Audience of the King, they were arreſted Priſoners. About the ſame Time the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* having held a Parliament in the Month of *January* in that Kingdom, and raiſed four Subſidies, which make a Hundred and ſeventy Thouſand Pounds, came to *England* to be preſent in the Parliament, which the King had appointed to ſit at *London* in the Month of *April*.

*An Accuſation is drawn up againſt the Earl of* Lowdun *upon Account of a Letter written to the King of* France. *And the Parliament of* England *having met, is ſoon diſſolved.*

AS the Time for the meeting of the Parliament drew near, an Accuſation is drawn up againſt the Earl of *Lowdun*, Priſoner in the *Tower*, upon Account of a Letter which the Covenanters had written to the King of *France*, which Letter had been ſigned by this Lord. The Accuſation was, "That the Covenanters riſing up againſt their own King, "had had Recourſe to a foreign Prince for Succour and Aſſiſtance, by "which Means, as much as in them lay, drawing the Arms of *France* "into *Great-Britain*. *Lowdun* anſwered, that the Letter had been writ-"ten in the Month of *May* 1639, when the *Scots* were threatened with "War, and that it was known, that the Ambaſſadors and Reſidents at "the Courts of the neighbouring Princes and States, had repreſented "the Cauſe of the Covenanters as very odious: That their Intention was "to juſtify themſelves to their Allies of what had been laid to their "Charge, and particularly to the moſt Chriſtian King, whoſe Anceſtors "had been the ancient Friends of the *Scots:* That had they neglected "that, they were afraid that by the falſe Reports, which were ſpread

"every

" every where, that Prince might have conceived a bad Opinion of them; 1640.
" and become their Enemy: That the Aſſiſtance they had aſked of him, was
" not by the Means of Arms; though they believed they could do it in a
" preſſing Neceſſity, but of Interceſſion only, that it might pleaſe his
" moſt Chriſtian Majeſty to be their Mediator with the King; and that
" the Letter, rightly conſidered, contained nothing elſe. That though it
" made Mention of Aſſiſtance, yet the ſecret Inſtructions given to their
" Envoy, explained what ſort of Aſſiſtance they wanted: That however
" the Letter may be interpreted, the Style of it did not pleaſe the chief
" Men of the Covenanters; and that they had not reſolved to ſend it:
" That the Direction of the Letter *Au Roy*, with which the Covenanters
" were eſpecially reproached, as if they had acknowledged the King of
" *France* for their Sovereign, was not put by them; but by ſome of their
" Enemies, after the Letter was forced out of their Hands: That in fine,
" the Thing having been done before the Treaty of Pacification, and the
" Act of Oblivion, it ought no more be mentioned."

This artful and bold Anſwer put a Stop to any farther Proceeding in this Affair, which came to nothing; though the King touched upon it at the opening of the Parliament of *England*, which was on the 13th of *April*, in order to ſhew the Neceſſity he was under of having Recourſe again to Arms, for chaſtiſing this Diſloyalty of the Covenanters. " But
" they immediately wrote an ample Apology to the Parliament, and gave
" them a brotherly Advice to be careful, as well to maintain their Laws
" and Liberties, as to beware of the Counſel of thoſe wicked Politicians,
" who had not deſired the meeting of the Parliament for any other End,
" but to put Arms in the King's Hands againſt the Subjects of *Scotland*,
" and by that War to ruin, or at leaſt to reduce all the People of the
" two Nations to the Condition of the moſt wretched Slaves: That after
" ſo many Diſſolutions of the Parliament of *England*, this preſent Meet-
" ing was not made with a Deſign to redreſs the Diſorders of the State,
" and remedy the Miſchiefs which the People ſuffered, but to be domi-
" neered over, and kept under by a prevailing Faction, who would leave
" them no Means poſſible for recovering themſelves, if they did not op-
" poſe it with great Steddineſs and Reſolution: That there was juſt Cauſe
" to ſuſpect ſome pernicious Deſign, when, at the very Time that the
" Parliament in *Scotland* was put off from Time to Time, though the
" Prince had promiſed that it ſhould ſit, one was granted in *England*,
" where it was not expected, and another forced upon *Ireland*, where it
" was not deſired."

It was ſtrongly debated in Parliament, if, before all other Things, they ought not to gratify the King in the Demand he had made of a Supply for carrying on a War againſt the Covenanters. The Houſe of Lords was for the Affirmative; but the Commons ſtiffly oppoſed it, and the Reaſon they gave was, that the ancient Cuſtom of Parliaments was, firſt to enter upon redreſſing the Grievances of the Subjects, before any Supply was granted: And that the Power of levying Money for the Maintainance of ſome Men of War in the Channel, which his Majeſty promiſed to part with for Supplies, was not acknowledged by Parliament for a royal Prerogative, but an Impoſition contrary to all the Laws.

The King promiſed them, that all the Grievances, of which they complained, ſhould be redreſſed, but would have them to conſider, that if they delayed giving him a good Sum of Money, the Summer would be

1640. ſpent, and ſo he ſhould loſe the fair Opportunity he had of bringing the Covenanters to Reaſon. But to that ſeveral of the Houſe replied, that it was not reaſonable that the People ſhould contribute of their Money, for carrying on a War, of which they were not the Cauſe, which they had not deſired, and which even could not be ſucceſsful, but to the Detriment of the whole Kingdom: That on the contrary the People would contribute of their Eſtates much more willingly, to prevent the ſo many Miſchiefs, whereof this War was the Cauſe, and to puniſh thoſe, who by Means thereof, diſturbed the publick Tranquillity. Whereupon the King having taken Advice of his Council, ſent to make this Propoſal to the Parliament; that his Majeſty demanded twelve Subſidies, each of which amounted to fifty Thouſand Pounds, upon granting of which his Majeſty would be ſo good as to put a Stop to the levying of that Money which made ſo much Noiſe.

The Meſſenger was ordered not to inſiſt upon having preciſely twelve Subſidies; but to be contented with the half. However, he acted quite contrary to what was expected of him, and to what he had been ordered to do; for he told the Parliament, that the King would abſolutely have twelve Subſidies, for which he was willing to part with his Right that was controverted. They forthwith rejected the Propoſition, as a Thing they would by no Means conſent to, and the Meſſenger having reported the Anſwer to the King, his Majeſty, who aſſuredly believed that he had followed his Inſtructions, was nettled that they had refuſed ſo reaſonable a Propoſition; the 5th of *May* he went to the Houſe of Lords, ſent for the Commons, and diſſolved the Parliament, proteſting, however, with Words full of Sweetneſs, that in all the Courſe of his Government, he ſhould have no leſs Regard for the Laws, when no Parliament was ſitting, than if it were ſtill in Being.

As ſoon as the Parliament was up, a Paper was poſted up at the *Royal-Exchange* of *London*, containing Things very dangerous and tending to Sedition, in order to ſtir up the Prentices of the City, who frequently commit great Inſolence there, to go and ſet Fire to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*'s Palace at *Lambeth*, juſt over againſt *Whitehall*, on the other Side of the River. This Deſign, in ſome Meaſure, had its Effect; for on the 8th of *May* about Midnight, that Palace was attacked by above five Hundred of the meaner ſort of People; but it was ſo well defended, that the Palace ſuffered no Damage. The Archbiſhop cauſed it to be fortified afterwards, and planted with Cannon for its Defence: For they never left off ſpreading abroad Libels againſt him, and threatning to kill him, though one of the Accomplices had been torn in Pieces with four Horſes in *Southwark*. The Count *de Rozetti* run ſome Riſk at this Time, and ſoon after retired out of the Kingdom. He had ſucceeded Maſter *Con*, a *Scots* Gentleman of great Learning and eminent Virtue, who had been the Pope's *Nuncio* reſiding with the Queen, and who died at *Rome* when the Pope was upon the Point of making him a Cardinal.

At the ſame Time that the Parliament was opened at *Weſtminſter*, by the King's Permiſſion, the Clergy aſſembled in St. *Paul*'s Church, the Cathedral of *London*, and made ſeveral Canons for maintaining his Majeſty's Supremacy, for ſuppreſſing the Catholick Religion, Socinianiſm, and the Sectaries. They likewiſe made ſome for the Uniformity of the publick Worſhip, and drew up an Oath that all the Eccleſiaſticks were to take, whereby they obliged themſelves to acknowledge, that the Doctrine of the Communion of

of *England* contained all Things neceſſary for Salvation, and that its Government by Biſhops and Archbiſhops ought not to be altered; but, on the contrary, that it ought to be maintained in the State it was in. They likewiſe promiſed never to propagate, either directly or indirectly, any Popiſh Doctrine in the Church of *England*, nor, at any Time, to endeavour to ſubject it to the Church of *Rome*. This Oath and the Canons were authorized by the King's Letters Patent, and his Majeſty approved of all that had been done in the Convocation. 1640.

Among the Biſhops, *Godfrey Goodman*, Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, refuſed to take the Oath, for which he was ſuſpended, and put in Priſon: But he afterwards followed the Example of his Brethren, and the Suſpenſion being taken off, he was ſet at Liberty. But the Convocation having continued ſitting after the Parliament had been diſſolved, as a new one was called in the Month of *November*, the ſitting of the Convocation after that Time was judged to be contrary to Law; the Canons were annulled, and the Biſhops, with the inferior Clergy, were condemned to pay great Fines.

*The Covenanters hearing that the Parliament of* England *had been diſſolved, raiſe Forces, beſiege and take the Caſtle of* Edinburgh, *and ſome other Places that held out for the King.*

The Covenanters hearing that the Parliament of *England* had been diſſolved in the Month of *May*, and being told beſides, that their Proceedings in the Parliament, begun by the Earl of *Traquaire*, were taxed with Rebellion, without their being heard: That the Commiſſioners they had ſent to Court had been made Priſoners: That their Ships were arreſted in the Ports of *England* and *Ireland:* That Preparations were making in thoſe two Kingdoms for making War againſt them, which had been already declared: That the Parliament of *Ireland* had declared them Rebels: And that in their Sight the Garriſon of the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* committed Acts of Hoſtility upon the City and its Inhabitants; they judged it very neceſſary for them, not to ſpend any more Time idly without minding their own Security, and as the Time for the meeting of the Parliament drew near, they reſolved to call it for giving the neceſſary Orders about the Preſervation of the Kingdom in this preſſing Neceſſity of their Affairs. They did not neglect betimes to levy Troops, and, impatient of being kept in Awe by the Garriſon of the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, they blocked up that Caſtle, which General *Ruthven*, Earl of *Forth* and *Brentford*, who had ſerved in the Wars of *Germany* with great Honour till he was well grown in Years, held for the King.

The Caſtle of *Edinburgh* is ſituate at the Weſt End of the City, upon a Rock of a round Figure, which looks as if Nature had made it for that Purpoſe. The Rock is above forty Fathom high, and ſteep on the South and North Sides. They go up to it from the Town by a great Winding, where there are three Gates well fortified, at thirty Paces Diſtance one from another, and the Weſt Side of the Rock falls ſhelving inſenſibly, and loſeth itſelf in the Plain. The Top of it is very ſpacious, the Wall that ſurrounds it being above ſix Hundred Fathoms about. Towards the Town there is a large Platform, mounted with above twenty Pieces of great Braſs Canon, always pointed againſt the Town and the Port of *Leith*, beſides a great Number of other fine Pieces in the Magazines. Behind this Platform are the Apartments of the Caſtle, which are very noble and magnificent. At the firſt Gate there is a great Spur well lined with hewn Stone, upon which there are ſeveral ſmall Pieces of Cannon, alſo pointed againſt the Town; however, the Governour was intended to have razed it, becauſe of the great Number of Men that was requiſite

1640 requiſite to guard it. At the Foot of the Rock towards the North, there is a Spring which makes a little Lake, that ſerves both for a Wall and Ditch to one third Part of the Town, the reſt being ſurrounded with only a ſimple Wall without Ditch. The Governor, at the beginning of the Blocade, which was in the Month of *May*, gave a very hot Alarm to the Town, which he could have annoyed more than he did. Above all he could level his Cannon exactly againſt the Steeple of the great Church of St. *Giles*, which is built in the Form of the Pope's triple Crown, and is one of the fineſt in *Europe*. The Companies of the Tradeſmen of the City had cauſed it to be built, and they ſaved it from the Fury of the Mob, at the Time that the firſt Reformers puſhed them on to deſtroy all the Monuments of the Piety of their Forefathers.

*The Covenanters beſiege the Caſtle of* Edinburgh.

THE Covenanters, in order to ſhelter themſelves from the Fire of the Caſtle, raiſed Intrenchments of Earth and Dung in the great Street, which makes the Length of the Town, and is very broad; and having cauſed ſome Houſes that were neareſt the Caſtle to be filled with the ſame Stuff, they raiſed two Batteries againſt that of the Caſtle, which battered the Town. They ſet up ſeveral others, one at the Corner of the great Church-yard, near *Hariot*'s ſtately Hoſpital, whoſe Founder was Jeweller to King *James*, and another beyond the Lake, in the Place called the Long-gate*. But that which did greateſt Harm to the Garriſon, was raiſed behind the Caſtle near St. *Cuthbert*'s Church, to which the Soldiers were moſt expoſed. At laſt having made Lines of Communication between the Batteries, they ſummoned the Governor to ſurrender, promiſing him honourable Terms. But he, who was intirely attached to the King's Intereſt, anſwered them, "That he could not ſurrender the Caſtle "without his Majeſty's Orders, who had intruſted him with it; never"theleſs that he ſhould live peaceably with them, provided they com"mitted no Act of Hoſtility, and raiſed their Blocade." The Covenanters, not content with this Anſwer, and reſolving at any Rate to have the Caſtle, Colonel *Alexander Hamilton*, who did the Duty of Maſter of the Ordnance, and who underſtood it wonderfully well, undertook to get under the Spur, by ſapping, where having ſprung a Mine, which had great Effect, Captain *Weddal* attacked it with ſixty Men, but they had no ſooner mounted the Breach, than a Cannon loaded with Cartridge Shot being fired, laid twenty of them dead upon the Spot, and the Captain himſelf having had one of his Thighs broke, tumbled headlong from the Top of the Breach. The reſt, not able to bear the Fire of the Caſtle, threw themſelves down after their Leader, and at the ſame Time ſome Muſketeers of the Garriſon lodged themſelves behind the Breach, which they repaired the Night following with Paliſadoes.

* *Way.*

THE Covenanters attempted no more to take the Caſtle by Storm, but knowing that Proviſions began to fall ſhort in it, they hoped to have it ſoon by Famine. By that Means they had made themſelves Maſters of the Caſtle of *Dumbarton*; for Colonel *John Henderſon*, the Earl of *Forth*'s Brother-in-Law, who commanded within, had been forced to ſurrender, becauſe he and all the Soldiers of the Garriſon having ate nothing for many Days but Salt Meat, had taken the Scurvy. The Covenanters upon this Surrender deſired the Earl to follow the Example of his Brother-in-Law, and becauſe he could not believe that the Caſtle of *Dumbarton* had been given up, they ſent the Colonel to him in a Litter, who told him all that had paſſed. Whereupon the Governor, by that judging it would be in vain to expect Relief, made a honourable Capitulation,

tulation, and in the Month of *September* marched out of the Caſtle at the Head of his Garriſon, with Drums beating, Colours flying, and Balls in their Mouth. From thence he was conducted to *Berwick*, where having refreſhed for ſome Days, he went to wait upon the King, who made him Captain of his Guards. About the ſame Time the Caſtles of *Carlavrock* and *Thraive*, the one at the Mouth of the River of *Nyth*, in the Shire of *Nithſdale*, and the other in an Iſland near the Mouth of the *Dee*, in the Stewardry of *Kirkudbright*, fell into the Hands of the Covenanters by the ſame Means. The Earl of *Nithſdale* defended the firſt with great Reſolution, and upon this, as well as upon all other Occaſions, gave ſignal Proofs both of his Courage and Zeal for the Service of the King, his Maſter. 1640.

*The Parliament of* Scotland *meets without the King's Order, changes the ancient Form, ratifies the Covenant, with the Acts of the Aſſembly of* Edinburgh, *and eſtabliſheth the* Committee.

In the mean Time the Parliament having met in *Scotland* the 11th of *June*, without the King's ſending a Commiſſioner to it, the Lord *Burly* was choſen Preſident of it. No Eccleſiaſticks went there, but the Parliament having aboliſhed the Diſtinction of Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and having annulled all the Acts as well of the Parliaments held under King *James*, as of the Council and Court of Seſſions for the Biſhops, Abbots, and Priors having Acceſs and Seat, they declared that the Lords, Gentlemen, and Burgeſſes of the Towns compoſed the three Eſtates of the Kingdom, and that their Commiſſioners now, and in all Time coming were, and ſhould be the lawful Meeting of the Parliament, which hath full Power to determine all Things that concern the publick Good of the Kingdom.

Then the Parliament confirmed and ratified the Covenant with all the Acts of the General Aſſembly of *Edinburgh*. It likewiſe ordained, that all the Pariſhes, of which the Biſhops had been Patrons, ſhould hereafter be provided by the Preſbyteries, and that their Vaſſals ſhould run no Riſk in not having done their Homage, ſince the firſt of *April* 1638, until the Parliament had taken Care of that for the Time to come. But becauſe the King had declared in his Manifeſto's, that the Meetings and Leagues of the Covenanters were contrary to the Statutes of Queen *Mary* and King *James*, the Parliament declared, that thoſe Statutes did not mean Leagues, or Covenants, and Meetings made for the King's Security, and the Defence of Religion, the Laws, and Liberties of the Kingdom; ſo that all the Meetings that they had had ſince the Troubles, having been held for no other End, they ought to be looked upon as commendable and lawful: But, on the contrary, that many Proclamations publiſhed by the King, commanding under the Pain of Rebellion Things both unjuſt and unlawful, as well to the Prejudice of the Reformation of Religion, as of their Liberties, againſt which the Covenanters had formerly proteſted, were void and null. For which Cauſe, the Parliament made void thoſe Proclamations, with the Orders of Council for publiſhing them, and declared, that no Perſon could be reputed a Rebel, but by the Sentence of Parliament, or of the Judges Ordinaries, after having been convicted of having tranſgreſſed againſt the Laws, which ordain, or forbid ſome Thing under the Pain of Rebellion.

This ſame Parliament ordained for the Liberty of the Country, that the Governours of the Caſtles of *Edinburgh*, *Dumbarton*, and *Stirling*, ſhould be named by the King with the Advice of the Parliament, or of the Council, if the Parliament was not ſitting: And that thoſe Governors

1640. could not hold the Governments, but till the next Parliament, at which Time the King ſhould confirm them in that Poſſeſſion, or put other Perſons in their Places with the Advice of the Parliament, without Prejudice, however, to the Earl of *Mar*'s hereditary Conſtableſhip of the Caſtle of *Stirling*. After many Acts which this Parliament made for the Civil Government, and the Subſiſtance of the Army, another was made for triennial Parliaments, and for a *Committee*, which, being compoſed of ſome Number of the three Eſtates, ſhould always ſit, and be divided into two Parts, one of which ſhould be with the Army, and the other at *Edinburgh*, or elſewhere, according to the Exigence of Affairs. Beſides, it was ordained, that this Committee ſhould have full Power in the Government of the State, and in the Orders of the War, without Prejudice to the Court of Seſſions, and the other inferior Courts of Juſtice eſtabliſhed in the Kingdom. At laſt the Parliament having cauſed a Writing to be drawn up, in order to be ſigned by all, whereby they obliged themſelves to acknowledge this meeting of Parliament for a free and lawful meeting, and with all their Might to maintain the Acts therein made, as well for the good of Religion and the State, as for the Honour and Safety of the King's Perſon, it was adjourned to the 19th of *November* following.

*The King orders his Army to rendezvous at* York, *and the Covenanters determine to march theirs into* England.

DURING the ſitting of the Parliament a good Army was raiſed, and the Covenanters having determined in their ſecret Council to march it into *England*, and to publiſh two Manifeſto's declaring the Reaſons of their Deſign, and diſcovering their Intention to the *Engliſh*, the greateſt Part of whom they knew wiſhed no Harm, either to their Cauſe or Perſons; General *Leſly* ordered the Rendezvous to be at *Dunce*, whither the Army marched, compoſed of between ſeventeen and eighteen Thouſand Men, the Earl of *Callender* being Lieutenant General of it. The King had cauſed the Towns of *Berwick*, *Newcaſtle*, and *Hull* to be provided with all Sorts of Ammunition and Proviſion; and as ſoon as he was informed of the Deſign of the Covenanters, he ordered a Fleet to ſail to the Coaſt of *Scotland*, in order to put a Stop to their Commerce. The King having afterwards ordered his Land Forces to rendezvous at *York*, appointed the Earl of *Strafford* Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, to be Commander in Chief of them, though the Earl of *Northumberland*, who could not be there, becauſe of his Indiſpoſition, had been declared Generaliſſimo from the beginning of the Levies.

*A General Aſſembly meets at* Aberdeen.

THE Cares of the War did not hinder the Covenanters from holding their yearly General Aſſembly at *Aberdeen*, which being opened the 28th of *July*, without any Commiſſioner from the King, *Andrew Ramſay* was choſen Moderator of it. Nothing of any Moment was decreed anew, only an Order was given to demoliſh every Thing that they thought looked like the Remains of Idolatry, ſuch as Crucifixes, and the Images of *Jeſus Chriſt*, of the bleſſed Virgin, or of Saints, which in many Places had ſtill remained intire, particularly in the North Country; ſo that the Aſſembly having appointed another to be held at St. *Andrews* the 20th of *July* 1641, and ordered the Moderator to deſire the King's Council to intreat his Majeſty to ſend a Commiſſioner there on his Part, this broke up on the 5th of *Auguſt* 1640.

THE Noiſe of Arms called People elſewhere, and the Time for marching the Army towards the Borders and entering *England* drew near. This Invaſion diſpleaſed the Marquis of *Montroſe*. He had obſerved, that when

when they were deliberating upon it, thoſe who gave their Opinion a- 1640.
gainſt that Deſign put the reſt to a Nonplus, whether it was that the Affair had not been well concerted, or that the Strength of their Reaſons did not admit of a Reply. In his Opinion the Covenanters had gone too far, and he thought that they could not juſtify their Proceedings like good Subjects. Whereupon the Marquis reſolved within himſelf to leave them, and by ſubmitting to the King, to adhere for ever to his Intereſt. But becauſe all the Kingdom was ſtrictly united and combined together, and that there appeared not one ſingle Man in it who declared for the King by quitting the Intereſt of the Covenant, the Marquis did not think it fit to break with them all at once; on the contrary, he found, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to temporize a little, in order quietly to undeceive his Friends, who were ingaged as well as himſelf among the Covenanters. He had two Regiments of Foot and one of Horſe in the Army, and his moſt truſty Friends had five or ſix there. This was ſufficient to make a conſiderable Party, whereby, if they had been as reſolute as he, the Covenanters Deſign would have been ſtifled in the Bud, and the Storm that was ready to fall upon their Neighbours would have been diſpelled.

The Marquis happened to be at *Edinburgh* about ſome Affairs, when it was ſolemnly concluded in the Committee of the Army, that they ſhould march into *England* as ſoon as poſſible. At his returning, the Covenanters were willing upon his Account to take the Matter again under Deliberation. He ſeemingly gave his Vote with the reſt, and pretending to approve of the Reſolution that had been taken, ſuffered himſelf to be carried away with the Violence of the Stream, which would have ſwallowed him up, if he had made the leaſt Shew of oppoſing it. The Army being thus incouraged by this Unamity of Opinion, decamped from *Dunce*, and advanced to the Banks of the River of *Tweed*. The Regiments drew Lots which ſhould paſs it firſt, which fell to the Marquis's Lot, who paſſed the River at the Head of his Foot on the 21ſt of *Auguſt*, and all the Army followed.

The Covenanters met with no Oppoſition till they came to *Newburn*, about ſix Miles from *Newcaſtle*, whither the Earl of *Strafford* had detached my Lord *Conway* with twenty five Hundred Horſe, and one Thouſand Foot, to hinder the Covenanters from paſſing the River of *Tyne*. But it was not much diſputed, for though the royal Cavalry charged the Covenanters with a great deal of Vigour, yet the Infantry, which had come to the War againſt their Will, having fled, the Cavalry gave Ground, and left the Paſſage to the Enemy. There were but few killed on either Side: But the Covenanters took three of the moſt gallant Officers Priſoners, Colonel *Wilmot*, Sir *John Digby*, and *Oneal*, an *Iriſh* Gentleman; the two laſt were Captains of the light Horſe. This Battle was fought on the 28th of *Auguſt*, and opened the wealthy Town of *Newcaſtle* to the Covenanters, who, ſome Days after, put a Garriſon into *Durham*, commanded by Major General *Bailly*; and having taken a Fort upon the *Tyne* below *Newcaſtle*, they made themſelves Maſters of ſome Ships that had been loaded with Corn for the King's Army.

About this Time ſome Troops of the Garriſon of *Berwick* having had Advice that the Covenanters had left great Store of Ammunition in the ſmall Town of *Dunce*, which boaſts of the Birth of the *Doctor Subtilis*, ſallied out in order to carry it off; but having found the Place bet-

ter

1640. ter fortified than they imagined, they were repulſed with Loſs, and purſued by the Earl of *Haddington*, who then commanded that frontier Town for the Covenanters. But ſoon after that Lord, one of the beſt accompliſhed Gentlemen of all the Kingdom, was unhappily cruſhed, with his two Brothers, under the Ruins of the Caſtle of *Dunglas*, Fire having been put to the Powder in the Cellars, either through Careleſneſs, or maliciouſly by one of that Earl's Pages, and he was generally regreted by every body.

*The King ſummons the* Engliſh *Nobility and Gentry to meet him at* York, *where he receives one Petition from the Covenanters, and another ſigned by a great many of the* Engliſh *Nobility.*

In the mean Time, the King, by publick Proclamation, had ordered all the *Engliſh* Nobility and Gentry to repair to *York*, with their Vaſſals in Arms under his Standard the 20th of *September*. As his Majeſty had gone thither in Perſon, the Covenanters preſented to him a Petition, which contained many Proteſtations of their Fidelity, and of the Innocence of their Intentions in thus entering *England*. But the King having found their Expreſſions too general, wrote to the Earl of *Lenrik*, Secretary of State for *Scotland*, to get them more particularly to ſpecify their Demands. As they were about that, a Letter was ſent to the King ſigned by twenty Earls and Barons of *England*, "Wherein they repreſented to "his Majeſty the deplorable State of the Kingdom, and the Miſchiefs "that attended this War. They particularly took Notice of the Danger "of his Perſon, the waſting of the royal Treaſure, the Oppreſſion of his "Subjects, and the Rapine committed by his Army, where the Papiſts, "and others ill affected to Religion, had Command, though the Laws "did not allow them ſo much as to keep Arms in their own Houſes. "To this they added the dangerous Effects that his Majeſty's Deſign of "calling the *Iriſh* and Foreign Troops into *England* would produce, if "he perſiſted in it; the Monopolies which ruined Commerce; the Tax "for the Guard Ships*; the Complaints of all his Subjects of the long "Diſcontinuance of Parliaments, and of the Diſſolution of the former "Meetings without any Effect. In order to remedy which, they moſt "humbly begged of his Majeſty to call a Parliament as ſoon as poſſible, "but with all Freedom, that the Differences betwixt him and his Sub-"jects might be there accommodated without the ſhedding of Blood, and "decided to his Majeſty's Honour, and the Comfort of all his People." By the Word *Monopolies* they meant, as well the Duties laid without any Neceſſity upon ſeveral Commodities, the Profit of which accrued to ſome private Men, as the Liberty given to ſome others only to vend certain Goods, which too much confined the Freedom of Commerce, to the great Diſcontent of the People. And as to the Ship Money, which afforded Matter of Complaint to many of the Nobility, even becauſe of the Conſequence, they meant that Sum of Money, which the Kings of *England* were wont in Time of War to levy chiefly upon the Maritime Towns, as the moſt concerned, and proportionally upon all the other Parts of the Kingdom, for maintaining a certain Number of Men of War for guarding the Coaſt. Now, at that Time the King's Officers levied immenſe Sums for that End, which was pretended to be employed for quite other Purpoſes; but it was without any Ground; for beſides that the King offered to make his Officers account for it, he did not ſtick to demonſtrate, that theſe Sums were not ſufficient for maintaining the Ships, and that he was obliged to iſſue Money out of the Treaſury beſides.

* *Ship Money.*

The King having received this Petition, the 24th of *September* he convened all the Lords at *York*, where having declared to them; that of his own Accord, he had determined to call a Parliament at *London*

the 3d of *November* following, he aſked their Advice about what Anſwer he ſhould give the Covenanters, and how he might with Honour treat with thoſe who had invaded *England:* And to make them underſtand the whole State of the Affair, he ordered the Earl of *Traquaire*, who had been his laſt Commiſſioner in *Scotland*, to give an Account of all that had paſſed there ſince the beginning of the Troubles. The King deſired likewiſe that they would fall upon Means for ſubſiſting his Army, till the Subſidies ſhould be raiſed by Parliament. The Lords, after having propoſed many Overtures, concluded with this, that his Majeſty would be pleaſed to give full Power to ſixteen of them, for treating and agreeing with the Covenanters about Conditions of Peace: Which the King having granted, the Covenanters were deſired to depute a like Number of their Nobility, to whom an ample ſafe Conduct was ſent. 1640.

*The Treaty of Rippon.*

All theſe Commiſſioners from both Sides being met at *Rippon*, the Earl of *Lowdun* ſpoke for the Covenanters, and the Earl of *Briſtol* for the *Engliſh*. The moſt Part of the Demands on each Side, were agreed to without much Difficulty; but it ſeemed harſh to the *Engliſh*, having their own Army to maintain, that the Covenanters ſhould at the ſame Time demand Money of them for the Payment of their Army. However thoſe *Engliſh* Lords, having the Peace of the two Kingdoms much at Heart, which at any Rate they had a Mind to bring about, agreed to that Demand of the Covenanters, and ſettled theſe Articles with them. 1. "That "there ſhould be a Truce and Ceſſation of Arms for two Months. "2. That during the Truce one Thouſand Pounds a Day ſhould be paid "to the Covenanters Army. 3. That in Default of the Payment of that "Sum, the Covenanters might levy it by Force upon the Counties of "*Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, *Weſtmorland*, and the Biſhoprick of *Dur-*"*ham*. 4. That the Covenanters ſhould have theſe Counties for their "Winter Quarters. 5. That no Preparations of War ſhould be made "during the Truce. 6. That private Offences and Injuries ſhould not "break it. 7. That the Merchants might freely traffick in both the "Kingdoms, without having Need of Paſſports, but that the Soldiers "ſhould not be allowed to go without their Quarters."

*The Marquis of* Montroſe *writes to the King.*

While theſe Things were tranſacting between the Commiſſioners of both Nations, the Marquis of *Montroſe* found an Opportunity of writing to the King. He begged of his Majeſty to expect from him all the Duties of a loyal and faithful Subject, and to do him the Favour to believe, that he would never depart from his Obedience. The Covenanters being punctually adviſed of all that paſſed at Court, found Means to get a Copy of his Letter: Whereupon the Marquis being cited before the Committee; General *Leſly* interrogated him with great Haughtineſs, and told him; "That he had ſeen Princes loſe their Heads for Things of leſs Impor-"tance." *Montroſe*, without being concerned, owned the Letter, and having replied boldly; "That to write to the King was not keeping Cor-"reſpondence with an Enemy, but paying his Duty to their Maſter;" with great Reſolution and Addreſs he got clear of this, truly, very tickliſh Affair. The Covenanters had no Mind to diſcover their Anger againſt him, for Fear of a Revolt in the Army, where he had a powerful Party, but which did not anſwer his Expectation: For though many of the Nobility had ſigned an Aſſociation with him, and had bound themſelves to venture their Lives and Fortunes, for maintaining the Religion and royal Authority, with the Liberties of the Kingdom; as alſo for oppoſing with all their Might the Deſigns of ſome particular Men, who, under Colour

1640. of the publick Good, with which they cloked their own Intereſts, had a Mind to command magiſterially in an arbitrary Manner, and to raiſe themſelves above their Equals: Yet ſome of theſe very Men, who had entered into the Aſſociation, diſcovered it, and the reſt having withdrawn from it afterwards, the whole Deſign came to nothing.

*The King opens the Parliament at* London.

AFTER the Truce of *Rippon*, the King left *York*, in order to open the Parliament at *London*, where in the firſt Meeting, he ſignified, that the ſtaying of the Covenanters Army in *England* gave him much Uneaſineſs; and in the ſecond Speech he made to the Parliament the 5th of *November*, he urged them to fall upon Means for turning the Rebels out of the Kingdom: That he was forced to call the Covenanters ſuch, while they ſhould have an Army in a Condition to aſſault this State, though in his Treaty with them, he called them his Subjects, for ſuch they likewiſe were. But though the Parliament took very kindly the Senſe that the King had ſhewn, of what the North of *England* had ſuffered by the Covenanters Army, they had no Thoughts of turning it out of *England*; on the contrary, they very readily gave the neceſſary Orders for its Subſiſtance. At the ſame Time, the Parliament began to attack the chief Officers of the Crown, and the moſt eminent of the Prelates. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* were ſent Priſoners to the Tower of *London*. Doctor *Wren* Biſhop of *Norwich*, was accuſed of High-Treaſon, for having cauſed a great Number of the Puritans of his Dioceſs to retire to *New-England*, becauſe, ſaid they, that he obliged them with too much Rigour to conform themſelves to the Liturgy, and their Eccleſiaſtical Order. They had a Mind likewiſe to attack Sir *John Finch* and Sir *Francis Windebank*, the one Lord Keeper, and the other firſt Secretary of State; but they thinking it more ſafe to juſtify themſelves at a Diſtance, retired out of the Kingdom, the Lord Keeper to *Holland*, and the Secretary to *France*, where he died.

AFTER that the Parliament had cauſed ſuch as they thought guilty to be arreſted, they thought of cauſing Reparation to be made to ſome, who they believed had been unjuſtly perſecuted, and called home three that had been baniſhed, whoſe exemplary Puniſhment had made a great Noiſe. The Affair happened in this Manner. About the ſame Time, *Henry Burton*, a Miniſter, *John Baſtwick*, a Doctor of Phyſick, and *William Pryn*, a Barriſter of *Lincoln's-Inn*, publiſhed very ſcandalous Books againſt the Biſhops, wherein they were not ſatisfied with accuſing them of having introduced many pretended Novelties, as well in Doctrine as Worſhip, and of exerciſing a Juriſdiction contrary to the Laws; but were tranſported with ſo much Paſſion, that, having nothing to reproach them with as to their Perſons, except that they were Biſhops; all the moſt odious Things, that could be imagined againſt Epiſcopacy, were to be found in expreſs Terms in their Writings, for they told plainly; "That the "Hierarchy was *Joſhua*'s accurſed Thing: That the Cathedral Churches "were the high Places, which had not been aboliſhed, and the Concu- "bines with which the Biſhops begot ſacrificing Prieſts: That the Bi- "ſhops were the Members and Offſpring of Antichriſt: That they were "the Corrupters of the Word of God, and Mountebanks of *Rome*. That "the Plague, with which the Kingdom was then afflicted, would not be "at an End till the King had cauſed them to be hanged, as the *Gibeo-* "*nites* cauſed the Sons of *Saul* to be hanged before the Lord. That the "King's Chapel, which the Biſhops deſigned for the Model of all "Churches, might be compared to *Nebuchodonoſor*'s Statue, and *Julian*'s "Altar."

" Altar." The Biſhops, in the Apologies they wrote themſelves, and in thoſe they cauſed to be written, defended themſelves with great Vigour, and ſhewed with profound Learning, that no new Doctrine was publickly taught by their Authority, and that in the Points objected of the perſonal Succeſſion of Biſhops, of Antichriſt, of the Poſſibility of the Law, of Juſtification by Faith and Works, of free Mercy, and of the Power of the ſupreme Magiſtrate, all their publick Doctrine was agreeable to the Confeſſion of Faith, which was drawn up into 39 Articles in a Synod held in the Year 1662, for which Cauſe 'tis commonly called *the Book of Articles.* It was well known, ſaid the Biſhops, that the Puritans ſought by all Means to wreſt and corrupt the Senſe of them, in order to ſupport their own Whims, which they had a Mind ſhould paſs for the publick Doctrine of the Proteſtant Communion of *England*; and that they themſelves being the ſole Authors of all the Novelties, they never left off accuſing all others of them, who were not of their Opinion. 1640.

The Manner of obſerving *Sunday* was the principal Stumbling-Block, and afforded Matter of Complaint to the Puritans; in the firſt Place, that the Biſhops, not content with teaching a falſe Doctrine concerning that holy Day, they had perſuaded the King to make it be prophaned by his Authority. The Occaſion of this Complaint proceeded from two Things pretty extraordinary: One was a Book written by *Theophilus Braburn*, a Miniſter, which he had the Boldneſs to dedicate to the King, wherein he undertook to prove, that the Lord's Day was nothing but an Idol, and that Chriſtians were bound to the Obſervance of the *Jewiſh* Sabbath: The other was the common Opinion of the Puritan Miniſters, who taught, that Men were obliged to keep *Sunday* with the ſame Strictneſs, as the *Jews* were bound to keep the *Sabbath.* Whereupon the Biſhop of *Ely* had Orders from the King to anſwer *Braburn*'s Book, and he demonſtrated plainly, that not only the fourth Commandment, not being purely moral, had ceaſed in its literal Senſe ſince the Goſpel; but alſo that there was not one Commandment in the New Teſtament for the religious Solemnity of *Sunday*, the keeping of which was founded as well upon the Apoſtolical Tradition, as upon the Practice of the univerſal Church, and that innocent Recreations after the divine Service were not forbidden in it. Nevertheleſs the King had a Mind that the People ſhould not be hindered from making Uſe of that Liberty after having aſſiſted at all the Service, and that the Miniſters ſhould not give them any Scruple of Conſcience about it. For that End, he cauſed to be printed, with ſome Modification, the Declaration which King *James* had made upon that Subject in the Year 1617, as he was going to *Scotland.* The King therefore ordered the Biſhops to cauſe it to be read publickly in all the Churches of their Dioceſes. Many Miniſters refuſed to obey, and choſe rather to quit their Miniſtry, than to read the Declaration. But though theſe Miniſters were blamed for being too ſcrupulous, and leaving their Charges too raſhly; yet for all that, the preſſing of the Declaration with Rigour was found Fault with, at a Time when the Biſhops had ſo many better and more important Things to teach the People, who, it ſeems, did not ſtand in Need of having a greater Latitude given them, nor, to uſe the Archbiſhop's Expreſſion upon another Occaſion, to be puſhed on to what they have always abundance of Inclination of themſelves.

In the ſecond Place, they called to Mind the Prohibition which King *James* had made, that young Miniſters ſhould not treat of the Myſteries of

1640. of Predeſtination and Reprobation in their Sermons, it not being allowed to any but the Biſhops and Deans of Chapters to ſpeak of them in publick; and by that Means, ſaid the Puritans, the Efficacy of the Goſpel had been deſtroyed; ſeeing inſtead of preaching it with the Power of the Spirit, no more was required now but to preach moral Exhortations to the People. This Reproach much ſurprized the Biſhops, who wondered that theſe People looked upon the Myſtery of the Croſs, in which the great Apoſtle wiſhed all his Knowledge to be comprehended, and that great Myſtery of Godlineſs, God manifeſted in the Fleſh, to be nothing but moral Diſcourſes, and that they had imagined that the Preachers would have nothing to ſay to the People, if it was not allowed them to enter into the Council of God, and opening the Book ſealed with ſeven Seals, to ſearch into theſe hidden Myſteries, of which the Apoſtle, who had been raviſhed up to the third Heaven, could not ſpeak, without crying out, O the Depth! But that learned Prince thought it was more ſafe to follow the Opinions of St. *Auguſtine* and St. *Proſper*, who held, that it was good ſometimes to conceal ſome Truths, in Conſideration of thoſe who were not capable to comprehend them, becauſe they do not profit but when they are unknown. It was for this Reaſon, that the King, following the Example of his Father, after he had found that the Diſputes about Predeſtination and Grace, were carried on with too much Heat in *England*, and that the two Parties fought with the Proteſtant Confeſſion of Faith, each of them making it favour their own Opinion; in the Year 1628 he made a Declaration, which he ordered to be printed on the Frontiſpiece of the Book of Articles, where both Parties were enjoined to keep to the Grammatical Senſe, and to the Letter of the Confeſſion, without commenting upon it, with a Deſign to make a Faction, and to wrap up all controverted Things, under the general Expreſſions of the holy Scripture, where the Promiſes of God are offered to all Men in general Terms.

THIS was not all, for in the laſt Place, the Puritans charged the Biſhops with a Deſign of crying down the preaching of the Goſpel, as well by the Suppreſſion of Lecturers, as by the Injunction they had made not to preach any more ſecond Sermons on *Sundays*; but only to catechize for half an Hour in the Afternoon, which the Biſhops looked upon to be more uſeful for the Edification of the People, than many Sermons, where the Preachers, neglecting the holy Scriptures, and that ſound Doctrine which keeps up Piety, take a Pride in their Eloquence, and their Knowledge in the *Belles Lettres*, which render the Fruits of the Croſs of *Jeſus Chriſt* uſeleſs. They meant by Lecturers, Miniſters who performed no other Paſtoral Duty but that of preaching. The Biſhops did not look upon them as Members of their Clergy, nor of the Hierarchy of their Communion, the Contrivance of them being owing to a Puritan, named *Travers*, about the End of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign. The Occaſion of it was, as well the Whim of the Puritans, who make all Religion to conſiſt in a continual Preaching, as the Non-reſidence of ſome Parſons, who, by the Laws of *England*, were allowed to hold two Benefices, and who appointed Curates to perform the Duty, but theſe preached very ſeldom; ſo that many zealous People, and beſides, ill affected to Epiſcopacy and the Form of the Prayers of the Liturgy, made Foundations for maintaining Lecturers, and by that Means ſupplying the Defect of the Ordinaries. Theſe Lecturers were extremely deſpiſed by the reſt of the Clergy, who, in jeſting upon them, commonly applied the Fable of the Bat to them; becauſe when the Clergy wanted to have the

Lecturers

Lecturers contribute towards their Taxes, they excuſed themſelves upon the Account of their not having either Title or Benefice, and would paſs for Laicks; and on the other Hand, when the Laicks had a Mind to tax them, they ſhewed their Habits, and pretended to be of the Clergy. This Contempt, however, did not hinder them and the Puritan Miniſters, who always reſided, from getting Poſſeſſion of the Pulpits; whence it came, that when the Epiſcopal Authority was at a low Ebb, the People readily lent a helping Hand to the Suppreſſion of the Liturgy, and the aboliſhing of all the Ceremonies, which are the Hedge of Religion. 1640.

As for the pretended Novelties in the Worſhip, which the Puritans inveighed againſt ſo bitterly, they were as ancient as their Reformation; for Queen *Elizabeth* had ordained, that the People ſhould ſtand up when the Goſpel was reading, and ſhould ſing the *Gloria Patri:* That they ſhould be uncovered and bend the Knee at the Name of *Jeſus:* That the Communion Table ſhould be placed at the upper End of the Quire, and that the Churches ſhould continue in the ſame Condition they were formerly in; ſo that there was no Innovation in the Rails that had been put again in ſome Places, and which were abſolutely neceſſary for preſerving the Reſpect due to thoſe Places. For it was very reaſonable, that in *England*, during the Sermon, the People ſhould be kept from Leaning or Sitting upon thoſe Tables, or upon the Altars that were in the Cathedral Churches, and the royal Chapels; and upon which, for a long Time in the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, the Croſs continued to be placed, which made the Puritans complain, who called the Sign of the Croſs, *the Mark of the Beaſt:* Inſomuch that one of them, named *Parker*, wrote a Book, in order to prove, that the Sign of the Croſs was a Tranſgreſſion of all the Commandments of God. 'Tis alſo true, that during that Princeſs's Reign, the People, in receiving the Sacrament, turned towards the Eaſt, and in entering the Churches bowed towards the Place where the Communion Table ſtood, which they looked upon to be the moſt holy. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, on the 14th of *June* 1637, making a Speech in the Star-Chamber, in Favour of this Ceremony, ſaid: That the Altar was the Place upon Earth where God made his moſt peculiar Reſidence, nay, much more than in the Pulpit; for at the moſt there was nothing there, but *This is my Word*; but upon the holy Table, *This is my Body*; and as more Reverence is due to the Body of our Lord, than to his Word, ſo more is due to the Throne where his Body moſtly repoſeth, than to the Seat of his Word. Then directing his Diſcourſe to the Knights of the Garter, he told them, That they were obliged to join with the Biſhops in maintaining this Ceremony, laying before them, that as *Henry* V. aſſiſted at the Solemnity of that illuſtrious Order after his returning from *France*, where he had for a long Time made War, he was ſurprized to ſee, that the Knights in going to the Offering, made a profound Reverence before the King's Chair, which had not been as yet practiſed; and having aſked the Duke of *Bedford*, his Brother, the Reaſon of it, he anſwered the King, that it had been ſo ordered by the Knights, in a Chapter they had held three Years before. Whereupon the King ordered, that for the future the Knights ſhould make him no Reverence, till they had firſt made it with great Humility before the Altar, in the ſame Manner as the Churchmen did it.

Lastly, as for that Calumny, that the Biſhops uſurped his Majeſty's ſupreme Authority in their Eccleſiaſtical Courts, in diſpatching

1640. every Thing there in their own Names, and under their Seals, they grounded that upon what paſſed in the Minority of *Edward* VI. when ſome Perſons, Enemies of Epiſcopacy, aſſociated themſelves with ſome Lords who favoured the Deſign of aboliſhing Epiſcopacy, in order to appropriate the Revenues of the Biſhops to themſelves. Theſe therefore perſuaded that Prince's Council, to ordain, that whatſoever ſhould be done in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts ſhould be in the King's Name, and under his Seal bearing his Arms. Which occaſioned, that though theſe Courts acted in that Manner with Reſpect to Matrimonial, and other mixed Cauſes, yet Excommunication, and the other Cenſures, purely Spiritual, were no longer in Uſe, it being abſurd to pretend to fulminate Excommunication in the King's Name; ſo that the wicked no more were afraid of the Cenſures of the Church, were hardened in their Sins, and became impenitent. The Clergy complaining of this Abuſe, and Biſhop *Latimer* preaching before the King at *Weſtminſter* in the Year 1550, he conjured him to reſtore to the Church that Power which *Jeſus Chriſt* had left it, which, however, was not done during his Reign: But Queen *Mary* repealed *Edward*'s Order, which was never renewed, though both Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James* took the Title of ſupreme Governour in all Things, and over all Perſons both Eccleſiaſtical and Secular. The Biſhops, however, did not fail to maintain ſtill, that they had their Juriſdiction immediately from *Jeſus Chriſt*, acknowledging nevertheleſs, that they could not exerciſe it within the King's Dominions, but with his Majeſty's good Will and Pleaſure.

THE Authors of theſe defamatory Libels were cited before the Court of High Commiſſion, and put in different Priſons, where they remained until the Cauſe was brought before the Star-Chamber, which took Cognizance of Crimes againſt the State. This Court not entering into a full Examination of the Affair, inſiſted only upon this, that theſe Men had written againſt Things eſtabliſhed by Authority, and condemned them to have their Ears cut off in the Pillory, which was executed in *New Palace-Yard* the laſt Day of *June* 1637. They were afterwards ſent Priſoners to the Iſlands of *Silley*, *Guernſey*, and *Jerſey*. But as ſoon as the Parliament was met at *London* in 1640, theſe three Priſoners were ſent for by Order of the two Houſes, and made their Entry into *London*, accompanied by a vaſt Crowd of People, all carrying Branches of Roſemary and Lawrel in their Hats, for a Token of their Joy. This Action of the People in their Favour, was differently ſpoken of at that Time, ſome highly blaming it as ſcandalous and ſeditious, done in Contempt of the royal Authority, and to put an Affront upon Juſtice; others abhorring the Rigour of the Puniſhment that had been inflicted upon theſe Men, took this Mark of the Peoples Affection, for a Preſage of the Suppreſſion of the Courts of High Commiſſion and Star-Chamber, as it happened ſix Months after. The Parliament having afterwards taken the Affair under Conſideration, repealed the Sentence that had been given againſt theſe Libel Scriblers, and reſtoring them to their Employments, ordered that, for Reparation of the Injuries they had ſuffered, they ſhould receive out of the Eſtates of the Archbiſhop, and of thoſe of the other Members of the Courts of High Commiſſion and Star-Chamber, to wit, *Burton* ſix Thouſand Pounds, *Pryn* and *Baſtwick* five Thouſand each.

*The Treaty removed to* London. NOW, the King having removed the Treaty of Peace to *London*, which was begun at *Rippon* by a Suſpenſion of Arms, the Parliament ratified

fied his Majeſty's Commiſſion given under the great Seal to the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners the 23d of *November*, for concluding the Treaty with the Commiſſioners of *Scotland*, who repaired thither the 20th of the ſame Month, with their Power ſigned by the Committee of the Parliament at *Newcaſtle* and *Edinburgh* the 30th of *October* and 4th of *November*. At the ſame Time, the Parliament of *Scotland* having been adjourned to the 20th of *November*, it met at *Edinburgh*, and the Lord *Burly* having been choſen Preſident as before, it was again adjourned to the 4th of *January*, and then at the King's Deſire to the 15th of *July*. In the mean Time, the Commiſſioners of the two Nations, having prolonged the Truce, which was to end the 16th of *December*, entered upon a Conference. Their Treaty laſted till a great Part of the following Year was ſpent, becauſe at the ſame Time, the Parliament of *England* was, with great Heat, taken up with the Trial of the Earl of *Strafford*, Priſoner in the *Tower*. 1640.

THE Covenanters, firſt of all, preſented this Declaration; "That "though, as his Majeſty's moſt faithful and dutiful Subjects, they ac- "knowledged, that they depended intirely upon him their ſovereign Lord, "whether he made his Reſidence in *Scotland* or in *England*; and though "they had a Reſpect for the Parliament of *England*, as by the Intereſt "of Nature and Religion they were bound: Yet as they were perſuaded "that the Parliament of *England*, at preſent had not the leaſt Thought "of incroaching upon that of *Scotland*, or of attempting any Thing "upon its Laws and Liberties; ſo they were deſirous to inform Stran- "gers and Poſterity, of the Nature of this Treaty, who might draw "ſome bad Conſequence from it, becauſe of the coming of the *Scots* to "the Parliament of *England*. Therefore they declared, that neither by "this Treaty with the *Engliſh*, nor by the Deſire they had of having "the Articles of it confirmed by their Parliament, nor by any Deed "whatſoever, did they mean to depend upon it in the leaſt, much leſs "to make it judge of their Perſons or Laws, or to do any Thing that "might occaſion the leaſt Prejudice to their Liberties. That they had "come only to treat freely and brotherly, in order to join with them in "all that might forward the Good and Peace of the two Kingdoms; as "if, upon the Account of the King's Reſidence in *Scotland*, *Engliſh* Com- "miſſioners went there on the like Occaſion." 1641. *The Covenanters preſent a Declaration of the Independency of* Scotland.

THEN the Covenanters gave in their Demands, which were all granted them, without any Modification that could give them the leaſt Ground of Complaint: For it was determined; "That the Acts of the Parlia- "ment held in the Month of *June* 1640, ſhould be publiſhed in the "King's Name, by the Advice of the Parliament, in order to have the "Force of Laws: That the Governments of the Caſtles of *Edinburgh* "and *Dumbarton*, with the other Fortreſſes of the Kingdom, ſhould be "given by the Advice of the Parliament, for the Defence and Security "of the Country: That all thoſe, who, on Account of the Covenant, "had been made Priſoners in *England* or *Ireland*, and whoſe Goods had "been confiſcated, ſhould be ſet at Liberty, and have their Goods re- "ſtored them: That the *Scots*, who ſhould hereafter traffick in thoſe "Kingdoms, ſhould not be moleſted in any Manner whatſoever, for ha- "ving ſigned the Covenant, and ſhould not be obliged to take any Oath "that may be contrary to the Laws and Religion eſtabliſhed in *Scotland*, "provided only that thoſe, who ſhould be ſettled in *England* or *Ire- "land*, ſhould be bound, like the other Inhabitants, by the Laws and "Oaths eſtabliſhed by their Parliaments: That the *Engliſh* and *Iriſh*, *The Demands of the Covenanters.*

"trading

1641. " trading in *Scotland*, ſhould enjoy the ſame Privilege: That the King " ſhould not hinder the Parliaments of *Scotland* and *England* from pro- " ceeding in the Courſe of Juſtice againſt all his Subjects, of what Con- " dition ſoever; and that thoſe, who by Sentence of Parliament, ſhould " be declared incapable of Offices, or of approaching his Perſon, ſhould " be barred therefrom by his Majeſty: That the Ships and Goods taken " at Sea, or detained in Harbours, ſhould be reſtored on both Sides, with " Damage and Intereſt: That in Conſideration of the Loſſes which the " Covenanters have ſuſtained ſince the beginning of the Troubles, the " two Houſes of Parliament ſhould give them for their brotherly Aſſi- " ſtance, three Hundred Thouſand Pound: That a third of it, with all " the Arrears that were owing the Covenanters Army ſhould be paid " whenever it ſhould be diſbanded; and that the publick Faith ſhould " be ingaged for the Payment of the other two Thirds of the Sum, at " two Terms, to wit, at the Feaſt of St. *John* 1642, and at the ſame " Time of the Year 1643. That all the Proclamations, Declarations, " and Libels that had been publiſhed againſt the Fidelity, and derogating " from the Honour of the Covenanters, ſhould be ſuppreſſed in the three " Kingdoms; and that at the ſolemn Thankſgiving for the Concluſion of " the Peace, publick Teſtimony ſhould be given of the Fidelity of the " Covenanters towards the King, over all his Majeſty's Dominions: That " in the firſt meeting of the Parliament of *Scotland*, the King ſhould ſa- " tisfy the Covenanters about the diſpoſing of the Offices of the King- " dom, and that at all Times he ſhould ſatisfy them with Reſpect to " the Religion of thoſe who ſhould be about his Perſon, and that of the " Prince his Son; as alſo concerning the Number of *Scots* Men who were " always to attend their Majeſties and his Highneſs: That his Majeſty " and the Parliament approving of the Covenanters Demands, for the " Uniformity of Eccleſiaſtical Government within the two Kingdoms, " the Parliament of *England* ſhould proceed in the Reformation thereof, " which had been begun, according as it ſhould be judged moſt conve- " nient for the Peace of both: That the Quantity and Value of the Cop- " per Money which was already, or ſhall be coined hereafter, ſhould be " rated by the Advice of Parliament: That an Act of Oblivion of all " that had paſſed on Account of the late Commotions concerning Religi- " on ſhould be enacted in the Parliaments of the three Kingdoms, and that " all Magiſtrates ſhould be forbidden to inquire into any Act of Hoſtility, " whether between the King and his Subjects, between Subject and Sub- " ject, or into any Thing whatſoever done in Prejudice of his Majeſty's " Authority, the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, or of the Intereſt " of private Perſons; ſaving, however, to the *Scots* that ſhould be in *Ire- " land*, a Right to proſecute at Law for Reparation of their Damages: " That, in order to remove all Umbrage and Jealouſy between the two " Nations, the Garriſons of *Berwick* and *Carliſle* ſhould be diſbanded, " and all the new Fortifications demoliſhed; and in like Manner the " Fortreſſes that are in *Scotland* ſhould be put in the ſame Condition " they were in before the Troubles: That, in order to preſerve a good " Union firm and ſtable between the Kingdoms, it ſhould be decreed by " the Parliaments of all the three, that they could not declare nor make " War againſt one another without the Conſent of their Parliaments; and " that the Declaration of War ſhould always be three Months before the " breaking of the Peace: That if the Freedom of Commerce ſhould hap- " pen to be interrupted by the Outrage of ſome People who may have " taken up Arms, the Parliament of the Kingdom, where ſuch Things

" ſhall

" ſhall be committed, ſhould be obliged to puniſh rigorouſly thoſe Di- 1641.
" ſturbers of the publick Tranquillity; and if, after Complaint of it ſhall
" have been made to the Commiſſioners that ſhall be appointed for the
" Execution of the Treaty of Peace, Juſtice be not done, in that Caſe,
" the Peace ſhould be looked upon to be broken: That if any Subjects
" of either of the Kingdoms take up Arms, and make War upon the Sub-
" jects of the neighbouring Kingdom, without the Conſent of the Par-
" liament of their own Kingdom, they ſhould be proſecuted as Traytors
" to the State whoſe Subjects they were: That to the End that the Arti-
" cles of this Peace, which is about to be happily concluded, may be in-
" violably obſerved, the King and the Parliaments ſhould name Commiſ-
" ſioners of the two Nations, who during the Intervals of Parliament,
" may decide all the Differences and Diſputes that may happen about
" the Articles of the Treaty, and adjuſt all that may be diſputable be-
" tween the Subjects of his Kingdoms, being ſtill anſwerable for their Pro-
" ceedings to the King and Parliaments: That ſince the Articles of the
" Treaty muſt be confirmed by the Parliaments of *England* and *Ireland*,
" and that after all the Armies ſhould be diſbanded, the ſaid Articles muſt
" be confirmed by the Parliament of *Scotland*, his Majeſty ſhould give
" full Power and Freedom to the Parliament that muſt ſoon after ſit in
" *Scotland* to confirm the Treaty, and to deliberate upon all that may be
" judged neceſſary for the good of the Peace of the Kingdom: That his
" Majeſty's High Commiſſioner ſhould have full Power to approve all
" the Acts, which for that End ſhould be made by the Parliament, and
" that he ſhould not diſſolve nor adjourn it, till after that all the impor-
" tant Affairs for the good of the Kingdom, ſhould be fully decided and
" concluded: That all thoſe, who having committed any Crime againſt
" the State, in the Kingdom where they have ſettled, or of which they
" are Natives, ſhould afterwards go to the other Kingdom, and ſhould be
" condemned by the Parliament of the Kingdom, where the Crime had
" been committed, as Incendiaries, that is to ſay, had ſown Diviſion be-
" tween the two Nations, or between the King and his People, ſhould not
" be protected in any Place of his Majeſty's Dominions, but ſhould be
" mutually delivered up to the Parliament that ſhould demand them:
" That in order not to delay the Concluſion of the Treaty, theſe other
" Demands ſhould be ſuperſeded, to wit; 1. That no Alliances may be
" made with Foreigners, nor War declared againſt them, without the
" Conſent of the Parliaments of the two Kingdoms. 2. That both be o-
" bliged to aſſiſt one another in caſe of a Foreign Invaſion. 3. That all
" his Majeſty's Subjects be reputed Deniſons in all his Kingdoms, and en-
" joy the ſame Priviledges in all his Dominions; and that theſe Propo-
" ſals requiring Time in order to be conſidered, they ſhould be referred
" to the Commiſſioners choſen by the King and the Parliament, to be ta-
" ken under Deliberation, and reported to the Parliaments of the two
" Kingdoms."

This Treaty, ſo advantageous to the Covenanters, was concluded, and confirmed by the Parliament of *England* in the Month of *June*; but the Armies were not diſbanded till *Auguſt*. The Parliament would not ſuffer the Covenanters Army to leave *England*, while the Royal ſtood, though the firſt was ſo chargeable, that beſides the three Hundred Thouſand Pounds of voluntary Aſſiſtance, the Arrears that were owing it, when it was ſent away, amounted to more than a Hundred and twenty Thouſand Pounds. The Parliament, in order to provide for this Expence, and other publick Neceſſities, was not ſatisfied with ordering ſix Subſidies to

1641. be raiſed, but had Recourſe to Expedients altogether extraordinary: For a Tax was laid on at ſo much a Head over all the Kingdom, to which the King conſented. Each Duke was rated at one Hundred Pounds; each Marquis at ſeventy five Pounds; each Earl at ſixty Pounds; each Viſcount and Baron at forty Pounds; each Knight of the Bath at thirty Pounds; each other Knight at twenty Pounds; each Eſquire at ſix Pounds thirteen Shillings and four Pence; each Gentleman of a Hundred Pounds yearly Rent at five Pounds; and ſo in Proportian every body was rated, without excepting the very pooreſt, who paid ſix Pence a Head.

*The Deſign of taking the Earl of* Strafford *out of the* Tower *by Force is diſcovered.*

FROM thence many took Occaſion to diſcredit the Proceedings of the Parliament, and to blame them for the great Diffidence they had ſhewn of the King, by entertaining a foreign Army at ſo great Charges, in order to make Uſe of it to counterballance the royal Army. 'Tis true, having diſcovered the Plot that ſome young Lords and Gentlemen had laid for taking the Earl of *Strafford* out of the *Tower* by Force, they became very jealous of his Majeſty. They were perſuaded that the King was in the Secret, and remembered what they had heard his Majeſty ſay in the Houſe of Lords on the 28th of *April*, to wit; *That he could not diſband the* Iriſh *Army, for Reaſons beſt known to himſelf.* How ſoon this Plot was diſcovered, the Parliament cauſed to be ſeized all thoſe concerned in it that had not betimes made their Eſcape; and having examined them, they gave out, that they had found by their Depoſitions, that the Deſign was to have made the royal Army march to the Gates of *London*, in order to intimidate the Parliament, and that the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* being ſet at Liberty, was to have brought over eight Thouſand Men from that Kingdom, the moſt Part Catholicks. 'Tis poſſible that that might have been concerted amongſt thoſe Gentlemen, but it had never entered into the King's Mind, nor had the Lord Lieutenant ever made ſuch a Propoſal to his Majeſty. The Parliament forthwith deputed ſome Lords for the Security of the *Tower*, and taking Advantage of this unlucky Accident, for repreſenting to the King, that the State was threatened with ſome dangerous Conſpiracy, they preſſed his Majeſty to grant them, that the Seſſion of Parliament could not be broken up without the Conſent of the two Houſes. They had already obtained, that a Parliament ſhould be called every three Years, and determined the Lord Lieutenant's Death.

NEVER had a Trial been carried on with more Solemnity than this. *Weſtminſter-Hall* was pitched upon for the Place of Trial, where Scaffolds were erected on both Sides with nine Rows of Seats above one another, the two uppermoſt for the Commiſſioners of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and the reſt for the Members of the Houſe of Commons, who had reſolved themſelves into a Committee of the whole Houſe for accuſing the Lord Lieutenant. The Biſhops, who, by the Canons, and according to the Cuſtom at all Times obſerved in *England*, never aſſiſt at crminal Proceſſes of this Nature, were not preſent: But they entered a Proteſtation, that their Abſence ſhould not do Prejudice to any of their Privileges that were due to them as Lords Spiritual of the Parliament. The Peers of the Realm were ſeated in the Middle of the Place, under a Throne which had been prepared for the King, where his Majeſty did not appear, but at all the Sittings was in a cloſe Box with the Queen: The Earl of *Arundel* was appointed Lord *High Steward.*

THE

The Lord Lieutenant was almoſt every Day brought from the *Tower* to *Weſtminſter-Hall* by Water, from the 22d of *March* to the End of *April*, where he anſwered to all the Interrogatories with ſo much Preſence of Mind and Eloquence, that he drew Compaſſion from many, and Admiration from all preſent. The Parliament did their utmoſt to involve him in the Crime of High Treaſon; and the moſt able Lawyers having taken it in Hand, made the Hall ring again with theſe Words, *We have a Law*; however, they quoted none which implied directly, that any Action, whereof the Lord Lieutenant was accuſed, was Treaſon: But the Parliament having Recourſe to a ſort of new Law, declared; That all the Accuſations accumulated amounted to that Crime, and that without being drawn into Precedent. This Manner of Proceeding was altogether extraordinary: For the Laws not regarding the paſt, provide only for the future; and this Procedure ſeemed to be without Example, that while a Man was upon his Trial, a Law ſhould be made of Purpoſe to condemn him, and then be preſently repealed. After all, they found nothing to fix upon, but Words ſpoken by the Lord Lieutenant full of Zeal for his Maſter's Service, and ſome Actions which the Neceſſity of the King's Affairs did not admit of being directed by the Rigour of the Laws. It often happens that the Actions of the moſt innocent great Men, are interpreted in ill Part, and that there is no leſs Danger in having a great Reputation, than in having a bad. In fine, the Houſe of Commons paſſed the Bill of Attainder againſt this great Man, and their Judgment was ſeconded by the Wiſhes of the People, who, afterwards having got together twice in the *Palace-Yard*, to the Number of five Thouſand Men, addreſſed themſelves to the Peers, and, with great Eagerneſs, demanded of them to do Juſtice upon the Lord Lieutenant. The Prince's Favour and the Love of the People ſeldom jump with one another. The Lords gave them fair Words, and a few Days after confirmed the Sentence of the Commons, who behaved themſelves with extream Malice againſt the Lord Lieutenant, though they had not impeached him but upon Words, which Sir *Henry Vane*, when called to witneſs, at firſt denied to have heard; and afterwards having recollected himſelf, he maintained that they had been ſpoken. He bore the Lord Lieutenant a particular Grudge, becauſe he had taken the Title of Lord *Raby*, being deſcended of the ancient Lords of that Eſtate which Sir *Henry* had purchaſed. The Words in Queſtion; *That if the King pleaſed to make Uſe of the Army that was in* Ireland, *he might ſubdue the Kingdom with it*, were indefinite in Sir *Henry*'s Notes, which were preſented to the Houſe, without mentioning in expreſs Terms what Kingdom was meant, whether that of *England* or that of *Scotland*. There were likewiſe in the Notes ſome Words of the Lord *Cottington*'s, which Sir *Henry* ſaid he did not hear, but he affirmed that he heard thoſe of the Lord Lieutenant, which, however, the other ſeven Lords, who were in the Cabinet Council with this Secretary of State, when it was pretended that theſe Words were ſpoken there, aſſerted that they did not hear. 1641.

The King conſented, that he ſhould be ſtripped of all his Employments, but declared plainly to the two Houſes, that he could not condemn him for a Crime which he did not believe him to be guilty of; and he ſhould always have the Protection of the Innocent as much at Heart, as the Puniſhment of the Guilty. But the King being often importuned, in a tumultuous and ſeditious Manner, not to ſtop the Courſe of Juſtice, and even requeſted by the Lord Lieutenant to ſuffer the Malice of the People to be quenched in his Blood, he held a Council at *White-Hall*, where having

1641. ving again heard the Judges, who had pronounced the Sentence of Death againſt him, and called four of his Biſhops to give him their Opinions about ſome Scruple of Conſcience, he gave a Commiſſion to the Earl of *Arundel*, the *Keeper of the PrivySeal*, and the *two Chamberlains* to paſs the Bill of Attainder. Out of cruel Neceſſity ſomething was to be yielded to the Times. The Situation of Affairs was very unhappy in all the three Kingdoms. The Storm that had ariſen upon the Head of this illuſtrious Criminal, and which was ſtill increaſing, threatned Shipwrack to the State, and the Torrent of the People's Animoſity run with ſuch Violence, that there was no Poſſibility of ſtopping its Courſe.

THE 12th of *May* was appointed for the bloody Cataſtrophe of this cruel Tragedy. Whereupon the King, willing to try ſomething yet in Favour of his Miniſter, wrote to the Lords, in order, if poſſible, to mitigate the Sentence; or, at leaſt, to put off the Execution of it for ſome Days. He ſent the Letter by the Prince of *Wales*, to let them ſee how much he had this Affair at Heart. But neither the Preſence of that Prince, nor his Intreaties, which he added to thoſe of the King, his Father, could prevail any Thing with them. They would not ſo much as read the Letter, but returned it without being opened. The Day appointed being come, the Parliament having deputed ſix Lords and four Commoners to be preſent at the Execution; they went in the Morning to the *Tower*, where they found the Lord Lieutenant with the Archbiſhop of *Armagh*, Primate of *Ireland*, with a wonderful Tranquillity of Mind preparing himſelf for Death. The Sight of them did not in the leaſt trouble him, but he received them with an admirable Conſtancy, and having entertained them for ſome Time with an extraordinary Preſence of Mind, the Governor of the *Tower* delivered him over to the Magiſtrates of the City, who led him ſurrounded with Guards to the Scaffold, which had been erected on *Tower-Hill*. The Lord Lieutenant walked there on Foot, without ſhewing the leaſt Concern, ſaluting the People on both Sides of him with as ſerene a Countenance, as if he had been going to take his Seat in Parliament. At laſt when he had mounted the Scaffold, he deſired the People to be ſilent, and approaching towards them, began to ſpeak very near in theſe Words: " My Lord Primate, it gives me extream Comfort to have " you for a Witneſs of my laſt Words. I am here in order to pay the " Debt of ſinful Nature; all our Forefathers have done it, and our Poſte- " rity will do it in Time. Death is the Way of all Fleſh; 'tis the com- " mon Law of all the Earth; 'tis the ſovereign Remedy of all the " Evils of this tranſitory Life, and for all true Penitents, 'tis the Paſ- " ſage to that bleſſed Life, which ſhall never end. No Body has Reaſon " to complain of what is common to all. 'Tis true that my Death is " not natural, and that I die by Sentence of Parliament, but I willingly " ſubmit to it: I decline not its Juriſdiction: And ſincerely forgive all " thoſe who voted for my Condemnation. Yes, I forgive them with all " my Heart, and wiſh that all thoſe I may have offended, may forgive " me as freely, as I do thoſe that have offended me in any Thing what- " ſoever. I am not afraid to ſay, and my Conſcience bears me Witneſs, " that ſince I had the Honour to ſerve his Majeſty, I never deſigned any " Thing but the King's Happineſs, with that of his Subjects, which I " look upon to be inſeparable. I know very well that ſome have believed, " that I was againſt the meeting of Parliaments; but I have been ſo far " from that, that I have always held, and do ſtill hold, that the Conſtitu- " tion of the Parliament of *England* is the moſt excellent Form of Go- " vernment under Heaven, and a powerful Means for drawing down all

*The Earl of Strafford's dying Speech.*

Sorts

8

" Sorts of Bleſſings both upon a Prince and a People. If, by my Misfor- 1641.
" tune, my Actions have been otherwiſe interpreted, 'tis the Fate of all
" thoſe who ſerve the Publick. The right Judgment of Things is reſerved
" for the Life to come; but in this, which is full of Errors and Darkneſs,
" we are ſubject to judge wrong of one another. I have always wiſhed
" the Proſperity of this State, I have always done it with great Paſſion all
" my Life, and, now dying, I do it with the ſame Affection. I beg every
" Body ſeriouſly to conſider if the Happineſs and Peace of a Kingdom are
" to be eſtabliſhed upon Blood; but God forbid that it ſhould be required
" of any Man, or that the leaſt Drop ſhould riſe in Judgment againſt any
" Perſon whatſoever. In God's Name let it be ſhed: I am ſatisfied ſeeing
" my dear Maſter was willing to ſpare it. I cannot grudge the Loſs of
" a Life that he had a Mind to preſerve; I find nothing of Bitterneſs in
" Death, ſince he thought me worthy to live. God repay him the Favour
" he hath ſhewn me, and may he find Mercy in Abundance at that great
" Day, when God ſhall judge the quick and the dead. Now, my Lord, I
" die a moſt reſpectful Son of the Church of *England*, and whatever may
" have been ſaid to the contrary, I can truly ſay, that ever ſince I was
" twenty one Years of Age to this Hour, that I enter into my forty ninth
" Year, I have never doubted of the Truth of the Religion of *England*,
" and I don't remember that any Perſon hath been ſo bold as to endea-
" vour to diſſuade me from it. Laſtly, I deſire, that all may pray to
" God for me, that it may pleaſe him to ſtrengthen my Faith, and give me
" Confidence in the Merits of his Son, who, as I hope, will ſhortly re-
" ceive me into his Boſom, and that we ſhall meet in Heaven, where all
" Tears ſhall be wiped away from our Eyes, and all evil Thoughts blot-
" ted out of our Hearts. So I bid Adieu to you, and to all the Things
" of the World." Having ended this Diſcourſe, he called for his Chap-
lain, who having put the *Engliſh* Liturgy upon a Deſk, he kneeled down, and ſaid his Prayers, concluding them all with the Lord's Prayer: Then ſtanding up, he imbraced all thoſe that were about him, and taking his Brother, Sir *George Wentworth*, by the Hand, he ſaid to him; " We muſt
" now part, and recommended to him to teſtify to his Wife the laſt grateful
" Acknowledgment of her Love, and to carry his Bleſſing to his eldeſt
" Son, to his Daughters, and to a little Infant who could not diſtinguiſh
" between Good and Evil. That he ſhould, as from him, injoin his el-
" deſt Son to live in the Fear of God, never to depart from the *Engliſh*
" Communion, to continue firm in his Allegiance to his Majeſty, and ne-
" ver to harbour any Thoughts of Revenge againſt any Perſon upon his
" Account, not to incroach upon the Eſtate of the Church, and to be ſa-
" tisfied with living a good Servant of his native Country, and a good Ex-
" ample in his County, without ſeeking after publick Employments. He
" made an End of ſpeaking to him with theſe Words; That one fatal
" Blow would make his Wife a Widow, his Children fatherleſs, and de-
" prive his poor Servants of a Protector; but God would take Care of
" them all." Then he threw off his Cloak, and putting off his Doublet, he ſeemed to do it with the ſame Tranquillity of Mind as he had been uſed to do at going to Bed: And with his own Hands having put his Hair under his Cap, he aſked where was the Executioner, who coming to aſk his Pardon, he gave it him, and, with a compoſed Countenance, bid him give the Blow when he ſhould make a Sign with his Hand. At laſt he kneeled down, and having the Archbiſhop on his right Hand, and his Chaplain on his left, who prayed with him for ſome Time with a low Voice, he had a Mind to look Death cloſe in the Face, and without ſhewing the leaſt Terror, he fitted himſelf twice to the Block, aſking of the Executi-

1641. oner if it was right, who anſwering him yes; as ſoon as this intrepid Lord had made the Signal with his Hand, he ſevered his Head from his Body at one Blow, and ſhewed it to the People, crying, *God ſave the King.*

But the Storm was not over with this Death; it produced no Manner of Calm; the Parliament's Proſecution of it with ſo much Heat, ſowed the Seeds of a Quarrel between the King and them, and the rigorous Method which they obſerved in the preparing Things for the Trial, divide them amongſt themſelves. Fifty nine Members of the Houſe of Commons were againſt entering an Action of High-Treaſon, which was the Reaſon that the Day after that Oppoſition, a Writing was inſolently poſted up upon the Gates of *Weſtminſter-Hall*, wherein was ſet down the Names of the *Straffordians*, who ſhould periſh with him and all the Enemies of the Commonwealth. Theſe Gentlemen imagining that the other Members of the Houſe had cauſed this Affront to be put upon them, were grievouſly offended at it, and afterwards for the moſt Part left the Parliament. The Lord *Digby*, who was one of that Number, had another Cauſe of Reſentment: For having made an elegant Speech in Favour of the Lord Lieutenant, he cauſed it to be printed, notwithſtanding it had been forbidden by the Houſe of Commons; whereupon it was ordered to be burnt by the Hands of the Hangman.

This Lord, who has excellent Notions and great Parts, expreſſed in his Speech; " That without making Reflection upon any Thing that might " wound Secretary *Vane*'s Reputation, he might ſtill ſay, that he, who had " Time for calling ſomething to Mind, had twice ſworn, that he remem- " bered nothing of the Matter, might well a third Time have but a ſlen- " der Remembrance of it: That he could not, upon a Law made with a " Retroſpect, pronounce Sentence of Death upon a Man for a Crime which " reflected upon all his Poſterity, and made all his Offspring criminal: That " at leaſt a Mark muſt be put upon the Door of a Houſe infected with the " Plague, in order to make it known, that there was Sickneſs in it; that " afterwards, if any Perſon ſhould venture to enter it, it might not be " thought unjuſt, that he was puniſhed for his Raſhneſs if he was infected " with the Plague: That the Parliament, in proceeding againſt a Man, " acted by a double Power, by the Authority which is inherent to them " as Judges, and by that of the Laws. The Extent of the one, is what is " juſt according to the Laws, and the Extent of the other, is what Pru- " dence reckons to be advantageous to the Publick: But theſe two muſt not " be confounded in judging, and the Defect of the Law be ſupplied, becauſe " 'tis thought to be expedient, nor even the Defect of political Conſide- " ration be ſupplied, out of a bare Pretence of the Juſtice of the Law. " So that were he willing, in the Quality of Judge, to find the Lord Lieu- " tenant guilty of High-Treaſon, his Conſcience would not bear him out, " that the Nature of his Offence juſtified that Sentence; and if he had a " Mind to condemn him by the Authority of the Laws, political Reaſons " would oppoſe it, becauſe he was perſuaded that neither the King nor " the Peers would ever conſent to it, and conſequently the Bill brought in " by the Houſe would infallibly create a dangerous Diviſion in the State. " That every Man ought ſeriouſly to conſider, that, with one ſingle " Word, he ſhould either do an Act of Juſtice, or commit a downright " Murder; but aggravated with all the odious Circumſtances that can " happen in it. For the Caſuiſts ſay; that he who lies with his Siſter " commits Inceſt, but he who marries her commits yet a much more " heinous Sin, in applying the Precept of God's Ordinance to his Crime; " in

" in the ſame Manner, he, who commits a Murder with the Sword of " Juſtice, puſheth his grievous Crime to the higheſt Pitch of Enormity. " That ſince there was ſo great Danger, and that the ableſt Lawyers " were employed againſt the Party accuſed, every body ought to lay aſide " all Paſſion and Animoſity againſt his Perſon, as well as all Complaiſance " to the People: That no Man ought to ſhew himſelf more rigorous a- " gainſt him, becauſe he was hated by the People, nor to forbear preſer- " ving his Life, leſt the People ſhould be offended at it, nor yet to ſtand " upon that frivolous Conſideration; that the Honour of the Parliament " is concerned, that a Man whom they accuſe of High-Treaſon get not " off, nor in fine to vote for Death, becauſe he thought himſelf not ſafe, " while the Lord Lieutenant ſhould be alive.. So he concluded with a " ſolemn Proteſtation, that he would have no Hand in his Blood, and " that he would never join with thoſe, who by all Means, were for ta- " king his Life." 1641.

*The Marquis of* Montroſe *goes from the Army to* Edinburgh, *and is ſent Priſoner to the Caſtle.*

Some Time after the Lord Lieutenant's Death, the Marquis of *Montroſe* went from the Army to *Edinburgh*, where he found the Committee of Parliament upon the Point of ordering the Caſtle of that City to be demoliſhed. *Montroſe* oppoſed it, alledging that it was an Ornament to the Capital of the Kingdom; and beſides, a royal Palace, which they could not pull down, without a manifeſt Contempt of his Majeſty. The Marquis was taking Pains to preſerve a Priſon for himſelf; for the Covenanters very ſoon after having intercepted ſome Letters from the King, addreſſed to this Nobleman, he was ſent Priſoner to the very ſame Caſtle, together with the Lord *Naiper*, eldeſt Son of the great *Naiper*, the *Ticho Bache* of *Scotland*, Sir *William Stirling* of *Keir*, and Sir —— *Stuart* of *Black-hall*, his intimate Friends, and were not releaſed till the End of the Seſſion of Parliament, which the King came to hold in Perſon in the Month of *Auguſt*.

*A General Aſſembly meets at St.* Andrews. *The King ſends the Earl of* Weems *Commiſſioner to it, who delivers a very obliging Letter from his Majeſty to the Aſſembly.*

In the mean Time the General Aſſembly, appointed to meet in *July*, was opened at St. *Andrews* the 20th of that Month, and from thence was adjourned to *Edinburgh*, where it began the 27th. The Earl of *Weems* was ſent Commiſſioner to it by the King, and preſented to the Aſſembly a Letter from his Majeſty, in theſe Words; " That it was one of his chief Cares, " that the reformed Religion, in which he was reſolved to live and die, " ſhould be well eſtabliſhed in his Kingdom of *Scotland*, and that it ſhould " be profeſſed by all his Subjects: That he intended to have been preſent " in the Aſſembly in Perſon, but not thinking it fit to detain the Mini- " ſters from their Charges till his coming to the Parliament, he gave them " to underſtand by theſe Preſents, and by his Commiſſioner, that his In- " tention was to ratify and confirm the Acts of the laſt Aſſembly of *Edin- " burgh*, that all his Subjects may receive them with Reſpect and Obedi- " ence: That he would take Care, that the Benefices, of which he has " the Nomination, ſhould be provided with able Miniſters, and that he " ſhould not refuſe his Letters of Preſentation to ſuch as had been recei- " ved into the Miniſtry during the Troubles, provided they were appro- " ved of by their Preſbyteries. That he would likewiſe think of Means " for maintainining decently the Profeſſors of the Sciences, and eſpecially " of Divinity, in the Colleges and Univerſities, that having there a good " Number of Men capable of carrying the Goſpel to the utmoſt Ends of " the Kingdom, all his Subjects may have Reaſon to bleſs God for having " ſet him over them. That though he was not without Fear, that Learn- " ing might decline in that Kingdom, it ſhould not be his Fault if it did " not always flouriſh there. That for all theſe Teſtimonies of his Good-

" neſs,

1641. " neſs, he required no other Acknowledgment of them, but only that, by " faithfully diſcharging their Duty, they ſhould endeavour to reſtore Peace " and Union amongſt themſelves and amongſt their People, oppoſing all " Schiſm and Faction; and that they ſhould not only pray for him, but " alſo teach their Flocks to obey him, as God's Vicegerent among them: " In fine, that they themſelves ſhould give a good Example.

*Some* Engliſh *Divines having conceived a Notion of an independent Church Government, write a Letter to the Aſſembly, aſking their Advice about it.*

On the 9th of *Auguſt* a Letter dated the 12th of *July*, ſigned by ſeveral Miniſters of *England*, was preſented to the Aſſembly, the Purport of which was; " That they congratulated the Miniſters of *Scotland* upon the happy " Succeſs of their Labours in the Work of Reformation: That the Band of " Friendſhip between the two Churches of *England* and *Scotland* was ſo " great, that the Liberty of the one ought to be that of both, and that the " one could not be in Bondage without the other's being ſenſible of it: " That hoping to be very ſoon freed from the Biſhops Yoke, under which " they had ſo long groaned, they were deliberating in their Aſſembly, " which was ſitting in *London*, upon the Form of Eccleſiaſtical Govern- " ment that muſt ſucceed Epiſcopacy. That of all others they were beſt " pleaſed with this, which directs, that all Eccleſiaſtical Authority, and all " that thereupon depends, ſuch as Election, Ordination, and the Depoſition " of Officers, (by which without Doubt they mean Miniſters) with the Ad- " miſſion, Excommunication, and Abſolution of the Members of one Con- " gregation, by divine Right ought to be decreed by the Plurality of Voices " of each particular Congregation, there being but the bare Formalities of " the Execution of theſe Things that belong to the Officers, as being Ser- " vants of the Congregation, in Caſe it hath any; becauſe if it hath none, " the ſame Things ought to be done by thoſe whom the Congregation ſhall " name for that Effect. That every one of theſe particular Congregations, " whether it hath Officers, or not; or that it conſiſts of many, or of few " Members, may lawfully determine and execute within its own Juriſdi- " ction all Things that belonged to the Eccleſiaſtical Order and Juriſdiction, " without any Dependance upon, or Interpoſition of other Perſons or " Churches met in Preſbyteries or Synods, unleſs it were by Way of Ad- " vice, becauſe their imperative Authority was abuſive, and a downright " Uſurpation: That they were the more deſirous of the Aſſembly's Judg- " ment upon this Affair, that they were informed, that many of its Mini- " ſters were much inclined that Way, and tacitly approved of that Sort " of Government." It may eaſily be ſeen that the Authors of this Letter were big with *Independency*, and that the Promoters of all the Forms of Eccleſiaſtical Government, mentioned in the Letter, have given Birth to ſo many other Sects, which a Preſbyterian, who hath very lately written the preſent State of Religion in *England*, makes amount to a Hundred and ſixteen. Now all theſe Sects, like ſo many Inſects, are ſprung from the confuſed Maſs and Chaos, to which the Proteſtant Communion of *England* was reduced by the aboliſhing of Epiſcopacy.

—— *Mille animas una necata dedit.*

*The Aſſembly's Anſwer.*

THE Aſſembly gave them a very bold Anſwer. " It began with com- " mending their Zeal, and the Deſire they had to ſee the Uniformity of " Eccleſiaſtical Communion in the two Kingdoms, it being always to be " feared, that the Conformity of Doctrine and Worſhip, could not be of " long Continuance with the Diverſity of Diſcipline and Eccleſiaſtical Go- " vernment. That upon the Queſtion propoſed to the Aſſembly, its Judg- " ment was unanimous, that as well the ſolemn Execution of Eccleſiaſti-

" cal

" cal Authority, as the Actions depending thereupon, belonged properly to 1641.
" the Officers of the Church, though their Decrees upon Matters of Im-
" portance could not be executed, without the tacit Conſent of the Con-
" gregation. That the Officers of a particular Congregation could not ex-
" erciſe that Power independently, and without Subordination to the Preſ-
" byteries, and Provincial and National Aſſemblies: That theſe laſt repre-
" ſented all the particular Churches united together into one Body; ſo that
" their Deciſions, when they proceed with Order, were not Conſultations
" and Advices, but Sentences which obliged all the Congregations to obey
" them: That this Dependance and Subordination was founded as well
" upon the Light of Nature, which guides the Church in thoſe Things,
" that are common with her to other Societies, as upon Prudence, which
" preſcribes that Order as a Means to preſerve Unity and Peace; but chiefly
" upon the Word of God, and the Practice of the primitive and Apoſtoli-
" cal Church. That the Authority of Preſbyteries and Aſſemblies ought
" not to be looked upon as a Foreign Power eſtabliſhed over particular
" Congregations, as that of the Biſhops was; as the Authority of the Par-
" liament, where the Shires and Towns have their Commiſſioners, is not
" a Foreign Power in any particular Shire or Town. Laſtly, that there
" was not one amongſt them of another Opinion, but that they were all as
" much perſuaded, that the Eccleſiaſtical Government by Preſbyteries and
" Aſſemblies was ordained by God, as that Epiſcopacy came from the meer
" Invention of Men." Then the Aſſembly ordered a Letter of Thanks to be written to the King, and having incorporated the *Scots* Congregation, ſettled at *Veere* in *Zealand*, into the Communion of *Scotland*, a Letter was written to the Kirk-Seſſion of that Congregation, inviting them to ſend a Miniſter with an Elder to the next Aſſembly, which was to meet at St. *Andrews* the 27th of *July* 1642, for the King keeps a *Conſervator* (Conſul) in the Town of *Veere* for regulating the Commerce of his *Scots* Subjects.

*The King goes to* Scotland *to hold a Parliament.*

The King having in the mean Time remonſtrated to the Parliament of *England*, that he was obliged to make a Progreſs into *Scotland*, in order to finiſh the Pacification of that Kingdom, though the Parliament had begged of him to delay his Journey, he ſet out from *London* the 10th of *Auguſt*, and went Poſt to the Parliament at *Edinburgh*, accompanied by the Duke of *Hamilton*, and ſome other Lords of that Kingdom. The Parliament being met, it was ordered, that, before entering upon Buſineſs, all the Members ſhould take this Oath. " Since as well the King's Ho-
" nour and Grandeur, as the Happineſs of his Subjects, depended upon the
" Purity of Religion, as it is now eſtabliſhed in the Kingdom, and upon
" the Preſervation of its Laws and Liberties, all faithful Subjects and good
" Patriots ought to maintain them, in Oppoſition to all ſuch as ſhould at-
" tempt to diſturb or change them in any Manner; We Subſcribers pro-
" miſe in the Preſence of Almighty God, that in this preſent Seſſion of
" Parliament, we ſhall freely and faithfully give our Opinions upon all
" that ſhall be propoſed, according as we in Conſcience ſhall judge to be
" moſt expedient for the Glory of God, and the Peace of the Church and
" Kingdom: That we ſhall with all our Might contribute to them both:
" That we ſhall, with our Lives and Fortunes, defend his Majeſty's Per-
" ſon, Honour, and State, according to our Covenant; as alſo the Power
" and Privileges of Parliament, the Rights and Liberties of the Subjects:
" That we ſhall by all Means endeavour to diſcover and bring to Puniſh-
" ment all ſuch as by Intrigues or open Force have done or ſhall do any
" Thing to the Prejudice of the Laws, Liberties, and Peace of the King-
" dom: That we ſhall by all honourable Means endeavour to preſerve

*The Oath taken by all the Members.*

1641. " Union and Peace between the three Kingdoms of *Scotland*, *England*, " and *Ireland*; and that neither Hopes nor Fear ſhall ever make us re- " tract this Promiſe." The Parliament of *England* in the Month of *May* had drawn up ſuch another, which the two Houſes having ſworn, they ſent it over all the Kingdom, with Orders to all the Inhabitants to do the ſame, under Pain of Diſobedience.

*The Articles of the Peace confirmed.*

AFTER this Oath had been taken by both the Parliaments, the Articles of Peace between the King and his *Scots* Subjects, and between the two Nations, were ratified by the King and Parliament; and the King for himſelf and his Succeſſors promiſed, upon the Faith of a Prince, to maintain them in Force, and to cauſe them to be inviolably obſerved by all his Subjects; as the Parliaments of both Kingdoms engaged the publick Faith for the Execution of all the Articles on both Sides: And that the Parliament of *England* might be aſſured of the Confirmation of the Treaty by that of *Scotland*, the King, by the Advice of this laſt, ordained, that the Clerk of the Parliament, after having entered the Treaty in the Regiſters, ſhould give an Extract of it to the Director of the *Chancery*, who, in due Form, ſhould preſent it to the Seal; and that this authentick Copy, ſealed with the Great Seal, ſhould in all Haſte be ſent to the Parliament of *England*.

NOW, there had been a Propoſal made by the Covenanters during the Treaty, concerning the chuſing of the Officers of the Crown, Counſellors of State, and the Court of Seſſions, of which the Deciſion was referred to the King and Parliament. This Matter having been taken under Deliberation, and the King conſidering, that becauſe of his ordinary Reſidence in *England*, he could not eaſily have Knowledge of the Qualifications of Perſons fit for thoſe Offices; for that Reaſon, and in order to give all Satisfaction to that his ancient Kingdom, he declared for himſelf and Succeſſors, that hereafter, by the Advice of the Parliament, when it ſhould be ſitting, he would name worthy Perſons to fill up thoſe Employments; and in Caſe they ſhould happen to be vacant, the Parliament not ſitting, he ſhould chuſe the Councellors of State by the Advice of the Council; and thoſe of the Court of Seſſions by the Advice of that Body; both which were to depend upon the Plurality of Voices. Beſides, his Majeſty conſented, that theſe Elections ſhould be approved or annulled at the firſt meeting of the following Parliament, and that the Patents of them ſhould be given *ad vitam aut culpam*, all the Officers being anſwerable for their Adminiſtration to the King and Parliament.

ACCORDING to this Regulation, the Earl of *Lowdun* was choſen Chancellor, and received the Great Seal from the Duke of *Hamilton*, who had kept it ever ſince the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, ſome Time before his Death, had reſigned it into the King's Hands. Sir *Alexander Gibſon* and Sir *James Galloway* were in the ſame Manner choſen, the firſt Lord Regiſter, and the laſt Maſter of Requeſts. The Keeper of the Privy-Seal, the Secretary of State, King's Advocate, and Treaſurer Depute were confirmed in their Offices. As for that of Lord High Treaſurer, it was not thought proper to name any Perſon for it at that Time; but the King, by the Advice of the Parliament, appointed five Lords to execute it by Commiſſion. The Parliament of *England* had diſpoſed of that Office in the ſame Manner, when Doctor *Juxon*, Biſhop of *London*, who had been Lord High Treaſurer for ſome Years, reſigned that Office.

AFTERWARDS

1641.

Afterwards the King and the Parliament elected fifteen Ordinary and four Extraordinary Lords of the Court of Seſſions. No Preſident was elected, but it has been the Cuſtom ſince, that, at the firſt meeting of this Court, the Ordinary Lords choſe one of their own Number to preſide to the End of that Seſſion. Laſtly, ſome Lords and Gentlemen were named in the ſame Manner to be of the King's Privy Council, to whom was added the Provoſt (Mayor) of the City of *Edinburgh*, to be of it for ever. Then the Parliament proceeded to the Nomination of Commiſſioners, for ſeeing the Treaty of Peace put in Execution, and deliberating with thoſe who ſhould be choſen by the King and Parliament of *England*, upon the Propoſitions that had been left undecided at the Treaty. The Parliament paſſing on to other Affairs that more particularly concerned the Covenant, confirmed the Act of the Aſſembly of *Aberdeen* about the demoliſhing of Images, and going by ſeveral Acts of Parliament made in King *James*'s Time, which declare ſuch as are not of the reformed Religion of the Country, incapable of being Notaries, Sollicitors, or Judges in any Court of Juſtice; it was ordained, that all thoſe who had not ſigned, or refuſed to ſign the Covenant, ſhould forfeit their Right of Patronage, and that the Benefices, to which they had a Right of Preſentation, ſhould be with full Power filled up by the Preſbyteries.

Now, becauſe in the Parliament of the Year 1633 an End had not been made of the Proviſion of all the Benefices upon the Valuation of the Tithes of each Pariſh, Commiſſioners were named to do it, with full Power to unite and diſmember the Pariſhes as they ſhould judge expedient: And becauſe there was a Regulation to be made about the Vaſſals, and Lands, which formerly held of the Biſhops; it was ordained by the King and Parliament, that theſe Vaſſals ſhould hereafter do their Homage to his Majeſty, and that all theſe Lands ſhould hold of the Crown, excepting the Baronies, with which the King had gratified ſome Lords and Corporations, which were to hold immediately of them. As for that Part of the Biſhops Revenues, which they had by the confirming of Wills within their Dioceſes, which was called *the Quote-part of the Teſtament*, and which their Officers ſometimes collected with little Diſcretion, or rather with too much Rigour; inſtead of being aſſigned to any Perſon in particular, it was entirely aboliſhed by the Parliament. It ſeems that this Right has had its Riſe from the Care, which the Biſhops in old Times took of Orphans under Age, whom they took under their Protection, as honorary Curators. But it has fared with this as with many other Things, that though the Office ceaſed, and was no more in Uſe, yet the Emoluments ſtill continued, Men commonly having a greater Love for their Intereſt, than for their Duty.

It remained now that ſome Courſe ſhould be taken with thoſe, whom the Parliament called *Cabalers* and *Boutefeus*, who ſtirred up the King againſt his Subjects, and blew up the Coals of Diſſenſion in the Kingdom, ſuch they looked upon to be the Earl of *Traquair*, the Biſhop of *Roſs*, Sir *Robert Spotſwood*, and Sir *John Hay*, the one formerly Preſident of the Court of Seſſions, and the other Lord Regiſter, who had been both arreſted, and the Dean of *Durham*, whom the Covenanters accuſed of having penned that Declaration, which, in the Year 1639 was publiſhed in the King's Name, and which had been condemned and anathematized both by the Parliament and General Aſſemblies. All theſe had been ſummoned to appear before the Parliament with *Montroſe*, *Stirling* of *Keir*, and *Stuart* of *Blackhall*, who were Priſoners in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*. But though the

1641. the Parliament was much incenſed againſt theſe Men; yet as they found themſelves obliged to do ſomething that might be agreeable to the King, in Acknowledgment of the Pains he had taken to make up all paſt Differences, and to ſettle ſure Means of a firm Peace: They declared, that though they had juſt Reaſon to proſecute thoſe guilty Perſons with the utmoſt Rigour, yet knowing that ſuch a Procedure would diſpleaſe his Majeſty, and being deſirous that the King ſhould return to *England*, pleaſed with a People, who were fully ſatisfied of his paternal Care, they ſhould be contented, in order to fulfil the Oath they had taken at the opening of the Parliament, to ordain the Priſoners to be interrogated by the Committee, who, after having confronted them with the Witneſſes, and finiſhed their Proceſs, ſhould put them into his Majeſty's Hands. Whereupon the King, taking this Acknowledgment of the Parliament in good Part, declared, that he ſhould not imploy the Perſons accuſed in his Service, nor ſuffer them to approach his Perſon, that he might not give the leaſt Pretence for diſturbing the Peace that had been ſo happily concluded and eſtabliſhed in the Kingdom. After that the King got *Montroſe* and his Fellow Priſoners ſet at Liberty, upon their giving Bail to appear before the Committee when called upon. They were not ſummoned till the 27th of *January*, when they all went, and within twenty four Hours gave in their Anſwers to a long Inditement which was drawn up againſt them, not being able to obtain a longer Time. But as the Month of *February* was ſpent in Anſwers and Replies, without confronting any Witneſſes, the laſt Day of *February* they gave in a Proteſtation ſigned with their Hands, whereby they declared, that the Parliament having ordered the Committee to put an End to their Trial before the firſt of *March*, which was now at Hand, they had acquitted themſelves of their Words like Men of Honour; and thereupon retired to their Houſes.

*Montroſe and his Friends ſet at Liberty.*

AT laſt having ordained, that according to the Act for a triennial Parliament, the next Meeting ſhould be at *Edinburgh* in the Month of *June* 1644, this Parliament broke up the 17th of *November* with great Acclamations of Joy. And truly the King had therein given the Covenanters all Manner of Satisfaction, having conferred Honours upon many of them, and made a good Number of Knights. But above all his Majeſty heaped his Favours upon General *Leſly*, whom he made Earl, putting the Coronet upon his Head in a full meeting of Parliament. And this new Earl, that he might not ſeem ungrateful for the ſo many Favours, which the King out of his Bounty had beſtowed upon him, ſolemnly proteſted ſince, and once upon his Knees, in the Earl of *Kinowl*'s Houſe in *Perth*, that he never ſhould draw his Sword againſt his Majeſty's Service.

*A Rebellion in* Ireland.

BUT this Joy was ſoon diſturbed by a Rebellion in *Ireland*, of which the King received the News before he left *Scotland*. It broke out in *October*, and had been concerted with ſo great Art and Secrecy, that there had not been the leaſt Suſpicion of it, ſo much did the ancient Animoſities between the two Nations of *England* and *Ireland* ſeem to be extinguiſhed and buried by a Peace of forty Years, and by ſo many Alliances, which had incorporated them both into one People; but the State of Religion, the ſtrongeſt of all Ties, was ſuch, that it ſtill preſerved ſome Seeds of Diviſion amongſt them.

THE Deſign was to ſurprize the Caſtle of *Dublin*, where the principal Magazine of Arms and Ammunition of the Kingdom of *Ireland* was, and, at the ſame Time, to ſieze all the other Fortreſſes, and to offer Violence to none,

none, but to thoſe that ſhould reſiſt; which was to be put in Execution over all the Kingdom on the 23d of *October*. For which End many of the *Iriſh* Nobility and Gentry had gone before to *Dublin*, among the reſt *Mac Mahone*, by his Mother, Grandchild to the Earl of *Tyrone*, who was ſo remarkable in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. This Lord, who had the Charge of the Deſign upon the Caſtle of *Dublin*, took with him *Owen O-Conelly*, of *Iriſh* Extract, but a Proteſtant, to whom he diſcovered the whole Secret. Whereupon *O-Conelly*, having made his Eſcape out of the Inn, not without Danger of his Life, at nine of the Clock at Night went to inform Sir *William Parſons*, one of the Lords Juſtices, of the Storm that was juſt ready to fall upon the whole Kingdom. The Lord Juſtice, having at that Inſtant called a Council, told them the Affair, and the Council cauſed *Mac Mahone* and the Lord *Macguyre* to be ſeized. Which having alarmed the reſt of the Conſpirators, they made their Eſcape that ſame Night. 1641.

But though the Lords of the Council had found by *Mac Mahone*'s Confeſſion, that it was altogether impoſſible for them to prevent the Miſchief any where but in *Dublin*, he having told them plainly, that the next Day the whole Kingdom would be up in Arms, they hoped, however, that the News of the Miſcarriage of the Deſign upon the Caſtle of *Dublin*, would ſtrike Terror into the Conſpirators that were in the ſeveral Counties, and raiſe Courage in all his Majeſty's other Subjects, to make a vigorous Reſiſtance. Whereupon the Council having cauſed a Proclamation to be publiſhed the 23d in the Morning, they diſpatched Expreſſes in all Haſte to the ſeveral Counties, to inform all the faithful Subjects and good Patriots of the Diſcovery of this Treaſon, and to encourage them all to behave themſelves boldly in the Defence of the Laws and their own Liberties. At the ſame Time, Orders were given for the Security of the Caſtle of *Dublin*. But the Council being told that ſame Day, and the Week following by the *Engliſh* Proteſtants, who flocked in great Numbers to *Dublin*, that the Fire was kindled all over the Kingdom, and that the Rebels uſed them very barbarouſly, (as in the Beginning great Cruelties were committed on both Sides) truſty Perſons were in all Haſte ſent to the King in *Scotland*, and to the Earl of *Leiceſter* at *London*, who upon his Return from his Embaſſy in *France* had been made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, to give them an Account of the truly deplorable State of that Kingdom.

In the mean Time the Lords of the Council thought upon Means for oppoſing the Rebels, and extinguiſhing this Combuſtion. They found in the Caſtle of *Dublin* Arms for ten Thouſand Men, and Ammunition in Proportion, which the Earl of *Strafford* had cauſed to be laid up there. But the Militia was ſo diſperſed in the other Fortreſſes of the Kingdom, that it was impoſſible to draw any conſiderable Body of them together, and what was yet more hard, there was no Money in the Treaſury for raiſing Troops: So that the only Remedy that was left them, was the Hopes of a ſpeedy and powerful Aſſiſtance from the Parliament of *England*.

That Parliament having received the News of this Rebellion by *O-Conelly*, whom the Council of *Ireland* had diſpatched Expreſs to *London*, ordered fifty Thouſand Pounds to be borrowed from the City upon the publick Faith, to be immediately ſent to *Ireland:* That *O-Conelly* ſhould have a Reward of five Hundred Pounds ready Money, and a Penſion of two Hundred Pounds a Year in Land: That the Roman Catholicks of Quality in all the Counties of *England* ſhould be diſarmed, and that excepting the

1641. Merchants no Perſon ſhould have Liberty to go to *Ireland* without a Paſs from the Committee that ſhould be appointed for that Kingdom. But ſome Days after the Parliament was more fully informed of the deplorable State of *Ireland*; and was told that the Council of that Kingdom having given Commiſſions and Arms to the Catholicks of the *Engliſh Pale*, they had turned their Arms againſt thoſe who had put them into their Hands, having joined with the Rebels; (by the *Engliſh Pale* is to be underſtood an Extent of Land containing many Counties, which the *Engliſh* having taken Poſſeſſion of at the firſt Conqueſt of *Ireland*, have always poſſeſſed them ſince.) Whereupon the two Houſes taking this Affair to Heart, and afraid that the Fire that was conſuming *Ireland* might be ſoon kindled in *England*, ordered two Hundred Thouſand Pounds to be raiſed for the publick Neceſſities. They were forced to have Recourſe again to the City of *London*, for ſo great a Sum could not be levied without great Delay in the Counties, and to incourage that opulent City to bear that Burden, it was ordered that the publick Faith ſhould be pledged for the principal Sum, and twelve *per Cent.* of Intereſt.

*The Marquis of* Ormond *made Lieutenant General of the Troops in* Ireland.

In the Month of *November* the Marquis of *Ormond* arrived at *Dublin* with a good Body of Light-Horſe, where a few Days after he received the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s Commiſſion, approved by the King, to command all the Troops that ſhould be raiſed in *Ireland*, in the Quality of Lieutenant General of the *Iriſh* Armies, and the Council very opportunely having received the two Hundred Thouſand Pounds, with Letters from the Parliament, to whom the King had referred the Affairs of *Ireland*, and from the Lord Lieutenant, full of a deep Senſe of the Miſery of that Country, they cauſed ſeveral Regiments to be raiſed, for the moſt Part compoſed of *Engliſh*, who being driven from their Houſes by the Rebels, had fled to *Dublin*, as a Place of Safety.

*The End of the Second* BOOK.

THE

# THE HISTORY OF THE TROUBLES OF *GREAT-BRITAIN.*

## BOOK III.

ABOUT the End of *November* the King returned to *London*, where the Magiſtrates received his Majeſty with great Pomp and Magnificence, and the King, in order to ſhew them how much he was pleaſed with it, ſome Days after, he invited the chief Men of them to *Hampton-Court*, where having given them a ſumptuous Entertainment, he knighted ſeveral of the Aldermen of the City. During the King's Reſidence at that Palace, the Houſe of Commons, without the Concurrence of the Peers, preſented a Remonſtrance to him, wherein all the Grievances and Complaints of the Members of that Houſe, as well againſt the Eccleſiaſtical as Political Government, ſince the beginning of his Majeſty's Reign, were repreſented at large, but wherein, without laying the Blame upon the King, they charged his Miniſters and the Biſhops with the Cauſe of all the Miſchiefs. This Remonſtrance was drawn up in the Houſe of Commons a little before the King's Return, where it was debated with ſo much Heat, that ſometimes the Houſe ſat till two a Clock in the Morning, and was carried at laſt but by nine Votes. Then the Majority ordered it to be printed, which the other Members unanimouſly oppoſed: And becauſe *Jeffery Palmer*, an able Lawyer, with much Eloquence had ſhewn, that the Remonſtrance ought not to be ſent to the King without the Concurrence

1641. *The King returns to* London.

1641. currence of the Peers, and it being only to be preſented to the King, it ought not to be printed, nor put into the Hands of the People, in order to ſtir them up againſt the Government, he was ſent Priſoner to the *Tower*.

PEOPLE of good Account in *London* were divided in their Opinions about this Remonſtrance, ſome believed that the King might reap Advantage by it, and not being hitherto fully informed of the bad Uſe which his Miniſters made of his Authority and Confidence, he would take ſome Courſe about it for the Time to come, and prevent that popular Opinion, which makes the Faults of Miniſters reflect upon the Princes themſelves. On the contrary others ſaid, that it could produce nothing but a Hatred in the King's Mind againſt thoſe that were the Authors of it, who intended nothing elſe, but to leſſen his Reputation amongſt his People, and ſeeing at all Times ſoft Words muſt be made Uſe of to Kings, much rather, a more gentle Method ought to have been taken in the preſent Juncture, when there were Jealouſies between the King and the Parliament; and that in order to gain his Majeſty's Favour, the Commons ought to have carried themſelves rather with Moderation than Boldneſs, in the Deſign they had of finding Fault with his Miniſters.

AT the ſame Time, it was reported every where, that the City was grown weary of the tedious Length of their Procedure in Affairs, and that it was ready to join with the King againſt them: Which obliged the Magiſtrates of the City, to preſent an Apology to the two Houſes, in which they declared; "That whereas, there were ſome Perſons that had miſin-
*The City's Apology to the two Houſes.* "terpreted the Expreſſions of their Affection towards the King, taking "them as a Sign that they had a Mind to attach themſelves to his Majeſty, "and abandon the Parliament, they deſired that it might be known to all "the World, that on the contrary, they were reſolved to live and die with "it for the Good of the Publick." The Remonſtrance of the Houſe of Commons, as alſo the Declaration of the City, diſpleaſed the King extreamly, and had it not been for that Tenderneſs towards his People, which was natural to him, and which he could not overcome, he would have withdrawn his Affection from them both. From that Time forward the bad Underſtanding between the King and the Parliament increaſed every Day; there was nothing but Manifeſto's and Declarations on both Sides, which, indeed, were full of moſt gracious and ſincere Offers from the King, and Proteſtations of Fidelity, in all Appearance, very affectionate from the Parliament, but which laſt, at the Bottom, contained nothing but Matter of Spleen and Reproach, and this Paper War was only a Forerunner of that other which followed very ſoon after.

1642. THE King delaying to explain himſelf upon the Remonſtrance made contrary to the uſual Forms, and to do therein what his Prudence and Ho-
*The King's Anſwer to the Petition of the Commons.* nour required, he made Anſwer to the Petition thereunto joined; "That "in order to fruſtrate all the Deſigns which the Papiſts might have of di-"ſturbing the Peace of the Kingdom, he ſhould be always ready to join "with the Parliament, provided they ſhould proceed therein according to "Law: That as for depriving the Biſhops of their Votes in Parliament, "they ſhould conſider, that their Right was grounded upon the funda-"mental Laws of the Kingdom, and Conſtitution of Parliament; but be-"cauſe he wanted to have a Conference with the Parliament upon that "Matter, he ſhould explain himſelf no farther. That in Regard to the "exorbitant Power of the Clergy, he thought, that the Suppreſſion of the "Court of High Commiſſion had ſufficiently abated it; nevertheleſs, if "the

" the Clergy exerciſed their Juriſdiction with Exceſs, or incroached upon 1642.
" the Rights of others, as he had never protected them in that, he ſhould
" not protect them ſtill. That as to what they called Corruptions in Re-
" ligion, and the Ceremonies which gave Offence to tender Conſciences,
" he freely conſented that all Novelty in Religion ſhould be ſuppreſſed, if,
" peradventure, any had crept into it againſt the Laws, and if the Parlia-
" ment had a Mind to have a National Synod called, to take Cognizance
" of the Ceremonies that may give juſt Ground of Offence to any, he
" would endeavour to give them due Satisfaction therein. But as for the
" reſt, it was very diſagreeable to him to hear Corruptions in Religion
" ſpoken of in ſo general Terms, ſince he was perſuaded in his Conſcience,
" that there was not a Church upon Earth that profeſſed the true Reli-
" gion with more Purity in the Doctrine, than the Church of *England*,
" nor where the Government and Diſcipline are more upright and diſtant
" from Superſtition; for which Cauſe he would maintain that Religion in
" its Purity and Beauty, as well againſt the ſecret Practices of the Papiſts,
" as againſt the Irreverence of Schiſmaticks, wherewith the Kingdom a-
" bounds, to the great Diſhonour and Danger both of Church and State.
" That as concerning the removing of ſome of his Counſellors, he knew
" none of them that deſerved to be called malicious in the Style of the
" Houſe, and that by thoſe Counſellors whom he had expoſed to Trial, he
" had given ſufficient Teſtimony that there was not one of his Officers,
" whom he would not leave to the Rigour of the Laws, if he ſhould be
" convicted of any Crime; but whilſt they did not name any Perſon in
" particular, he wiſhed them to forbear ſuch general Aſperſions, as might
" reflect upon all his Council. That for the Choice of his Counſellors,
" and Miniſters of State, it was the natural Liberty of all Freemen, and
" the undoubted Right of the Crown, to call ſuch to his ſecret Council,
" and Miniſtry, as he ſhould think fit; yet as he always had been, he
" would continue to be careful, to make Choice of ſuch, as ſhould have
" given good Proofs of their Abilities and Integrity, and againſt whom
" there could be no juſt Cauſe of Exception. Laſtly, with Reſpect to *Ire-*
" *land*, he took their Zeal for the State of that Kingdom in good Part, in
" which, beſides the Intereſts of Religion, which he had much at Heart,
" he found that thoſe of all the Kingdom of *England*, and his Honour
" were deeply ingaged."

His Majeſty ſent to the Magiſtrates of the City of *London*, to complain of the Meetings of the People every Day at the Palace of *Weſtminſter*, offering themſelves to the Parliament. Now, as a Storm-threatning Cloud had overcaſt the Sky on all Sides, and that the Thunder began already to roar, the Houſe of Commons complained to the King, that a malicious Party, whom they called Malignants, was daily growing ſtronger, and that their Inſolence had gone to that Height as to affront, and even to threaten the Parliament, and begged his Majeſty to allow them Guards compoſed of the Inhabitants of the City, and commanded by the Earl of *Eſſex*. His Majeſty rejected their Demand, but aſſured them in the Word of a King, that he had the Safety of their whole Body in General, and of every one of them in particular as much at Heart, as that of his own Children. That if that Security was not ſufficient to cure them of their Apprehenſions, he ſhould take ſuch a Courſe about their Safety, as he could anſwer for before God, with a ſafe Conſcience.

This Anſwer neither leſſened their Fears nor their Jealouſies, for that very Day the King made Sir *Edward Herbert*, his Attorney General, de-

1642. mand, that five Members of the Houſe of Commons might be delivered up to him, to wit, *Denzil Hollis*, Sir *Arthur Hazlerig*, Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *Hambden*, and Mr. *Strode*, whom the King had a Mind to accuſe of High-Treaſon upon ſeven Articles. The 1. "That they have traiterouſly endea-
*The Articles of High-Treaſon againſt the five Members.* "voured to ſubvert the fundamental Laws and Government of this King-
"dom, and deprive the King of his regal Power, and to place on his Sub-
"jects an arbitrary and tyrannical Power. 2. That they have endeavoured,
"by many falſe Aſperſions upon his Majeſty and his Government to alie-
"nate the Affections of his People, and to make his Majeſty odious to
"them. 3. That they have endeavoured to draw his Majeſty's late Army
"to Diſobedience to his Majeſty's Command, and to ſide with them in
"their traiterous Deſign. 4. That they have traiterouſly invaded, and
"encouraged a Foreign Power to invade his Majeſty's Kingdom of *En-*
"*gland.* 5. That they have traiterouſly endeavoured to ſubvert the very
"Rights and Beings of Parliament. 6. That, for the compleating of their
"traiterous Deſigns, they have endeavoured, as far as in them lay, by
"Force, and Terror, to compel the Parliament to join with them in their
"traiterous Deſigns, and to that End, have actually raiſed, and counte-
"nanced Tumults againſt the King and Parliament. 7. That they have
"traiterouſly conſpired to levy, and actually have levied War againſt the
"King."

THE Houſe pretending that this Action was a Breach of their Privileges, made an Order for ſtopping its Courſe. The King, notwithſtanding their Order, cauſed the Trunks and Studies of theſe Gentlemen to be ſealed up, and ordered their Perſons to be ſeized; and the next Day the 4th of *January*, the King went in Perſon to the Houſe of Commons, accompanied by the Elector *Palatine*, his Nephew, and his uſual Guard of Gentlemen Penſioners, and ſome others that joined them in the Way, who having ranged themſelves at the Door of the Houſe of Commons, the King went in, and *William Lenthall*, the Speaker, leaving the Chair, his Majeſty placed himſelf in it, and aſked him if the five Members, whom he had demanded, were there, to which the Speaker replied; *That his Eyes could not ſee, nor his Tongue anſwer any Thing, but what the Houſe ſhould command him.* The King ſeeing that they were not there, for the Houſe having Advice of his Majeſty's Deſign, had made them keep out of the Way, he ſaid to the other Members; "That he was very ſorry for this Occaſion of coming to
*The King's Speech from the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons Chair.* "them: That this troubleſome Accident ſhould not hinder him from
"being as careful in preſerving the Privileges of Parliament, as any of his
"Predeceſſors: That theſe five Members were dangerous Men, to whom,
"however, he had no Intention to offer any Violence; but to proceed a-
"gainſt them in a fair and legal Way: That not being able at this Time
"to do what he had deſigned, he took his Leave of them, but expected
"they ſhould be ſent to him, and if they were not, he ſhould give Orders
"for finding them out in what Place ſoever they might be."

EIGHT Days after, a Proclamation was publiſhed by the King, ordering the five Members of the Houſe of Commons to be apprehended. The Proclamation, among other Things, contained, "That theſe Members be-
"ing ſenſible of their Guilt, had abſented themſelves from their Houſe."
Whereupon that Houſe publiſhed a Proteſtation againſt the Proclamation, as injurious, and done contrary to Law. Beſides, they declared, that the publiſhing of Articles containing an Accuſation of High-Treaſon againſt theſe Members, which ſome Gentlemen of the *Inns of Court* had drawn up, was a manifeſt Breach of the Privileges of Parliament. This Quarrel between

between the King and Parliament very much grieved all thoſe who were affected with the Affairs of *Ireland*, where the Catholicks obtained great Advantages over the Proteſtants. But though the King was as much moved with them as was poſſible, that he even offered to go thither in Perſon againſt the Rebels, yet the Miſunderſtanding betwixt him and the Parliament occaſioned, that the Loans and Levies, which had been propoſed, went but ſlowly on, and that a ſpeedy and ſufficient Succour, ſuitable to the Greatneſs of the Misfortunes of *Ireland*, could not be ſent thither for ſubduing the Rebels. 1642.

The City of *London* having a Mind, in this troubleſome Juncture, to ſhew its Affection for the State, whereof it makes ſo conſiderable a Part, preſented a Petition to the King, containing many Heads of Complaint. Repreſenting, "The bad Conſequences of his Majeſty's changing the Lieu- "tenant of the *Tower*, and of fortifying *White-Hall* in an unuſual Man- "ner, and of his Guards having attacked and wounded ſome Citizens paſ- "ſing by." The Occaſion of which was this, the Day after the King had been in the Houſe of Commons, his Majeſty having gone to the City in Coach, whither he underſtood that the five Members of that Houſe were retired, he was ſollicited by a great Number of Citizens, that he would be pleaſed to agree with the Parliament, and not to infringe their Privileges. The King ſeeing by that, to what Side the Affection of the People inclined, at his Return to *White-Hall*, ordered a ſmall Guard-Room to be made, where ſome Gentlemen had given Occaſion for this Complaint from the City. "They likewiſe complained of the Deſigns of the Gen- "tlemen of the *Inns of Court*, who had offered to guard the King's Perſon, "and that of the Queen; and of his Majeſty's having ſent in ſeveral En- "gineers and other Military Men to the *Tower*. That Store of Ball and "Fireworks, with many other Inſtruments of War, had been diſcovered "in the Hands of Papiſts. That he had gone into the Houſe of Com- "mons, attended by armed Men, to the indangering his own Perſon, and "the Privileges of that Aſſembly. That all theſe Things tended not only "to the Overthrow of the Trade of the City, but threatned the utter Ruin "of the Proteſtant Religion over all the Kingdom, and the Deſtruction of "all his Majeſty's faithful Subjects. Therefore they intreated him, That "by the Advice of his Great Council, which is the Parliament, the Pro- "teſtants of *Ireland* might be ſpeedily relieved: That the *Tower* might "be put into the Hands of Perſons faithful to the State: That his Ma- "jeſty might not make Uſe of any for the Guard of his Perſon and the "Parliament, but of known and approved Perſons, and that the Lord "*Kimbolton* and the five Members of the Houſe of Commons might not "be reſtrained of Liberty, or otherwiſe proceeded againſt, than according "to the Privilege of Parliament." *The City petitions the King.*

The King found this Petition very ſtrange and very bold; and, indeed, 'tis a Thing of dangerous Conſequence, when the People take the Liberty to inquire whether the State be well or ill governed. 'Tis a Symptom of ſome Diſtemper in the Body of the State, and very often a Fore-runner of ſome Diſturbance: But 'tis not always convenient to ſuppreſs it with too much Rigour; for licentious Words commonly vaniſh when they are ſlighted; whereas they gather more Life when too much Pains are taken to ſtifle them. The moſt gentle Remedy for that Diſtemper, and which ought to be made Uſe of when the Minds of the People are exaſperated, is the Satisfaction, to which God himſelf, it ſeems, ſometimes deſcends; *O my People, what have I done unto thee, and wherein have I wearied thee? teſtify*

1642. *teſtify againſt me.* The King, in order to ſatisfy the City, with a wonderful Goodneſs gave Anſwer to all their Complaints. " That for the ſad " Buſineſs of *Ireland*, he could not poſſibly expreſs a greater Senſe than he " had done, there being nothing left on his Part unoffered, or undone. " For the *Tower*, he wondered that having removed a Servant of Truſt " from that Charge, only to ſatisfy the City, and put in another of un- " queſtionable Reputation and known Ability, the Petitioners ſhould " ſtill entertain thoſe Fears; and whatſoever Preparation of Strength was " there made, was with as great an Eye of Safety and Advantage to the " City, as to his own Perſon, and ſhould be equally employed to both. " For the fortifying *White-Hall* with Men and Ammunition in an uſual " Way, he doubted not, but they had obſerved the ſtrange Provocation he " had received to entertain that Guard; that, by the diſorderly and tu- " multuous Conflux of People at *Weſtminſter* and *White-Hall*, his great " Council was not only diſquieted, but his own royal Perſon in Danger; " moſt ſeditious Language being uttered even under his own Windows. " And if any Citizens had been wounded, or ill treated, he was confidently " aſſured, that it had happened by their own evil and corrupt Demeanours. " For the Fireworks in the Hands of a Papiſt, he knew nothing, nor un- " derſtood whom, or what they meant. That for the Gentlemen of the " Inns of Court, he had only taken in good Part the Offers of their loyal " Affection, and deſired them to ſhew it when Occaſion ſhould offer. For " his going to the Houſe of Commons, when his Attendants were no o- " therwiſe armed than as Gentlemen with Swords, he was perſuaded, that " if they knew the clear Grounds upon which thoſe Perſons ſtood accuſed " of High-Treaſon, and what would be proved againſt them, with which " they ſhould in due Time be acquainted; and conſidered the gentle Way " he took for their Apprehenſion, (which he preferred before any Courſe " of Violence, though that Way had been very juſtifiable; ſince it was no- " toriouſly known, that no Privilege of Parliament can extend to Treaſon, " Felony, or Breach of Peace) they would believe his going thither was " an Act of Grace and Favour to that Houſe, and the moſt peaceable Way " of having that neceſſary Service performed; there being ſuch Orders made " for the Reſiſtance of what Authority ſoever for their Apprehenſion: And " for the Proceedings againſt thoſe Perſons, he ever intended the ſame " ſhould be with all Juſtice and Favour, according to the Laws and Sta- " tutes of the Realm; to which all innocent Men would chearfully ſub- " mit. And this extraordinary Way of ſatisfying a Petition of ſo unuſual " a Nature, he ſaid, he was confident would be thought the greateſt In- " ſtance could be given of his clear Intention to his Subjects; and of the " ſingular Eſteem he had of the good Affections of that City, which he " hoped in Gratitude would never be wanting to his juſt Commands and " Service."

At the ſame Time, the King acquainted the Parliament, that he deferred the Proſecution of thoſe guilty Perſons, and gave a very agreeable Anſwer to the Petitioners of the County of *Buckingham*, about two Thouſand Men of which County had come to offer their Service to *John Hambden*, their Repreſentative, who was one of the five accuſed Members. Thoſe Petitioners, in the Petition they preſented to the King, humbly deſired his Majeſty, that Mr. *Hambden*, and the reſt, who lay under the Burthen of that Accuſation, might enjoy the juſt Privileges of Parliament.

It had grown into a Cuſtom at this Time, that all thoſe, who had Petitions to preſent to the Parliament, ſhould come accompanied by a great Number

Number of People armed with Clubs tipt with Iron, and Swords, of which thoſe that were well affected to the Parliament were no Ways afraid, on the contrary, they became thereby the more bold; but thoſe who knew themſelves to be hated by the People, were frighted at it, and from thence took Occaſion to complain, that that Concourſe of People bred Confuſion and Diſorder in the Parliament, which perplexed them, and deprived them of the Liberty of acting, and that amongſt that Crowd, there were ſome ſo inſolent, as to give abuſive Language to ſuch as they imagined were not for the good of the Publick, whatever Quality they were of. Theſe Diſorders juſtified the King's Guard at *White-Hall*, and were the Cauſe of his abſenting himſelf from the Parliament ſome Time after. From thence likewiſe twelve Biſhops, who were in the upper Houſe, took Occaſion to draw up a Proteſtation, which they preſented to the King and the Lords of their Houſe, wherein they declared; " That they do abominate all Opinions tending to " Popery, and all Factions againſt the State. That they are moſt ready " and willing to perform their Duties in Parliament, for the Advancement " of Religion, and the Publick Good, and that it was not their Fault " that all Things did not go on peaceably and with Order; but becauſe " in coming to perform their Services in the Houſe, they have been vio- " lently threatened, affronted, and aſſaulted by Multitudes of People, and " can find no Redreſs, or Protection upon their Complaints made to both " Houſes in theſe Particulars; therefore they are forc'd to abſent them- " ſelves from their Duties. Laſtly they moſt humbly beſeech his Maje- " ſty to command the Clerk of the Houſe of Peers to enter this their " Proteſtation and Petition amongſt the Records."

1642.

*The Proteſtation and Petition of the Biſhops to the King and Houſe of Lords.*

The Houſe of Lords having immediately communicated this Affair to the Houſe of Commons, it was there reſolv'd to accuſe theſe twelve Biſhops of High-Treaſon, for having deſign'd to ſubvert the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, and the eſſential Form of Parliament. Mr. *Glin* went up to the Houſe of Lords to accuſe them of that Crime in Name of all the Commons. He deſired that the Lords might be pleaſed to forbid the Biſhops their Houſe, and to appoint a Day for their Trial, and in the mean Time to ſecure their Perſons. Whereupon the Lords ordered Mr. *Maxwel*, Gentleman Uſher of the Black Rod, to take the Biſhops into Cuſtody. He executed his Orders with ſo much Diligence, that about eight a Clock at Night he brought them all to the Houſe, and preſented them at the Bar, where, according to the Cuſtom of Priſoners, they fell upon their Knees, to wit, the Archbiſhop of *York*, the Biſhops of *Durham*, *Lichfield* and *Coventry*, *Norwich*, St. *Aſaph*, *Bath* and *Wells*, *Hereford*, *Oxford*, *Ely*, *Gloceſter*, *Peterborough*, and *Landaff*. Ten of them were ſent to the Tower, and the other two, to wit, the Biſhops of *Durham*, and *Lichfield* and *Coventry* were only put in Cuſtody of the Black Rod, on Account of their Age.

This Affair was likewiſe a Hindrance to the Relief of *Ireland*, and as Matters began to be carried on with too much Heat, the Affairs of that Kingdom gave Daily new Cauſe of many Differences between the King and Parliament, wherein they were ſtill claſhing one againſt another. A Petition had been preſented to the Houſe of Peers, that Soldiers might be levied, and preſſed, in Order to be ſent to *Ireland:* But the King declared, that he could not approve of their meddling with Affairs of that Nature; becauſe it was incroaching upon his Authority: And his Majeſty was much diſpleaſed with the Perſon, who had dar'd to preſent the Petition, though he conſented to its being anſwered for that Time. On the

*The Affairs of* Ireland *occaſion Differences between the King and Parliament.*

1642. other Hand, the Parliament complained, that the King in that put a Conſtraint upon the Freedom of Opinions, and pryed too far into their Deliberations, which ought to be concluded before the King ſhould declare his Sentiments of them, and as from that Time forward all the King's Actions paſſed with them as Breaches of their Privileges, they pretended that he had broke in upon them by the Exception his Majeſty had made againſt the Petition preſented to the Houſe of Peers, for preſſing Soldiers. The King had the Goodneſs, ſome Time after, to give up that Power, which had the ſame Foundation with that of the Ship-Money, which was begun to be levied after the ſame Manner in the Time of the Wars between *England* and *France*; for then it was thought convenient to give the King's Power to fit out Ships of War, and to preſs Soldiers to put on Board of them, when there was any Fear of an Invaſion from that Quarter, becauſe the Parliament could not meet ſoon enough for providing againſt ſudden Attempts. But that Power came to be abuſed, and what was deſigned for the Publick Good and Security, became ſometimes the Inſtrument of the Revenge and Paſſions of private Men.

Soon after, the *Scottiſh* Commiſſioners offered two thouſand five hundred Men to the Parliament of *England*, which they had ready in the North of *Ireland*, and for the Security of thoſe Troops, to which the Parliament was to give the ſame Pay with the *Engliſh*; they demanded that the Town and Caſtle of *Carrik-Fergus* ſhould be put into their Hands, and that all the Troops of that County, that had a Mind to joyn that ſmall Army, ſhould obey the Commander in Chief of the *Scots* Forces. The two Houſes agreed to this Demand, but the King oppoſing it, made it appear to them, that ſuch a Conceſſion might be prejudicial to *England*, and promiſed to ſpeak of it to the *Scots* Commiſſioners, and to get them to deſiſt from that Propoſal. Which the King having done, the Commiſſioners anſwered him, " That ſince the only Difficulty, which he found in that " Affair, was, that ſuch a Conceſſion ſhewed that the Parliament had too " great Confidence in the auxiliary Troops, they hoped that their native " Prince would not let it be ſeen, that he had leſs Confidence in them, " who were his Subjects, than the *Engliſh*, who were only their Neigh- " bous and Allies, who, nevertheleſs, had granted that Demand with much " Frankneſs." 'Tis very true, that the *Scots* Commiſſioners had Orders at firſt to treat with the Parliament only for a Succour for *Ireland* of ten thouſand Men, to which the Houſe of Peers did not conſent but upon Condition, that the Commons ſhould oblige themſelves to ſend thither as many *Engliſh* at the ſame Time, which they judged impoſſible, conſidering the Poſture of Affairs in *England*. The Lords alledged for a Reaſon of their Oppoſition, that the Honour of *England* was concerned in it, to ſuffer that *Ireland* ſhould be brought under the Obedience of the Laws by the *Scots* Troops. But thoſe, who were zealous for the Proteſtant Cauſe, did not reliſh that Point of Honour, and took it for a Pretence ſtarted by thoſe who favoured the Catholick Party.

It began then to be a Matter of Surprize, why the King was ſo long in declaring the *Iriſh*, Rebels, and it was not only the common Talk of the People, but the Parliament likewiſe complain'd of it in the Declaration which they publiſhed after the King had retired to *York*, taking that Delay for a Token that the *Iriſh* had good Protectors at Court. Their Conjecture was grounded upon the putting off the publiſhing the Proclamation, whereby they were declared Traitors, till the Month of *January*, though their Rebellion had broke out in *October* before. That according

to the King's expreſs Order there had only forty Copies of the Proclamation been printed, and that he had even forbidden to publiſh them without new Orders from him. That Manner of proceeding, ſaid they, was the more remarkable, that a quite different Method had been made uſe of againſt the *Scots*, who having been declared Rebels with great Precipitation and Bitterneſs, the Copies of the Declaration were quickly ſpread over the whole Kingdom, and at the ſame Time Orders were given to the Miniſters to read them publickly in the Churches. The King, in Order to confute that Calumny, which might make the People believe, that he had conniv'd at the *Iriſh* Rebellion, cauſed a Declaration to be publiſhed againſt that of the Parliament, wherein he declared; "That having re- "ceived the News of the *Iriſh* Rebellion while he was in *Scotland*, he "had recommended the Care of it to the Parliament of *England*: That "before he left *Scotland*, he had given the neceſſary Orders for a Relief, "which was ſpeedily to be drawn out of that Kingdom: That ſince his "Return to *London*, he had always ſhewn himſelf ready to authorize what- "ever the two Houſes ſhould propoſe for the Relief of *Ireland*; and as "to the Declaration againſt the *Iriſh*, it had been made as ſoon as it was "aſked by the Council of *Ireland*, who had deſired but twenty Copies of "it ſigned with his Hand, whereas, for the Good of their Affairs, he had "cauſed forty to be printed. And as this conſiſted with their Knowledge "they were the more to blame, that by ſuppreſſing the Truth of the "Fact, they had inſtill'd a bad Impreſſion of him in the Minds of his "People." 1642.

But though that had not been ſo, the King had made it ſufficiently appear, that he did not in the leaſt countenance the Rebellion of the Catholicks in *Ireland*; he having intended to diminiſh their Strength by Diverſion; as he let the Parliament of *England* know by the Letter he wrote them a few Days after his Arrival in *Scotland*, wherein having repreſented to them his Ingagement to the Ambaſſador of *Spain*, for allowing him to liſt four thouſand Men of the *Iriſh* Army, which had been diſbanded after the Earl of *Strafford*'s Death; he deſired to make good his Promiſe by the Conſent of the two Houſes. But the Commons, with whom the Lords had deſired a Conference upon it, oppoſed it. They gave their Reaſons ten Days after, when the King, by a ſecond Letter, told them, that the Ambaſſador was very preſſing with him about his Promiſe, which he could not elude with Honour, and that ſince he had found him ſo reaſonable, as to be content with the Half of what had been promiſed him, he hoped that the Parliament would not refuſe him that. The Commons, however, after deliberating ſome Time upon that Demand, declared to the Lords by the Mouth of the Lord *Falkland*, that it was not fit to grant it; becauſe the King of *Spain* was in the *Emperor*'s Intereſt, againſt the *Elector Palatine*, his Majeſty's Nephew, whom they both had ſtript of his Dominions; ſo that if at the Time that the King was cauſing a Manifeſto to be publiſhed in Favour of his Nephew, and was ſending an Ambaſſador to the Diet of *Ratiſbone*, he ſhould give Aſſiſtance to the *Elector*'s Enemies, there would be an evident Contradiction between his Words and Actions, and he would draw the Sword againſt himſelf. Beſides, that Aſſiſtance would turn to the Prejudice of the Proteſtant Cauſe, which the Parliament intended to forward to the utmoſt of their Power. They argued thus, not knowing what had been concluded between the King and his Catholick Majeſty's Ambaſſador: and ſome Time after, conſidering Nothing but their own Intereſt, they forgot both that of the Elector and of Religion, and they themſelves ſent Troops to the King of *Spain*.

In

1642.

In the Month of *February* a Propoſal was made to the two Houſes for the Relief of *Ireland*, whence they expected great Things; this Propoſal was, that ſince there were in the four Provinces of that Kingdom, to wit *Ulſter*, *Connaught*, *Munſter*, and *Lemſter*, which are ſubdivided into many Counties, two Millions and five Hundred Acres of Land, which belonged to the Rebels, they ought to be confiſcated, and divided amongſt thoſe who ſhould advance the neceſſary Money for that Conqueſt. The King quitting his Intereſt in that Confiſcation for forwarding the Affairs of that Kingdom, approved of the Propoſal, and conſented to an Ordinance, impowering the Parliament to proſecute that War until *Ireland* ſhould be ſubdued, and that there ſhould be no Treaty with the Rebels either of Peace or Truce, without the Conſent of the two Houſes. But as they were about putting this Ordinance in Execution, the Parliament preſented an Addreſs to the King, concerning the Militia of the Kingdom of *England* and the Principality of *Wales*. That was followed by ſeveral others upon the ſame Subject, to which the King made as many Replies, and as their Privileges were not now the Matter in Queſtion, which his Majeſty declared he would always inviolably preſerve to the two Houſes, but the Royal Authority; that Incroachment led the Way to an open Rupture. The Parliament then demanded of the King, "That in Order to incourage them "to ſuppreſs the Rebellion of *Ireland*, and to eſtabliſh the Security of the "Kingdom upon ſolid Foundations, he would be pleaſed to put the Tow-"er of *London*, with all the other Fortreſſes, and all the Militia of the "Kingdom, into the Hands of Perſons approved of by the two Houſes, "in whom they might truſt," The King anſwered, "That he would take "Care that none ſhould be imployed in thoſe Offices but Men of Honour, "and of undoubted Zeal and Fidelity for the Publick Good; but that the "Right of naming ſuch Perſons was particularly reſerved to him by the "fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, and that he derived it from his An-"ceſtors, as the brighteſt Gem in his Crown."

*The Parliament demands the Diſpoſal of the Militia.*

During this Debate, the Deciſion of which was made by Arms, the King continued eight Days at *White-Hall*, and after having been in the Houſe of Commons, he retired to *Hampton-Court*, and the Day after his Departure, the five Members of that Houſe, whom he had accuſed, were brought to *Weſtminſter* in armed Boats, where a great Multitude of People attended at their landing to accompany them to their Houſe. Now the King, before he left *Hampton-Court*, having ſent for ſeveral of his Servants who were Members of Parliament, to come and attend his Perſon, the Earl of *Eſſex*, Chamberlain of his Houſhold, and the Earl of *Holland* refuſed to go, excuſing themſelves with ſaying, that they could ſerve his Majeſty to better Purpoſe in Parliament, than any where elſe. Whereupon the King immediately ſent a Gentleman to them, to demand the Staff from the one, and from the other the Gold Key, which he wore, as firſt Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber; then his Majeſty, with the Queen, and Princeſs *Mary*, who about ten Months before had been married to *William* Prince of *Orange*, left *Hampton-Court*, and went to *Canterbury*. This Journey proved fatal to the Biſhops; for in that Metropolitan City of all *England*, the King conſented to their being deprived of their Right to ſit and vote in the Houſe of Peers, the brighteſt of all the Privileges that were annexed to the Epiſcopal Dignity; for they had it not by Virtue of their Character, but becauſe they held their Lands in Baronies. For the ſame Reaſon, many Abbots of old, with the Prior of *Coventry*, ſat in that Houſe. The Grand Prior of *England*, who pretended to have the Rank of firſt Baron

Baron of the Kingdom, had likewiſe a Seat there. The King having paſſed ſome Days at *Canterbury*, went on to *Dover*, one of the Cinque Ports of the Kingdom. From thence the Queen went over to *Holland* with the Princeſs Royal; and as ſoon as the King had ſeen the Ship under Sail, he returned to *Greenwich*, from whence he ſent for the Prince of *Wales* and the Duke of *York*, in Order to accompany him to the City of *York*, where he intended to make his Reſidence. 1642.

As ſoon as theſe Princes had joyned the King, he left *Greenwich*, and went to lye at *Theobalds*, another Royal Houſe ſituate in a very fine Park, where, on the firſt Day of *March*, he received another Addreſs from the Parliament. The drift of this Addreſs was once more to pray his Majeſty to grant their Demand concerning the Militia, repreſenting to him, that if he did it not, they would be forc'd, in the preſent Juncture, to diſpoſe of it immediately for the Security of the Kingdom. They likewiſe requeſted him, that he would be pleaſed to take up his Reſidence near *London*, and not to remove the Prince of *Wales* from it; that he might be informed by them, his Great Council, that by the Laws of *England*, the Power of raiſing and diſpoſing of the Militia could not be given to any Perſon without the Conſent of Parliament. The King gave them no other Anſwer concerning the Militia, but what he had ſaid before. As for the reſt, he declared to them, that he did not think himſelf ſafe in any Place near *London*; and as for the Prince of *Wales* his Son, the Care he ſhould take of him would juſtify him before God and Man, as well in the Quality of a Father, as of a King.

*The Parliament addreſſeth the King at* Theobalds *about the Militia.*

The Parliament taking this ſhort Anſwer to be an abſolute Denial of their Demand, ordered that the Earl of *Northumberland*, Admiral of *England*, ſhould immediately give Orders for fitting out all the Ships of the Royal Navy for the Service of the State; and as the King had got to *New-Market*, the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Holland*, accompanied by ſome Members of the Houſe of Commons, on the 9th of *March*, preſented to his Majeſty a Declaration, drawn up by the two Houſes.

This Declaration contained ſome very Satyrical Clauſes; to wit; "That thoſe who were in greateſt Authority about his Majeſty, had for "a long Time been carrying on the Deſign of altering Religion. That "the War with *Scotland* was made for that Purpoſe. That the Rebellion in *Ireland* was contrived in *England*. That his Majeſty had intended "to order his Army to march againſt the Parliament. That, contrary "to his Promiſe, he had given a Warrant under his own Hand for tranſporting Mr. *Jermyn*, and the Lord *Digby*, with other Criminals beyond "Seas; and that he had come into the Houſe of Commons, in Order, "without any Ground, to ſurprize the five Members, who, his Majeſty "ſaid, had incurred his Diſpleaſure." They had muſtered up all theſe Things to ſhew, that their Fears and Jealouſies were well grounded, and that the Reaſons alledged by the King for not reſiding at *London*, were ſuggeſted by his evil Counſellors, for no other End but to imbroil the State. They concluded, "That his Majeſty would give Occaſion to all "the World, to believe that he fled from the Parliament, with no other "Deſign but to diſcourage ſuch as undertook the Expedition of *Ireland*, "and that as well the Rebels, as other Perſons diſaffected to Religion and "the State, would have Reaſon to be incouraged, by ſeeing the Publick "Affairs take the Courſe which they had ſo eagerly longed for."

*The Declaration of the two Houſes.*

1642.

THE King falling into a Paſſion, and with very great Reaſon, becauſe of this Remonſtrance, ſaid to the Commiſſioners; That it was rather a Libel againſt him, than a Perſuaſion to return to the Parliament, and that he would give an Anſwer to it by a Declaration, which he cauſed to be publiſhed ſome Time after, wherein his Majeſty juſtified the Sincerity of his Intentions for Religion, and the Juſtice of his Conduct with great Reſolution. He therein repreſented, "That his Actions ought not to have "been ſo much diſparaged, nor his Reputation ſo harſhly blemiſhed un- "der Colour of evil Counſellors. That he could add nothing to the Te- "ſtimonies he had given of his Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion, in the "Declaration he had cauſed to be publiſhed in the Month of *January*, and "that all the Courſe of his Life having given ſo evident Proofs of that "Truth, he expected ſome Acknowledgment of his Piety, rather than a "Reproach that he had a Deſign to change his Religion, from which he "was ſo far, that he wiſhed the Judgments of God might diſcover thoſe "who had any ſuch Thought. That it was an odious Thing to revive "the Memory of the Troubles of *Scotland*, which having been quieted "by the Parliaments of the two Kingdoms, ought to be buried in eternal "Oblivion. That if the Rebellion of *Ireland* had been hatched in *Eng-* "*land*, he conjured the two Houſes to do their utmoſt in diſcovering the "Authors of it, that he might joyn with them in bringing them to exem- "plary Puniſhment. That he took God to be witneſs of his never having "had the leaſt Thought of marching his Army to offer Violence to the "Parliament, and of his never having had Knowledge of ſuch a Deſign, "and that the publiſhing ſo baſe a Calumny was injuring him to the high- "eſt Degree. That if their Privileges had been broke in upon by the Ac- "cuſation of the Lord *Kimbolton*, and the five Members of the Houſe of "Commons, he had given them Reparation beyond what he ought to "have done, in retracting it, without inſiſting upon the Incroachments "that had been made upon many of his Prerogatives, under Pretence of "maintaining the Privileges of Parliament. That he knew not what the "Advices were, which they pretended to have from *Rome*, *Venice*, and "*Paris*; but one muſt be light of Belief that would regard them, and "that he did not believe an honeſt Man could imagine, that he had fallen "into ſuch Deſpair, as to have Deſigns that might bring Confuſion and "Ruin upon his Kingdom, and make his Name and Poſterity to be buried "in eternal Infamy. That as for the Lord *Digby*, and Mr. *Jermyn*, he "aſſured the Parliament in the Word of a Prince, that the firſt had had "his Paſs, and left the Court, before he knew that the Houſe had brought "an Accuſation againſt him: And that the other was gone from *White-* "*Hall*, before he had received the Addreſs of the two Houſes for ſtop- "ping his Servants. That he ſhould very readily return to *London*, if he "ſaw that any Proviſion had been made for the Security of his Perſon: "But that the Tumults ſtill continuing at *Weſtminſter*, without ſo much "as one exemplary Puniſhment having been made, or the ſeditious, who "fomented the Diſorders, being called to an Account, he could not go "to the Place, where he moſt deſired to be. That if many ſeditious "Words had not come to their Knowledge, and if they had a Mind to "be informed of them, he ſhould ſend them for that End ſome of his "Counſellors learned in the Law. That he had given ſufficient Proofs "of the ſtrong Inclination he had to be in a good Underſtanding with "the two Houſes, and to join with them in every Thing that might con- "tribute to the good of Religion and the State; ſeeing he had for that "End, deprived the Biſhops of the Quality of Peers of the upper Houſe, "and

*The King's Declaration in Anſwer to that of the two Houſes.*

" and ſuppreſſed their Court of High Commiſſion. That he had given 1642.
" his Conſent to Triennial Parliaments, and parted with the Power of
" raiſing extraordinary Taxes, as alſo of laying Duties upon Commodities.
" That in Order to eaſe his Subjects, he had conſented to the Requeſt a-
" bout the Foreſts, and, to remove from them all Occaſion of Complaint
" he had limited the Power of the Privy Council, aboliſhed the Star
" Chamber, the Stannary-Court, and the Clerk of the Market. Laſtly
" that he could not give a greater Demonſtration of the Confidence he
" had in the Parliament, than by granting their Requeſt for continuing
" their meeting, as long as the two Houſes ſhould think fit. However,
" he hoped, let it be never ſo long, that Conceſſion could never alter the
" Nature of Parliaments, nor the Laws of the Kingdom, and much leſs
" make his Subjects believe, that this preſent Meeting of Parliament can
" meddle with Things, that it could not decently have attempted, if he
" had reſerved to himſelf the Power of diſſolving it when he ſhould think
" fit."

The Kings of *England*, ever ſince their Wars in *France*, had injoyed, ſome for a long, others for a ſhort Time, a Duty which the Parliaments granted them upon all Merchandize imported and exported, as well upon each Tun, as upon the Pound Weight, which was called Tunnage and Poundage. Now the King, in the Beginning of his Reign, having been adviſed by his great Favourite, the Duke of *Buckingham*, to levy this Duty as a Right belonging to the Crown, the Merchants grudged to pay it, and the Caſe having been pleaded in the Court of Exchequer, they were caſt there. But having preſented a Petition to this Parliament, the King was obliged to renounce that Right, which, he ſaid, he had of laying a Duty upon Merchandize. The Foreſts, of which there are many in *England*, belong to the King's Demeſns, who entertains a great many Officers, as well for preſerving them, as for the Rangers Courts; for it was not allowed to hunt there, to cut Wood, or to feed Cattle without paying for it, or to labour the Land without Leave. *William the Conqueror* had ſo immoderate a Paſſion for Hunting, that he turned a great Part of the Kingdom into Foreſts, and cauſed Houſes, and even Churches to be pulled down wherever he thought fit to make Foreſts: Bounds were afterwards ſet to them, and the Nobility and Gentry having recovered a Part of their Lands, *Henry* III confirmed the great Charter of the Foreſts. In the late Times, amongſt the bad Expedients that were invented for raiſing Money, as well by Loans made under the Privy Seal, as by the Rigor practiſed againſt ſuch as had neglected to get themſelves Knighted at the King's Coronation, this of extending the Bounds of the Foreſts was added, and making new and larger Incloſures about them; ſo that there was a Neceſſity of Paying great Fines, and compounding with the King in Order to be freed from that Vexation. This gave Occaſion to the Parliament to petition his Majeſty, praying him that the Bounds of the Foreſts might continue as they had been regulated by the Laws, and that the Lands, which by a long Preſcription had been without, might not be comprehended within them; to which the King, for the Eaſe of his Subjects, conſented. The Power of the Council was limited by being barred from bringing before it Cauſes from the Courts of Juſtice: So likewiſe were the Privy Councils of both Kingdoms, which naturally ought to take Cognizance of Nothing but of Publick Diſorders, called Riots, and of Matters wherein the State was in ſome Manner intereſted. The Star-Chamber was one of the fineſt and moſt noble Courts of the Kingdom. It was in a Manner an Abridgment of all the reſt, to wit, of that of the High Commiſſion; of the Council; of the

King's

1642. King's Bench; of the Common Pleas, where, ſince the Conqueſt to the Reign of *Edward* III Cauſes were pleaded in *French*, and at preſent almoſt all the Law Terms are in the old *Norman* Language. The Counſellors that plead there are called *Sergeants at Law*, and anſwer to the Doctor of the Civil Law: Of that of the Exchequer, and of the Chancery, which is a Court of Conſcience, for mitigating the Rigor of the Laws in certain Caſes.

THE Star Chamber was compoſed of Prelates, Peers, Counſellors of State, and of the two Chief Juſtices. The Chancellor, or Lord Keeper of the Seals, preſided there, and he alone was covered when he ſpoke in the Chamber. It took Cognizance of Violences, Frauds, mixt Crimes that were not capital; and of ſome Actions which had a Tendency to great Crimes, which were not ſpecified by the Laws. And as the Court of Chancery had a Pretorian Power, for moderating the Severity of the Laws, ſo this Chamber had that of a Cenſor, in Crimes that did not deſerve Death, which it exerciſed ſometimes with too much Rigor, and exceeded in its Puniſhments, which tended to the Ruin, rather than the Reformation of the guilty.

THE Stannary Court had been eſtabliſhed in the County of *Cornwall*, which abounds with the beſt Tin in the World, and it was in Favour of thoſe who wrought in the Mines, that they might not be obliged to go out of the County to ſue, or be ſued at Law. But many that were not imployed in the Mines, found Means to intereſt themſelves in them; and thereby obliged the Subjects of the moſt diſtant Parts of the Kingdom to come and plead before that Court. Laſtly, the Clerk of the Market was an Officer of the King's Houſhold, appointed to have the Inſpection of the Weights and Meaſures, which are the ſame over all the Kingdom, that they might be conform to the Standard that was to be obſerved. But it fared with this as with other Things that are very well appointed for regulating the Polity, and for the Conveniency of the People, that they are corrupted by Intereſt, and become a Burden upon the Subjects through the Avarice of the Officers.

SOME Time after, the Parliament ſuppreſſed the Court of Wards, the Inſtitution of which was very noble and plauſible: But it had frequently happened, that it turned as much to the Ruin, as the Preſervation of the Families of Pupils, who, before they could get Poſſeſſion of their Eſtates, found them much diminiſhed; there were even ſome of them, who delayed entering upon their Eſtates, having Law-Suits which they brought before this Court, wherein they found their Account. The Affairs of this Nature in *Scotland* went before the Court of Exchequer, where the Lord High Treaſurer preſided. The King made no Advantage in that Kingdom of the Ward Holdings, but beſtowed it upon ſome of his Courtiers, who very often made a bad Uſe of it, when Gentlemen were forced to compound with them for Liberty to marry. I mean thoſe, whoſe Lands held of the Crown, though it had been but in Part: For though a Gentleman had Lands which held of other Lords beſides the King, though his Majeſty's Part was the leaſt, yet he alone had the Ward of the Pupil; becauſe the King has neither Peer nor Partner in his Kingdom. Now in *Scotland* Lands were held in four Manners: Firſt the Church held her Lands, *Nomine puræ eleemoſynæ.* So her Goods are only the Vows of the Faithful, the Redemption of Sins, and the Patrimony of the Poor. She paid nothing but *Devota animarum Suffragia.* Then there were Lands which

were held in *Fee-farm Rent* of the King, the Church, and the Barons. In the third Place, there were *Free-hold* Lands, for which nothing was paid but a Roſe, or a Pair of gilt Spurs, or ſomething of that Kind, when the Lord demanded it under the Name *Blanch-farm*. Laſtly, many Lands were held in *Ward*, that is to ſay, the Lords of the Fiefs had the Guardianſhip of the Perſon and Lands of the Heir till he came of Age, and if he was not married before his Father's Death, his Lord could diſpoſe of him in Marriage though he was of Age, which was a very grievous Servitude. Therefore in the Year 1646, the King being at *Newcaſtle* diſarmed, and in the Hands of the *Scots*, they obtained of him a Commiſſion directed to the *Exchequer*, which the Parliament ratified that ſame Year, whereby the Nobility and Gentry were admitted to redeem that Thraldom, and to change that Homage into annual Rents payable to the King. He was not in a Condition at that Time to refuſe them any Thing, and they could demand nothing that ſeemed more juſt and reaſonable. 1642.

As for his Majeſty's learned Council, which he mentions in his laſt Declaration, it is compoſed of the King's Serjeants at Law, his Attorney-General, and Sollicitor. The Kings have been in uſe to conſult them upon many Occaſions, particularly in Matters of Grants, that they might not make any to their Prejudice, or that might be repugnant to the Laws; and when the King granted any Thing under the Privy Seal only, that was binding only upon him; but if it was under the Great Seal, the three Eſtates of the Kingdom were engaged by it.

On the 15th of *March*, the King ſent from *Huntington* another Declaration to the Parliament, wherein having recommended to them in very obliging Terms to ſecond his Cares for *Ireland*, which with Tears of Blood demanded Relief; he repreſented to them, "That having done his "utmoſt Endeavours to entertain a good Correſpondence with them, "even to revoke all the Proclamations that could hurt their Privileges, "he expected that they would have the ſame tender Regard for his Pre- "rogatives, which are the Privileges of the Kingdom. Now, as he looked "upon this to be one of the moſt fundamental, to wit; That his Sub- "jects could not be bound to obey any Ordinance, to which he had not "conſented, he thought it neceſſary to declare to them all, that they "muſt not preſume, under Pretence of any Ordinance for the Militia, or "for any other Affair whatever, to do any Thing but according to the "eſtabliſhed Laws; becauſe he was reſolved to obſerve them himſelf, "and to cauſe them to be obſerved by his Subjects. Then he recom- "mended to them carefully to draw up ſuch Ordinances as they judged "neceſſary for the Liberty of their Perſons, and the Security of their E- "ſtates, for the ſettling of their Privileges, the Advancement of the Pro- "teſtant Religion of *England*, the Defence of his Authority, and Main- "tenance of his Revenue, for as much as he had no ſtronger Paſſion, "than for eſtabliſhing a compleat Underſtanding between him and the "Parliament; for he reckoned, that his Authority, and Revenue, ſub- "ſiſted, and were kept up by that Union." From *Huntington* the King continued his Progreſs to *York*, where he arrived about the End of *March*.

*The King's Declaration from* Huntington *to the Parliament.*

The King's retiring in this peaceable Manner ſeemed very ſtrange, and even myſterious to many, who not being prepoſſeſſed with any Paſſion for the Affairs of *England*, looked upon them with much Indifference:

1642. For as they conſidered, that the Parliament could very eaſily have hindered the Queen from going out of the Kingdom, the Deſign of which they ſuſpected, and put a Stop to the King's Progreſs, who went accompanied but with very few of his Domeſticks: And perceiving, that according as the King explained himſelf upon ſome Things, which gave them Jealouſy, and that at the ſame Time he granted them many other very important Matters, in order to pleaſe them, even to the Prejudice of his own Prerogatives, the Parliament preſently made other Demands, which likewiſe created new Difficulties. It ſeemed to them, that That Party of the Parliament, who had made themſelves Maſters of all the Deliberations, wanted nothing but War, and in order to kindle it, had a Mind to put the King to a Non-plus, though in the Declarations, which came out in the Name of the two Houſes, they had proteſted the quite contrary, and expreſſed in very ſtrong Terms, that all their Deliberations tended to nothing but to procure a good Underſtanding between the King and them, and carefully to maintain the Peace of the Kingdom.

*The King writes to the Parliament from* York, *telling them that he had a mind to go to* Ireland *in Perſon.*

On the 8th of *April* the King wrote from *York* to the Parliament, that he had a Mind to go to *Ireland* in Perſon, in order to bring the Rebels to Reaſon by Arms; and for that end thought fit to acquaint them, that he intended to give Commiſſions for Levying in the Counties near *Weſt-Cheſter*, a Guard for his own Perſon, conſiſting of two thouſand Foot, and two hundred Horſe, which ſhould be armed from his Magazine at *Hull*. But about the ſame time, the Parliament had ſent to aſk Leave of his Majeſty to tranſport that Magazine to the *Tower* of *London*, alledging for a Reaſon, that the warlike Stores of the *Tower* were much diminiſhed, becauſe of the Supply they had ſent to *Ireland*, the Neceſſities of which increaſed daily. That there was no more Occaſion to have that Magazine at *Hull*, Peace being made with the *Scots*; and that it would not only be better guarded in the *Tower*, but more conveniently tranſported from thence to *Ireland*. This Propoſal diſpleaſed the King, but what moſt of all vexed him was, that the Parliament, in order to prevent the Deſign, which, in their Opinion, he had of making himſelf Maſter of *Hull*, had, without acquainting him, put the Place into the Hands of Sir *John Hotham*, and ſent Orders not to admit the Marquis of *Newcaſtle* into the Town, whoſe Merit the King extolled very much in the Anſwer he made them.

In the mean time, the Parliament began to diſpoſe of the Militia in ſeveral Counties, and to give the Command of it to ſuch Perſons as they could confide in. They likewiſe fitted out the King's Ships, and by that means ſecured themſelves againſt all Invaſion from abroad. But becauſe the Earl of *Northumberland*, by Reaſon of his Indiſpoſition, could not command the Fleet in Perſon, the Parliament recommended the Earl of *Warwick* to him as a fit Perſon to ſupply his Place, and ſent to the King, praying him to allow that that Lord, whom the two Houſes had named to that Office, might take Poſſeſſion of it. But the King abſolutely refuſed to approve of him, and ſignified in his Letter to the Lord Keeper, that he took it very ill, that the Parliament ſhould take upon them to name the Commanders of the Navy. He had made the Duke of *York* Lord High-Admiral, and given the Command of the Fleet under him to Sir *John Pennington*, an old Sea Captain of great Experience. For all that, the Earl in a ſhort time took Poſſeſſion of the whole Fleet,

and

and brought under his Obedience ſome Captains, who intended to have carried off their Ships for the Service of the King, whoſe Commiſſion they bore. 1642.

On the 23d of *April* the King, accompanied by ſome Noblemen and Gentlemen, appeared before the Walls of *Hull*, where he found the Gates ſhut, and the Bridges drawn by Order of the Governour, who appearing upon the Wall, begged of his Majeſty not to command him to do what he would be forced, with great Reluctancy, to refuſe him. That he could not open the Gates to him without betraying the Truſt which the Parliament had put in him; but if his Majeſty pleaſed he would ſend immediately to let them know the Command he had received, not doubting but in all Haſte they would let him know their Pleaſure thereupon. The King falling into a Paſſion, ſpoke a long Time with great Bitterneſs, telling him, that he believed he had no Orders from the Parliament to ſhut the Gates againſt him, and aſked him if he could let him ſee his Orders, but the Governor well knowing the Intention of the Parliament, though his Commiſſion did not mention the King, yet he would not ſhew it, only he again begged of his Majeſty not to command Things which he could not do. Whereupon the King having cauſed him immediately to be proclaimed a Traitor, and got the Duke of *York*, and the Prince *Elector* out of the Town, where they had lain the Night before, and whom the Governour did not ſuffer to depart till after a very long Deliberation, his Majeſty returned towards *York*.

*Sir* John Hotham *refuſes to admit the King into* Hull.

The next Day, he ſent an Expreſs to the two Houſes with a Meſſage, complaining of the Affront which the Governor of *Hull* had put upon him, and accuſing him of having maliciouſly pretended to have had their Orders as an Excuſe for his Diſloyalty, and two Days after having ſent another Expreſs, he complained with more Paſſion of the Indignity he had ſuffered, which, if it was not repaired, would make the World believe, that he was in a worſe Condition than the meaneſt of his Subjects, who enjoyed their Privileges, and that it was only lawful to rob him of his.

*The King's Meſſage to the two Houſes concerning* Hull.

At the ſame time, his Majeſty ſent a Letter to the Mayor of *Hull*, whereby he forbad him to ſuffer any part of the Ammunition to be taken out of the Town, without an Order under his Hand, and having cauſed all the Paſſages between *Hull* and *London* to be ſhut up, a Letter from the Governor was intercepted, which one of his Servants was carrying to the Parliament, to give them an Account of all that had lately paſſed in his Government.

The Parliament having had Advice by another Way of what had paſſed, "declared that the King's Orders for ſhutting up the Paſſages "upon their Officers, and intercepting their Letters, was a high Breach "of the Privilege of Parliament, and ordered all the Sheriffs of Coun- "ties to give their Aſſiſtance to all Expreſſes that ſhould paſs for the "Service of the Parliament, and to ſuppreſs all Forces, that ſhould be "raiſed in their Counties, that might diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom. "Beſides, the Parliament declared, That Sir *John Hotham* had done no- "thing but in Obedience to the Command of both Houſes of Parlia- "ment, and that the declaring him a Traitor, being a Member of the "Houſe of Commons, and that without any Form of Trial, was a ma- "nifeſt Breach of their Privileges, and againſt the Laws, and the Liber-

*The Declaration of the two Houſes concerning Sir* John Hotham's *refuſing to admit the King into* Hull.

"ties

1642. " ties of the Subjects. At the ſame time, they appointed a Committee " for the Northern Counties of the Kingdom, and ordered all the Offi- " cers within the Juriſdiction of that Committee, to aſſiſt them on all " Occaſions, and to obey their Orders.

*The King's Anſwer to the Declaration and Votes concerning* Hull.

ON the 4th of *May*, the King wrote to the two Houſes againſt that Declaration, and repreſented to them at large, how inſupportable the Affront he had received was to him, and how ſenſibly he was touched with the Injury they themſelves had done him, in not endeavouring to give him the leaſt Satisfaction Then he demonſtrated to them by the ancient Laws of the Kingdom, ſome of which he quoted in his Letter, that Sir *John Hotham*'s refuſing to open the Gates of *Hull* to him, was an Act of Treaſon. There paſſed afterwards ſeveral Writings on both Sides, wherein the King, without taking Notice of the pretended Fears and Jealouſies of the two Houſes, endeavoured to defend his Prerogatives. They, on the contrary, without minding the Affront that had been offered unto the King, were wholly intent upon the Preſervation of *Hull*, the Militia, and the Fleet, that That Place, the Militia, and the Men of War might not fall into the Hands of thoſe, whom they called wicked Counſellors, and who, they were afraid, had too great Intereſt with the King, to the evident Danger of his own Perſon, and of the whole State. At the ſame time, the two Houſes repreſented to the King, that as they were endeavouring to defend his Royal Perſon, and his Subjects, the Authority of which being given them by the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, whereof they were the repreſentative Body, they deſired to inform him freely, *& liberius quàm ut imperantium meminiſſent:* That his Intereſt in the Towns, in the Arms, and in the Kingdom itſelf, was not of the ſame Nature with that of private Perſons in their Eſtates, to diſpoſe of, and alienate them as he thought fit, but that he had only the Uſe of Things; ſo that they were not put into his Hands but for the general Good of all his Subjects. Beſides, they added, that ſeeing all Diſpute was to no Purpoſe when the Parties did not agree in Principles, the two Houſes looking upon it for certain, that they compoſe his Great Council, who ought to be the only Judges of what was for the Advantage and Grandeur of the State, or of what was not, even of what ought to be done for the Good of the Publick, to whoſe Judgment the King was not to prefer the Advice of any private Counſel whatſoever, they did not believe, that ſo many needleſs Diſputes, or ſo many Declarations that were made on both Sides, could bring about a good Underſtanding between the King and his People, until his Majeſty ſhould agree with them in that Principle.

THE King did not enter into Diſpute about what they called Principles, but denied the Concluſion that they had a Mind to draw from them: For though, by the Laws of the Kingdom, the Houſe of Commons had a Power of preparing, the Houſe of Lords a Power of deciding, and that the King with the two Houſes had a Legiſlative Power, and though theſe three Powers ought to concur for the Publick Good, nevertheleſs they were ſtill abſolute, that is to ſay, could not be comptrolled by any other Power; juſt ſo as a private Perſon has ſtill an abſolute Power over his Eſtate, though he be obliged to make Uſe of it for the Glory of God.

NEITHER was it doubted, but that the Parliament was the Repreſentative Body of the Kingdom, but by that was to be underſtood the King

King and the two Houſes, otherwiſe the Head would be no more a Part of the Body, or would be ſo no longer than the Body had a mind. Now, as it belonged to the King, as being the Head, more than to any other, to judge what was expedient for the Good of the whole Body, he thought that in this Juncture of Affairs, it was more neceſſary than ever for the Protection of his People, to preſerve the Power, which the Laws gave him over the Militia, the Fortreſſes, and the Ships of the Kingdom. 1642.

*The King ſends for the Nobility and Gentry of the County of York.*

In the mean time, the King having ſent for the Nobility and Gentry of the County of *York*, on the 12th of *May* they repaired to him in great Numbers, where, after he had cauſed to be read before the whole Company with a loud Voice what had paſſed betwixt him and the two Houſes concerning *Hull*, he then told them, that there might be ſome Deſign upon his Perſon, and for that Reaſon he wanted to raiſe a Regiment of Guards for his Defence. Many of the Nobility and Gentry were ſenſibly touched with the King's Words, and anſwered his Majeſty, that they were ready to ſerve him, and expoſe their Lives for the Preſervation of his. They had preſented a Petition to him, begging of him not to tranſport his Magazine from *Hull*, and afterwards did him ſo great and ſignal Services, that his Majeſty ſhewed plainly, that he was very well pleaſed with the Nobility and Gentry of that County, and that he was very deſirous, by ſome Marks of his Favour, to make them ſenſible, how much the Teſtimonies of their Affection had moved him. The King having afterwards cauſed a Proclamation to be publiſhed, commanding them to keep themſelves ready armed about his Perſon; three Days after, the Parliament declared, that all ſuch, as ſhould take up Arms by Virtue of that Command, ſhould be looked upon as Diſturbers of the publick Peace, and ordered the Lieutenants of the Counties to raiſe the Militia in order to fall upon them.

The King, notwithſtanding that Prohibition, made ſome Levies for the Guard and Security of his Perſon, with which the People were no wiſe alarmed, not fore-ſeeing that theſe Things were the Fore-runners of a Civil War, till they ſaw the greateſt Part of the Lords of the upper Houſe, and a conſiderable Number of the Commons all of a ſudden leave the Parliament: For, before the End of *May*, the Dukes of *Lenox* and *Richmond*, the Marqueſſes of *Hertford* and *Newcaſtle*, the Earls of *Lindſey*, *Cumberland*, *Huntington*, *Bath*, *Southampton*, *Dorſet*, *Salisbury*; but this laſt returned very ſoon after: *Northampton*, *Devonſhire*, *Briſtol*, *Weſtmoreland*, *Berkſhire*, *Monmouth*, *Rivers*, *Dover*, *Carnarvon*, and *Newport*: The Lords *Matravers*, *Willoughby* of *Eresby*, *Rich*, *Howard* of *Charleton*, *Newark*, *Paget*, *Chandois*, *Falconbridge*, *Pawlet*, *Lovelace*, *Savil*, *Coventry*, *Mohun*, *Dunſmore*, *Seymour*, *Gray* of *Ruthin*, and *Capel*, left their Houſe, and went to the King at *York*, ſo that the Houſe of Peers ſeemed to be deſerted; but though the Number of thoſe who left the Houſe of Commons, was not equal to thoſe that continued in it, yet they were Men of the beſt Senſe and greateſt Parts. Then it was that every Body took this Deſertion of the Parliament for a Preſage of ſome Calamity that threatened the Kingdom, and every one agreed that it muſt produce fatal Effects: Though as to the Action itſelf Opinions were different. Some, conſidering the Number and Abilities of thoſe who had retired, ſaid, that the Parliament was not free enough, and that the ſound Part was kept under by a prevailing Faction; beſides, that they were frighted by the Tumults of the City of *London*. This Procedure put them in mind of the injurious Manner, after which the fifty nine Members of the Houſe

1642. of Commons were treated for having oppoſed the Condemnation of the Earl of *Strafford*, and of the reproachful Words, which the meaner Sort of People had ſaid againſt many Lords, who they fancied were diſaffected to the publick Good. Others ſaid, that the Parliament being the Protector of all the Liberties of the Subjects, there was no Likelihood that they would affront any of its own Members. That no body had Reaſon to be afraid of the Meetings of the People in *London*, which were made for the Security of the Parliament, againſt the Conſpiracies, which many diſaffected Perſons were concerting and fomenting againſt it. That it was a mean Thought for ſo many Lords thus to conceive Grounds of Fear, and that if the Parliament had done any Thing that diſpleaſed them, their Number was great enough to ſet Matters to Rights, without having Recourſe to extraordinary Remedies. As for thoſe who had quitted their Seats in the Houſe of Commons, though they were Men of the beſt Parts, it did not follow, that they were the moſt honeſt, Probity not being neceſſarily the Concomitant of Ability. That Men of great Parts are full of themſelves, are refractory, and fret when their Opinions are not followed, and that they will by all means be the firſt in all Aſſemblies, or not be of them.

SUCH were the Converſations upon this Breach made in the Parliament, every body ſpeaking of it according to their Inclinations and Intereſt, which always prevail over the Judgment of the moſt part of Men. But the Things that have happened ſince, have clearly ſhewn, that thoſe, both of the one and the other Houſe, who have been conſtantly attached to the King's Service, to the Prejudice of their Fortunes and Intereſts, have had no other Motive that induced them to go and attend his Perſon, but that of Honour and Conſcience, and that they were perſuaded, that it fares with Revolts in the State, as with Schiſms in the Church, where that Party only, though the leaſt, which adheres to the Head, compoſeth the Church and the State.

THE King having got this conſiderable Reinforcement, continued his Levies in the North with more Vigour, and from that time began to treat the remaining Part of the Parliament at *London*, not as a lawful Parliament, but as a Faction, and pretended Parliament. The People were of the ſame Mind, and began to think, that the Body of the Parliament was no longer intire. But that Body, though weakened, ſtanding out, petitioned the King to disband the Men he had levied, and relying upon the Laws, and the Affection of his People, to be ſatisfied with his ordinary Guards. They likewiſe remonſtrated to his Majeſty, that ſince he was preparing to make War upon the Parliament, that Reſolution ruined the Confidence which his People had in him, defeated the Oath he had taken at his Coronation, and tended to nothing but the Overthrow of the State. At laſt they did not ſtick to declare, that all thoſe who ſhould ſerve the King in that War, ſhould be proſecuted as Traitors.

THE King denied, that the Preparations he was making were for making War upon the Parliament, but only for putting himſelf in a Poſture of Defence againſt a malicious Faction that had robbed him of his Towns, his Fortreſſes, and Ships, and who having prohibited all his Subjects to come near his Perſon, and carried away by Force all the Proviſions for the Subſiſtance of his Family, deſigned to oblige him, by all Manner of Straits, to caſt himſelf and Children into their Arms. Nevertheleſs he declared, that as for the Aſſurance which he ought to have in the Affection

1642.

ſection of his People, and the Force of the Laws, he ſhould conſtantly govern them according to what the Laws preſcribed, and that he had no other Remedy left him but the Affection of his Subjects, ſince all the Hopes he had of recovering what he had been unjuſtly robbed of, were founded upon the Aſſiſtance of God, the Juſtice of his Cauſe, and the Love of his People.

The Parliament, after a Declaration againſt thoſe who adhered to the King's Intereſt, on the 30th of *May*, cauſed nine of the Peers, who had left their Houſe to be ſummoned, to wit, the Earls of *Northampton*, *Devonſhire*, and *Monmouth*; the Lords *Howard*, *Charleton*, *Rich*, *Gray of Ruthen*, *Coventry* and *Capel*. Theſe having refuſed to appear, the Houſe of Commons ſent Mr. *Denzil Hollis* to the Houſe of Peers in order to accuſe them. *Hollis* having made a Speech before that Houſe, and demanded Juſtice of the Peers againſt their Brethren, they ordained, That theſe nine Lords ſhould be for ever deprived of having Seat in their Houſe. That they ſhould no longer injoy the Privileges of Members of Parliament, and that they ſhould be kept in Priſon as long as the Houſe ſhould think fit. But in that they exceeded their Power, their Authority not extending to the making of Decrees of that Conſequence: For, by the Laws of the Kingdom, neither of the Houſes can expel any of their Members, if it be not for a Crime where Life lies at Stake.

About the ſame time, there happened another Accident, which very much perplexed the Parliament: And it was thus. After that Sir *John Finch* had been made Lord *Fordwich*, and was gone over to *Holland*, the King gave the Seals to the Lord *Littleton*, a Gentleman of great Merit. This Lord having continued to go to the Houſe of Peers, ſome time after that ſo many Lords had left it; about the End of *May* the King wrote to him by Mr. *Elliot*, a Groom of the Bed-Chamber to the Prince, requiring him with all Speed to ſend him the Great Seal. The Lord Keeper having ſhut himſelf up in his Chamber with *Elliot*, told him, that he did not doubt but he knew the Contents of the Letter, and that he would obey the King: And becauſe he could not carry the Seal himſelf, without running the Risk of being arreſted, and loſing it, he gave it to *Elliot* in order to be carried privately to the King. Now, it was the Cuſtom in both Kingdoms, that when the Chancellor or the Keeper of the Seals went to the Council or ſupreme Courts, the Great Seal was carried before him in a Velvet Purſe, adorned with the King's Arms imbroidered with Gold and Pearls, and at Solemnities he himſelf carried it before the King. Therefore the ſame Day that the Seal was delivered to *Elliot*, the Lord Keeper, in order to conceal the Affair, had the empty Purſe carried before him to his Houſe near *London*, and gave out, that if there was any Thing to be ſealed, the *Monday* following would be a Seal Day at his Houſe. But the next Day he ſet out early in the Morning for *York*, leaving Orders with one of his Servants, not to acquaint the Parliament with it till the *Tueſday* after. But that Servant went and told them of it on the *Monday* Morning, and the Parliament having ſent after him in all Haſte, he narrowly eſcaped being apprehended. The King received him but coldly at firſt, believing that he had conſented to the Eſtabliſhment of the Militia, but after his Majeſty had been informed of the Truth, he returned him the Seal, and loved him dearly to his Death, which happened at *Oxford* in the Year 1645.

*The Lord Keeper* Littleton *ſends the Great Seal to the King.*

The

1642. THE Parliament, far from being daunted by this ſevere Blow, began to act with more Vigour and Reſolution, and to ſpeak bigger than ever; for intending, it ſeems, an intire Change of Government, as well Eccleſiaſtical as Political, they ſent nineteen Propoſitions to the King, which conſiſted of theſe Demands: "1. That the Officers of the Crown, the "Miniſters of State, and the Governors of Ports and Forts of the King-"dom ſhall be choſen and approved of by the two Houſes, or by the "Council in the Intervals of Parliament. 2. That no Places ſhall be "given for Life, but that thoſe on whom they ſhall be beſtowed may "hold them no longer than they diſcharge their Duty well. 3. That "the two Houſes, or the Council ſhall name the Perſons unto whom the "Government and Education of his Majeſty's Children ſhall be commit-"ted. 4. That no Marriage ſhall be concluded, or treated, for any of "the King's Children, without the Conſent of Parliament. 5. That the "Laws againſt Jeſuits, and other ſecular Prieſts, and generally againſt all "Papiſts, be ſtrictly put in Execution without any Toleration or Diſ-"penſation whatſoever. 6. That the Popiſh Lords be turned out of the "Houſe of Peers, and their Children taken from them, in order to be "brought up in the Proteſtant Religion. 7. That your Majeſty will be "pleaſed to conſent to ſuch a Reformation of the Liturgy and Church "Government, as both Houſes of Parliament, with the Advice of Di-"vines, ſhall adviſe. 8. That your Majeſty will be pleaſed to reſt ſa-"tisfied with that Courſe, which the two Houſes have taken, for ſettling "of the Militia. 9. That your Majeſty will be pleaſed to enter into a "ſtrict Alliance with the States of the *United Provinces*, and other Neigh-"bour Princes and States of the Proteſtant Religion againſt the *Pope*, "and his Adherents. 10. That your Majeſty will be pleaſed by Act of "Parliament to clear the five Members of the Houſe of Commons, and "reſtore them to their Rights, that future Parliaments may be ſecured "from the Conſequence of that bad Example. 11. That your Majeſty "will be graciouſly pleaſed to reſtrain Peers made hereafter, from Sitting "or Voting in Parliament, without the Conſent of both Houſes of Par-"liament. 12. That the extraordinary Guards, and military Forces now "attending your Majeſty may be diſcharged. 13. That the Lords and "others of your Majeſty's Privy Council, and the Great Officers and "Miniſters of State, either at home or beyond Seas, may be put from "your Majeſty's Privy Council, and from thoſe Offices and Imployments, "excepting ſuch as ſhall be approved by both Houſes of Parliament, "and that the Perſons, put into the Places and Imployments of thoſe "that are removed, may be approved of by both Houſes of Parliament: "And that the Privy Counſellors ſhall take an Oath, for the due Execu-"tion of their Places, in ſuch Form as ſhall be agreed upon by both "Houſes of Parliament. 14. That the great Affairs of the Kingdom "may not be concluded or tranſacted by the Advice of private Men, "or by any unknown, or unſworn Counſellors; but that ſuch Matters as "concern the Publick, and are proper for the High Court of Parliament, "which is your Majeſty's great and ſupreme Council, may be debated, "reſolved, and tranſacted only in Parliament, and not elſewhere: And "ſuch as ſhall preſume to do any Thing to the contrary, ſhall be reſerved "to the Cenſure and Judgment of Parliament: And ſuch other Matters "of State, as are proper for your Majeſty's Privy Council, ſhall be de-"bated and concluded by ſuch of the Nobility, and others, as ſhall, "from time to time, be choſen for that Place, by Approbation of both "Houſes of Parliament: And that no publick Act concerning the Affairs "of

*The nineteen Propoſitions ſent to the King by both Houſes, June 2, 1642*

" of the Kingdom, which are proper for your Privy Council, may be 1642.
" eſteemed of any Validity, as proceeding from the Royal Authority, un-
" leſs it be done with the Advice and Conſent of the major Part of the
" Council, atteſted under their Hands: And that your Council may be
" limited to a certain Number, not exceeding twenty five, nor under
" fifteen; and if any Counſellor's Place happen to be void in the Inter-
" vals of Parliament, it ſhall not be ſupplied without the Aſſent of the
" major Part of the Council; which Choice ſhall be confirmed at the
" next Sitting of Parliament, or elſe to be void. 15. That the Lord
" High Steward of *England*, Lord High Conſtable, Lord Chancellor, or
" Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, Lord Treaſurer, Lord Privy Seal, Earl
" Marſhal, Lord Admiral, Warden of the Cinque Ports, Chief Gover-
" nour of *Ireland*, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Maſter of the Wards,
" Secretaries of State, two Chief Juſtices and Chief Baron, may always
" be choſen with the Approbation of both Houſes of Parliament; and
" in the Intervals of Parliaments, by the Aſſent of the major Part of the
" Council, in ſuch manner, as is before expreſſed in the Choice of Coun-
" ſellors. 16. That ſuch Members of either Houſe of Parliament, as
" have, during this preſent Parliament, been put out of any Place and
" Office, may either be reſtored to that Place and Office, or otherwiſe
" have Satisfaction for the ſame, upon the Petition of that Houſe, where-
" of He, or They are Members. 17. That all Privy Counſellors and
" Judges may take an Oath, the Form whereof to be agreed on and ſet-
" tled by Act of Parliament, for the maintaining of the Petition of Right,
" and of certain Statutes made by this Parliament, which ſhall be men-
" tioned by both Houſes of Parliament: And that an Enquiry of all
" Breaches, and Violations of thoſe Laws, may be given in Charge by
" the Juſtices of the King's Bench every Term, and by the Judges of
" Aſſize in their Circuits, and Juſtices of the Peace at the Seſſions, to
" be preſented and puniſhed according to Law. 18. That the Juſtice of
" Parliament may paſs upon all Delinquents, whether they be within
" the Kingdom, or fled out of it: And that all Perſons cited by either
" Houſe of Parliament may appear, and abide the Cenſure of Parlia-
" ment. 19. That the General Pardon, offered by your Majeſty, may
" be granted with ſuch Exceptions, as ſhall be adviſed by both Houſes
" of Parliament."

The King, by the Anſwer which he gave to theſe Propoſitions, ſhewed how much he was offended at them, for before anſwering them in particular, he complained in general, That theſe Cabalers, (ſuch did he call the Authors of them) had preſſed the People to receive their Ordinances, as well to the Prejudice of his Royal Authority, as of the Laws. That, not content with having juſtified *Hotham*'s Treaſon, they had taken in hand to make themſelves Maſters of the Militia, which depended ſolely upon his Crown. That they had ſpread Libels amongſt the People, for making the Government odious to them, and blaſting his Reputation: And that maliciouſly ſuppreſſing his Declarations, which would have undeceived the People, they had infuſed Fears and Jealouſies into their Minds, as if there had been the leaſt Appearance that he had a Mind to foment a Rebellion in the Heart of the Kingdom.

Afterwards the King gave an Anſwer to each Demand in particular, and took Notice, that the Parliament had therein very artfully mixt ſome Things, very juſt, and others alſo very plauſible, the better to cover their Incroachment upon the Crown, and impoſe upon the People,

1642. whom they made believe, that the King was obliged to paſs all the Acts that were preſented to him by the two Houſes. But that this Point of new Politicks as much deſtroyed the Royal Prerogatives, as it ſuited with their Affairs, and ſufficiently diſcovered their Intentions. For if they had deſigned nothing elſe but to mantain his Honour with the Security of his Subjects, they never would have made ſuch Demands, which, however, he did not lay to the Charge of the two Houſes in a Body, but of a prevailing Faction in them both, thoſe Demands being ſo unreaſonable, that he ſhould be altogether unworthy of ſucceeding ſo many illuſtrious Anceſtors, if, by yielding to ſuch Demands, he ſtript himſelf of the Authority which they had left him, or if he aſſociated others in the ſupreme Power, which is inſeparable from the Crown, whereof he ſhould always ſhew himſelf ſo jealous, that though he ſhould happen to be overcome by the Fortune of War; nay, that ſhould his Misfortune reduce him to that laſt Extremity of being a Priſoner of War, or of falling into a yet worſe Condition than any of the moſt unfortunate of his Predeceſſors, he ſhould never conſent to them, or be brought to change the Majeſty and Authority of a King of *England*, ſuch as he is, into the ſimple Power of a *Doge of Venice*.

*The Parliament prepares for War.*

In the mean time, the Parliament thought of providing for themſelves. They made Proviſion of Arms and Horſes, and cauſed Forces to be levied in the Counties for the Defence of the Proteſtant Religion, the King's Perſon, and for the Preſervation of the Laws of the Kingdom, and the Privileges of Parliament. Now, the more to oblige the People to bring in to *Guild-Hall*, Money for defraying the Charges of this War, they ordained, that the publick Faith ſhould be ingaged for the Sums borrowed, and that the Money ſhould be repaid with Intereſt at twelve *per Cent.* They appointed four Treaſurers for receiving the Money, with four Commiſſioners to receive, and prize ſuch Horſes and Arms as ſhould be brought in for their Service. The King hearing of this, wrote to the *Mayor* and *Aldermen* of *London*, expreſsly forbidding them to contribute any Thing for the levying of Men, or to lend Money, but according as it had been agreed betwixt his Majeſty and them, for the Relief of *Ireland*. Then began a continual Claſhing of Commands between the King and Parliament; ſo that as ſoon as any Ordinance was publiſhed by the one, the other forbad the putting of it in Execution: And as the Kingdom was divided into two Parties, one obeyed the King, the other the Parliament.

At the ſame time, his Majeſty ſent ſome Commiſſions for raiſing the Militia, making Uſe of the ſame Pretence, and the ſame Terms, which the two Houſes had made Uſe of in their Declaration of the 15th of *March*, to wit; That the Kingdom having for ſome time been in evident Danger, having Enemies without, and a Faction within, he judged it neceſſary, as well for the Preſervation of his own Perſon, as for the Security of his Subjects, to put it in a Poſture of Defence. The Mayor of *London*, for having cauſed one of his Majeſty's Commiſſions to be publiſhed in the City, was ſent Priſoner to the *Tower*, turned out of his Mayoralty, declared incapable of all the Honours that the King ſhould confer upon him, and condemned to Priſon as long as the two Houſes ſhould think fit.

After that, the King opened his Mind to the Lords attending him at *York*, and declared to them; "That he did not require any Obedi-

"ence

" ence from them, but what was warranted by the Laws of the King- 1642.
" dom. That he expected of them that they ſhould not receive any un-
" lawful Commands impoſed by any other, promiſing Protection to all *His Majeſty's Declaration to the Lords attending him at* York, June *the* 13.
" ſuch as ſhould refuſe them. That he ſhould defend the Proteſtant Re-
" ligion eſtabliſhed by Law. That he ſhould preſerve the Liberties of
" the Subjects, and the Privileges of Parliament. That if he was not as
" good as his Word, he freed them from the Obedience they owed him.
" That he ſhould not engage them in a War againſt the Parliament, nor
" make Uſe of them in his juſt Defence, but only againſt ſuch as inſo-
" lently attacked his Perſon, and his faithful Subjects."

THEN all the Lords ingaged their Faith and Honour to him; " That *The Promiſe of the Lords thereupon.*
" they ſhould receive no Orders that were not founded upon the Laws
" of the Kingdom. That they ſhould defend his Majeſty's Perſon,
" Crown, and Prerogatives, againſt all Perſons whatſoever. That they
" ſhould alſo maintain the Religion eſtabliſhed by Law, and all the Pri-
" vileges of Parliament, with the Liberties of the Subject, and that they
" ſhould not obey any Order about the Militia, but what had his Ma-
" jeſty's Aſſent." They all ſubſcribed this Proteſtation with another Pa-
per, teſtifying particularly, that the King had not the leaſt Intention of making War upon the Parliament; but that all his Deſigns tended to no other End, but to maintain the Religion, Liberty, and the Peace of the Kingdom.

ON the other hand, the Parliament proteſted the ſame Thing, ſo that when they came to Blows, the Parliament declared, that they did not make War upon the King, but only upon a ſeditious Party, whom they called Malignants, who incenſed his Majeſty againſt them: As the King for his Part never declared but againſt a rebellious Faction that domineered over the Parliament.

IT was very ſurprizing to ſee what Pains the King took for the Space of three Weeks, in ſending Letters, Declarations, and making Speeches to the Nobility and Gentry of the Counties of *Nottingham* and *Lincoln*, which had ſo good Effect, that having received Arms and Ammunition from *Holland*; in one of his own Men of War, called the *Providence*, which arrived in the Bay of *Keningham* near *Hull*, he marched from *York* with three thouſand Foot, and a thouſand Horſe, and incamped at *Beverly*, four Miles from *Hull*. But before any Attempt was made upon *Hull*, on the 11th of *July* the King wrote to the two Houſes, " That as they
" knew the Reaſon of his advancing towards *Hull*, ſo he deſired they
" would give Orders for ſurrendering it to him before any Act of Hoſti-
" lity ſhould be committed for reducing it by Force. That if they gave
" him that Satisfaction without Reply or Delay, he promiſed in the Word
" of a Prince, that nothing ſhould be wanting on his Part for reſtoring
" Peace in the Kingdom, and preventing the Calamities wherewith it
" was threatned." The two Houſes having received this Letter, gave Orders immediately to the contrary for the Security of the Place, and ingaged the publick Faith for indemnifying all ſuch as ſhould ſuffer any Damage by the overflowing of the Meadows and other Lands about the Town, which is ſituate upon the *Humber*, in a flat and very fertile Country. At the ſame time the Governour having acquainted the two Houſes with the State of the Place, and demanded five hundred Men, with ſome Money and Proviſions for its Defence; that Relief was made ready in all haſte, and ſent by Sea by the Earl of *Warwick*'s Order, under the Con-

1642. duct of Sir *John Meldrum*, who acted as Lieutenant Governor in the Town. The Governor had cauſed ſome Out-Works to be made, becauſe he had foreſeen, that the King would reſent the bad Reception he gave him, when he demanded Entrance with only twenty Horſe, and as ſoon as he had diſcovered his Majeſty's Deſign, he cauſed the Banks to be broke, and many fine Meadows, and a great Deal of Arable Lands to be put under Water.

WHEREUPON the King was by all Means reſolved to reduce that Fortreſs, which was in the Neighbourhood of his Reſidence. He cauſed a Proclamation to be publiſhed, containing the Reaſons that obliged him to undertake the Siege of it in Perſon. Theſe Reaſons were, "That "his Magazine of Arms having been removed out of that Place, which "is one of the principal Ports of the North of the Kingdom, a ſtrong "Garriſon had been put into it for holding it out againſt him, as "againſt an Enemy. That Sir *John Hotham* had afterwards not only "fortified the Place, put all the Country about under Water, and fitted "out a Pinnace for taking one of his, which he made Uſe of for en-"tertaining a Correſpondence between him and the Queen, his Conſort: "But had likewiſe allowed his Soldiers to ravage the neighbouring Vil-"lages, and having tyrannically driven out of the Town many Inhabi-"tants, whom he could not truſt, he had diſarmed the reſt in order to "bring it intirely under a military Power. For which Cauſe, both for "the Sake of his own Honour, and of the Protection he owed, as well "to his Subjects in general, as to thoſe in particular, who had com-"plained of the Rapines committed by the Garriſon of *Hull*, he found "himſelf obliged to free them from ſuch Injuries, and to make Sir "*John Hotham* feel the Rigour of his Arms, after ſo manifeſt a Con-"tempt of his Goodneſs and Clemency."

*The Siege of* Hull.

THE King ſent from *Beverly* two hundred Horſe into the County of *Lincoln* to the Lord *Willoughby* of *Eresby*, in order to prevent the coming of Relief to the Town by the *Humber*, and not doubting but Sir *John Penington* would ſhut up the Paſſage by Sea, he ordered a great many Pioneers to cut Trenches for diverting the freſh Water. But the Troops not being inured to the Hardſhips of War, they made their Approaches with great Difficulty, and commonly loſt in the Day-time, what Ground they had gained in the Night: For *Meldrum* made frequent Sallies, and every Time cleared the Trenches, and ruined their Works. He advanced once to the very Place where the Ammunition of the King's Army was, and having frighted the Troops that were there upon Guard, being but new levied Militia, he carried off a Part of it, and ſet Fire to the reſt. What likewiſe rendered the Undertaking of this Siege difficult was, that the Town had the Sea always open, the Earl of *Warwick* having made himſelf Maſter of all the Men of War. Whereupon the King fore-ſeeing, that it would be a long Siege, and conſidering, that he might imploy his Men in Things of greater Importance for his Service, and at the ſame time eaſe the County of *York*, where having been ſo well received, he was unwilling to make it the Seat of the War, about the end of *July* he decamped from before *Hull*, hoping to reduce it by ſome other more eaſy and mild Means.

*The Siege raiſed.*

HIS Majeſty kept the Field for ſome Days after, cauſing the Number of his Troops to be augmented, and doing all that in him lay to prevent the Counties from declaring for the Parliament. On the other hand, the

two

two Houſes had given the Command of the Fleet to the Earl of *Warwick*, and, on the 12th of *July* with unanimous Voice, choſen the Earl of *Eſſex* General of their Army. Two Days after the Earl of *Bedford* was made General of the Horſe, and the other Lords, who had declared for them, had Commiſſions to raiſe Men and command in the Counties. It was eaſy for the Parliament to raiſe an Army in a ſhort time: For beſides the great Fund of Money that had been brought into *Guild-Hall*, they did not ſtand to convert to that Uſe, a hundred thouſand Pounds that had been provided for the Relief of *Ireland*; 'tis true they ingaged the publick Faith for the Reimburſement of that Sum as ſoon as it ſhould be in their Power to do it. In the mean time, the Counties began to declare, ſome for the King, others for the Parliament. Some were divided, and there were Diviſions even in Families, as it uſually happens amongſt the Misfortunes that always attend a Civil War. 1642.

*The King's Letter to the General Aſſembly, dated July 2.*

In the mean time, the *Scots*, who as yet had not concerned themſelves in this Quarrel, opened their General Aſſembly in St. *Andrews* the 27th of *July*. The King having appointed the Earl of *Dumfermling* his Commiſſioner, he preſented to them his Majeſty's Letter written from *Leiceſter* the 23d of the ſame Month; whereby the King gave them to underſtand, "That notwithſtanding the great Affairs he had in hand, he "could not forget what he owed his native Country. That God having "appointed him over ſeveral Kingdoms, his Intention was to govern each "of them according to their Laws; and that their Churches ſhould "likewiſe be guided according to the Tenour of their Canons and Con"ſtitutions. That he had a Mind to reform all Abuſes in them, but "that he would do it by peaceable, juſt, and reaſonable Means; and "that he would maintain the Reformation by the Authority which God "had put into his Hands. That he wiſhed for nothing more earneſtly, "than to ſee the Goſpel preached with Sincerity over all the Kingdom, "which was the only Means, whereby to teach the People to fear God, "and honour the Prince; and that to attain thereto, the moſt learned "Men ſhould be choſen for that Office. That while he was amongſt "them, they had been Witneſſes of his Zeal and Liberality for the Main"tenance of Colleges, which not only exceeded all the Magnificence of "his Predeceſſors, but even went beyond their Expectations. That they "might depend upon it, that he would always ſhew himſelf a Nurſing "Father of that Church in which he had been born and baptized; Laſt"ly, that it ſhould be their own Faults if they wanted any Thing to "make them perfectly happy. That he expected from them as an Ac"knowledgment of ſo many Favours, that they would forbear doing any "Thing that might occaſion new Troubles. That he believed they were "wiſe enough not to be Enemies of their own Quiet. That they would "do nothing that might be a Stumbling-block to their Neighbours, and "the Cauſe of their own Ruin. He alſo exhorted them to pray to God "for the Proſperity and Peace of all his Kingdoms, and to ſtrive to keep "the People in due Obedience, which, in his Abſence, depended chiefly "upon their Preachings and Example. In fine he begged of them ſe"rioufly to conſider all his Actions, which he ſhould endeavour ſo to "regulate, that they ſhould always be aimed at the Good of Religion, "and the Grandeur of the State; eſpecially that they would not mind "the ſo many falſe Reports that are uſually ſpread amongſt the meaner "Sort of People."

1642. *The Parliament of England's Declaration to the General Assembly of Scotland.*

THE Parliament of *England* ſent likewiſe a Declaration to this Aſſembly, in order to acquaint them, " That they had ſent their humble " Supplications to the King, for preventing the bloody War, wherewith " the Kingdom of *England* was threatened. That they ſhould proceed " in every Thing as the *Scots* had done in the Beginning of their Troubles. " That the Care of the two Houſes, for preventing the Effuſion of Blood " was anſwerable to the Zeal which the *Scotiſh* Nation ſhewed for re- " forming the Church and State. That having undertaken that Refor- " mation, it had been thwarted by the ſecret Practices of a malicious Po- " piſh Faction, and other diſaffected Perſons, but eſpecially by the cor- " rupt Clergy, and the Biſhops, whoſe Avarice and Ambition was come " to ſuch a Pitch, that they could not bear the Reformation, which the " two Houſes had begun. That that Faction had been the Cauſe of all " the Diviſions in the State, and kindled the Fire, which devoured the " whole Kingdom. That if, by their moſt humble Requeſts to his Ma- " jeſty, they could extinguiſh it, and find any Means for laying down " their Arms, and proceeding peaceably in the Work begun, according " to the Forms at all Times obſerved in Parliament, they did not doubt, " if it pleaſed God to bleſs their Labours, but they ſhould be able to " reſtore Peace both in the Church and State, and therein to make ſo " holy a Reformation, that it ſhould tend to his Glory, the Honour of " his Majeſty, and the ſtrengthening of the Union betwixt the two " Kingdoms."

THE Aſſembly gave them a full Anſwer, wherein, after having thanked God for their Zeal for the Reformation of the Church, they expreſſed a great Deal of Grief that the Accompliſhment of that Work had been ſo long retarded, and that it had met with ſo many Obſtacles; and added: *The Aſſembly's Anſwer.* " That they were not ignorant that the Prelates, who were Formaliſts, " profane, and worldly minded, with all ſuch as inclined to Popery, had " left no Stone unturned in order to oppoſe it, the Prince of this World, " and all the Powers of Darkneſs combining with them, not without " Hopes of Succeſs. That theſe Enemies of God had always ſo prevailed, " as in the Time of the beſt Kings of *Judah*; in like manner during " the Time of the firſt Reformers of their Church, a thorough Reforma- " tion of Religion had, indeed, been wiſhed for, but never accompliſhed. " That, however, they believed, that the Servants of God truſting in " him, who is greater than the World, ought to have that holy Work " at Heart above all Things, and being called from above to put their " Hands to it, they ought with all their Might to forward it: For if they " went on but faintly in it, no other Undertaking would ever proſper in " their Hands. That it was juſt ſo, that this Nation having had a Call " from God, he hath heaped his Bleſſings upon their Labours. That it " was to be preſumed, that God was angry with *England*, and that he " never would be appeaſed till the Worſhip of his Name, and the Go- " vernment of his Houſe were eſtabliſhed, according as he hath ordained " them in his Word. That for that Reaſon the Commiſſioners of *Scot-* " *land* for the laſt Treaty of Peace, conſidering, that Religion is not " only the Way of Salvation, but likewiſe the Prop of States, and the " ſtrongeſt Band that unites the People to Princes, and among them- " ſelves, they propoſed, that for the Good of Peace, there might be but " one Confeſſion of Faith, one Form of publick Prayers, one Catechiſm, " and Form of Church-Government in all his Majeſty's Dominions. For " by that means all his Subjects might worſhip God together, as if they

" all

" all made but one and the ſame Family; and the Names of Sectaries; 1642.
" Puritans, Conformiſts, Separatiſts, and Anabaptiſts, which break the
" Bonds of Charity among them, and make the Papiſts hope to make
" Advantage by their Diviſions, ſhould no more be heard of. That in
" this Propoſition they followed the Example of their Predeceſſors, who,
" in the Aſſembly held at *Edinburgh* in the Year 1566, ſent a Requeſt in-
" to *England* againſt the Surplices, the Copes, the ſquare Caps, and ſome
" other Things of that Nature, which then diſturbed the Peace of that
" Church. That their Predeceſſors likewiſe, met in the ſame Place in the
" Year 1583, begged of his Majeſty to write to his Ambaſſador, who
" was in *England*, in order to perſuade Queen *Elizabeth* to enter into a
" League with his Majeſty, and the other Proteſtant Princes for the De-
" fence of the Reformed Religion, againſt the Papiſts united in the
" bloody Confederacy of *Trent:* And that he would deſire that great
" Princeſs to be pleaſed to free their Brethren in her Kingdom from the
" Yoke of Ceremonies impoſed upon them againſt the Freedom of the
" Word of God. That ſince the Reformed Churches maintained, that
" their Government by Kirk-Seſſions, Preſbyteries, and General Aſſem-
" blies was of divine Right, and that at the ſame time the moſt part of
" the Biſhops acknowledged Epiſcopacy to be but of human Inſtitution;
" to which ſome Churches, under the Pretence of its pretended Conve-
" niency, had ſubmitted, they did not ſee why it might not be aboliſhed
" by the ſame Authority that had eſtabliſhed it, without the Conſcience
" of any Perſon being thereby affected; on the contrary, they did not
" ſee why all the Faithful of both Kingdoms, ought not to wiſh, that
" the Epiſcopal Government were aboliſhed. Becauſe from thence would
" follow their Uniformity with all the Reformed Churches, and a ſolid
" Peace between the two Kingdoms, which, ſince the Reformation, have
" always had ſome Diſputes upon that account."

The Aſſembly, in their Letter of Thanks to the King, put him in mind of the Propoſition, which the Commiſſioners of *Scotland* had made of that Uniformity at the laſt Treaty with his Majeſty, and repreſented to him; " That God had made Choice of him to be the chief In-
" ſtrument of that Reformation, which would render his Memory glo-
" rious to future Ages, and his Name a Perfume diffuſed among all
" Nations." This Aſſembly broke up the 6th of *Auguſt*, and appointed the next Aſſembly to meet at *Edinburgh* the 2d Day of *Auguſt* 1643.

On the 9th of the ſame Month, the King declared the Earl of *Eſſex* Rebel, and with him, ſuch as had raiſed Troops by virtue of Commiſſions from the two Houſes. On the other hand, the Parliament uſurping the ſame Authority, declared all thoſe Traitors, who ſhould aſſiſt the King, either with Men, Money, or Arms. His Majeſty, notwithſtanding, having cauſed his Standard to be ſet up at *Nottingham*, a great Number of the Nobility and Gentry flocked thither to offer him their Service, and to make Head againſt the Parliament's great Army, whoſe Rendezvous was at *Northampton*. And though the King ſtood in need then of the Aſſiſtance of all his faithful Servants, yet that he might not give Umbrage, or the leaſt Ground of Diſcontent to his Proteſtant Subjects, he cauſed a Proclamation to be publiſhed at *Stoneley*, whereby he declared, that no Papiſt was to be allowed to ſerve him in his Army.

However,

1642. HOWEVER, his Majeſty, who breathed nothing but Peace, and who with Grief beheld the Miſeries his People ſuffered by the Diviſions, which a ſeditious Faction fomented betwixt him and his Parliament, tried yet by new means to make up the Differences between him and them. For which end, on the 25th of *Auguſt*, he wrote them a very kind Letter from *Nottingham*, and ſent it by the Earls of *Southampton* and *Dorſet*, Sir *John Colepepper*, Chancellor of his Exchequer, and Sir *William Udall*.

*The King ſends to the two Houſes a Meſſage for Peace by the Earl of* Southampton, *&c.*

"WE have, with unſpeakable Grief of Heart, long beheld the Diſ-
" tractions of this our Kingdom. Our very Soul is full of Anguiſh, un-
" til we may find ſome Remedy to prevent the Miſeries, which are rea-
" dy to overwhelm this whole Nation by a Civil War. And though all
" our Endeavours, tending to the compoſing of thoſe unhappy Differen-
" ces betwixt us and our two Houſes of Parliament (though purſued by
" us with all Zeal and Sincerity) have been hitherto without that Succeſs
" we hoped for; yet ſuch is our conſtant and earneſt Care to preſerve the
" publick Peace, that we ſhall not be diſcouraged from uſing any Expe-
" dient, which, by the Bleſſing of the God of Mercy, may lay a firm
" Foundation of Peace and Happineſs to all our good Subjects. To this
" end, obſerving that many Miſtakes have ariſen by the Meſſages, Peti-
" tions, and Anſwers, betwixt us and our two Houſes of Parliament, which
" happily may be prevented by ſome other way of Treaty, wherein the
" Matters in Difference may be more clearly underſtood, and more free-
" ly tranſacted; we have thought fit to propound to you, that ſome fit
" Perſons may be by you enabled to treat with the like Number to be
" authorized by us, in ſuch a manner, and with ſuch Freedom of Debate,
" as may beſt tend to that happy Concluſion which all good Men deſire,
" the Peace of the Kingdom. Wherein, as we promiſe, in the Word of
" a King, all Safety and Incouragement to ſuch as ſhall be ſent unto us,
" if you ſhall chuſe the Place where we are, for the Treaty, which we
" wholly leave to you, preſuming the like Care of the Safety of thoſe we
" ſhall imploy, if you ſhall name another Place; ſo we aſſure you, and
" all our good Subjects, that, to the beſt of our Underſtanding, nothing
" ſhall be therein wanting on our Part, which may advance the true Pro-
" teſtant Religion, oppoſe Popery and Superſtition, ſecure the Laws of
" the Land (upon which is built as well our juſt Prerogative, as the
" Property and Liberty of the Subject) confirm all juſt Power and Pri-
" vileges of Parliament, and render us and our People truly happy by a
" good Underſtanding betwixt us and our two Houſes of Parliament.
" Bring with you as firm Reſolutions to do your Duty; and let all our
" good People join with us in our Prayers to Almighty God, for his Bleſ-
" ſing upon this Work. If this Propoſition ſhall be rejected by you, we
" have done our Duty ſo amply, that God will abſolve us from the Guilt
" of any of that Blood which muſt be ſpilt; and what Opinion ſoever
" other Men may have of our Power, we aſſure you nothing but our
" chriſtian and pious Care to prevent the Effuſion of Blood, hath begot
" this Motion; our Proviſion of Men, Arms, and Money, being ſuch as
" may ſecure us from farther Violence, till it pleaſes God to open the
" Eyes of our People."

THE Parliament would not ſo much as allow the King's Meſſengers to take their Places in the two Houſes, nor even to preſent them his Majeſty's Letter, but ordered them to deliver it to the Uſher of the Black Rod, and

and then to depart the Town, and wait their Anſwer, which ſoon after was ſent them, and was as follows. 1642.

" The Lords and Commons, in Parliament aſſembled, having received " your Majeſty's Meſſage of the 25th of *Auguſt*, do with much Grief re- " ſent the dangerous and diſtracted State of this Kingdom; which we " have by all means endeavoured to prevent, both by our ſeveral Ad- " vices and Petitions to your Majeſty; which hath been not only without " Succeſs, but there hath followed that which no ill Counſel in former " Times hath produced, or any Age hath ſeen, namely, thoſe ſeveral " Declarations and Proclamations againſt both the Houſes of Parliament, " whereby their Actions are declared treaſonable, and their Perſons Trai- " tors. And thereupon your Majeſty hath ſet up your Standard againſt " them, whereby you have put the two Houſes of Parliament, and, in " them, the whole Kingdom, out of your Protection; ſo that until your " Majeſty ſhall recall thoſe Proclamations and Declarations, whereby the " Earl of *Eſſex*, and both Houſes of Parliament and their Adherents and " Aſſiſtants, and ſuch as have obeyed and executed their Commands and " Directions, according to their Duties, are declared Traitors or otherwiſe " Delinquents: And until the Standard, ſet up in Purſuance of the ſaid " Proclamation, be taken down, your Majeſty hath put us into ſuch a " Condition, that whilſt we ſo remain, we cannot, by the fundamental " Privileges of Parliament, the publick Truſt repoſed in us, or with the " general Good and Safety of this Kingdom, give your Majeſty any other " Anſwer to this Meſſage."

This Anſwer of the Lords and Commons not having diſcouraged the King, he wrote them a ſecond Letter, wherein he told them, " That " he was willing to forget all former Bitterneſs, aſſuring them that he " never intended to declare the two Houſes of Parliament Traitors, much " leſs to put them and this Kingdom out of his Protection; and farther " to remove all Obſtacles, which might hinder the Treaty, he promiſed " to recal all the Proclamations and Declarations of which they com- " plained, provided that a Day be appointed by them for revoking of " their Declarations againſt ſuch as followed his Majeſty." The two Houſes, however, ſtood it out, and perſiſted in their firſt Anſwer, and after the King for a third Time had proteſted, that there was nothing that ſtood in the Way of the Treaty, that he ſhould not ſtrive to ſurmount, they declared, " That if his Majeſty did not take a Reſolution to " abandon thoſe, who, having taken up Arms for his Service, ſo much " oppreſſed the People, and if he did not return to the Parliament, they " could not conſent to what he ſeemed to deſire, nor ſuffer themſelves to " be put into the Balance with thoſe whoſe wicked Counſels had ren- " dered all their Endeavours fruitleſs, as well for the Relief of *Ireland* " (from whence ſome Rebels had been entertained by his Majeſty) as for " preventing the Miſchiefs with which *England* was threatened." *The King's ſecond Meſſage.*

At the ſame time, the King cauſed a Declaration to be publiſhed, in order to inform all his faithful Subjects, that the two Houſes of Parliament had refuſed to hearken to the Propoſals of Peace, wherein his Majeſty repreſented; " That though, by his former Declarations, he had " made it plain, that he had not taken up Arms, till after the Gates of " *Hull* had been ſhut upon him: That a Fleet had been fitted out to " prevent his receiving any Relief from beyond Seas: And after an Army " had been raiſed, and begun to march againſt him; yet he would make

1642. " it appear by the Parliament's refuſing his Propoſition of Peace of the " 25th of *Auguſt*, that he had left nothing undone that a good King " could do for preventing the Effuſion of the Blood of his Subjects, but " that a malicious Faction, with great Art and Induſtry, had created a Miſ- " underſtanding betwixt him and them, and had reſolved intirely to ſa- " tisfy their Ambition, and ſatiate their Malice in the Ruin of the State, " and in their own Blood, as well as in that of his faithful Subjects. " That his former Declarations againſt that Faction had been extorted " from him, which, indeed, may be ſaid to be without Example, ſince " the Motive that had occaſioned them was unheard of; ſeeing there had " never been a Declaration publiſhed before in Name of the two Houſes " of Parliament for rendering the King odious to the People: Neither " had they ever pretended to a Power of raiſing Troops. He likewiſe " deſired to know, if it was poſſible, that the Actions, which, by the " Laws, were branded with High Treaſon, were no more ſo, for having " been done by the Members of the two Houſes of Parliament, or by " their Orders, and if he was not allowed to declare thoſe, who marched " againſt him with Arms in their Hands, Traitors, becauſe the Earl of " *Eſſex* was their General. That he had taken up Arms no leſs for the " Defence of the juſt Privileges of Parliament, than for that of his own " Honour and Prerogatives, and the Security of his Perſon, the Preſer- " vation of which depended upon that of the Parliament, and of their " juſt Liberties: And he wiſhed that God may deal with him and his " Poſterity in the ſame manner as he deſired the Preſervation of the juſt " Privileges of Parliament, which were ſo violated by that miſchievous " Faction, that their Rage had been no leſs againſt him and the Govern- " ment, than againſt the Liberty and the very Being of Parliaments. For " as much as thoſe deſperate Men had put in and turned out of the two " Houſes ſuch Perſons as they had a mind. That they had ſtirred up " Tumults on purpoſe to terrify the Parliament; that they had denied " him the Right of his negative Voice; that they held ſecret Councils, to " which the Members of Parliament were not admitted; and that they " had reduced the two Houſes to a Committee of Seventeen, who, in the " Abſence of four Parts of Five, managed the War againſt him, their " Sovereign Prince. For it was evident, that of five hundred Members " that ought to be in the Houſe of Commons, there had only a hundred " ſtayed, and that of a hundred Peers, there were only fifteen or ſixteen " that had a Share in thoſe Deliberations which diſturbed the publick Peace; " beſides, that the moſt part of theſe were low in the World, and had " nothing to ſupport them but the Commiſſions they took for Levying " Troops to make War upon him. That though their Malice was great, " and that there was a conſiderable Diſproportion between his Forces and " theirs, yet he was no ways diſcouraged; for after having uſed all " the Endeavours, which in Conſcience he ought, and with Honour " could, for preventing the Calamities which were ready to overwhelm " the Kingdom, he was reſolved to hazard his own Life in order to " ſuppreſs that Rebellion, hoping that all his faithful Subjects would " be induced, as well by the Fidelity they owed him, as by the " Love of themſelves, to aſſiſt him with Zeal and with all their " Might, in the Defence of Religion and the State, in the Ruin of which " they would inevitably be involved. Laſtly, that, perhaps, his Troops " may have committed ſome Diſorders, as it uſually happens among Sol- " diers; but that he was very ſorry for it, and that he had cauſed them " to be ſeverely puniſhed, which ought to ſtop the Mouths of his Ene- " mies. That as for his entertaining *Iriſh* Rebels, it was a downright " Calumny,

" Calumny, like that which Mr. *Pym* invented; and though he had not 1642.
" been able to get any Reparation for it, he thought, however, that That
" ought to have been a Warning to them, not to publiſh any more For-
" geries, but the Misfortune was, that they could not publiſh the Truth
" without making their wicked Deſigns appear."

The Propoſition of a Treaty proving abortive, the King ſent ſeveral Commiſſions into the Counties, *viz.* to the Marquis of *Hertford*, whom he had appointed his Lieutenant General in the *Weſtern* Counties, to the Lord *Strange*, eldeſt Son of the Earl of *Derby*, his Majeſty's Lieutenant in the Counties of *Lancaſter* and *Cheſter*, and to the Earl of *Cumberland*, his Lieutenant in that of *York*. The Marquis of *Newcaſtle* held the conſiderable Town of that Name for the King, the Commerce of which was ſo neceſſary to the City of *London*, which was ſupplied with Coal from thence, that when none could be got, the Parliament was forced to order the Citizens to make Proviſion of Turf for the Uſe of the City, inſtead of Coal which was ſo neceſſary for their Brew-houſes.

In the Beginning of *September*, the Noiſe of War called the Princes *Rupert* and *Maurice*, his Majeſty's Nephews, into *England*; the Prince *Elector*, their eldeſt Brother, having retired out of it two Months before, and gone to *Holland*. Theſe Princes eſpouſed the King's Quarrel with great Zeal, and ſoon after their Arrival, Prince *Rupert*, extreamly active and vigilant, having gone out to view the Country with twelve Troops of Horſe, routed ſome Regiments that were laying Waſte the Country near *Worceſter*, where Colonel *Sandys*, who commanded them, was killed. This was the firſt Fruits of the great Services which that Prince did the King, and for which the Parliament declared him attainted and guilty of Treaſon; but in the Beginning of the Year 1644, his Majeſty honoured him with the Title of Earl of *Holderneſs* and Duke of *Cumberland*, and made him Maſter of the Horſe, which Office the Duke of *Hamilton* had had in both Kingdoms.

Afterwards, the King marched towards *Shrewſbury*, a convenient Place for receiving what Aſſiſtance ſhould come to him from the Principality of *Wales*, and on the 19th of *September* cauſed to be read at the Head of his Army, between *Stafford* and *Wellington*, the Orders he would have them to obſerve; then his Majeſty ſpoke thus,

*The King's Speech and Proteſtation at the Head of his Forces, after the reading of his Orders.*

" Gentlemen, you have heard theſe Orders read: It is your Part,
" in your ſeveral Stations, to obſerve them exactly; the Time cannot be
" long before we come to Action, therefore you have the more Reaſon to
" be careful; and I muſt tell you, I ſhall be very ſevere in puniſhing of
" thoſe, of what Condition ſoever, who tranſgreſs theſe Inſtructions. I
" cannot ſuſpect your Courage and Reſolution; your Conſcience and your
" Loyalty have brought you hither, to fight for your Religion, your King,
" and the Laws of the Land. You ſhall meet with no Enemies but Trai-
" tors, moſt of them *Browniſts*, (ſo called from one *Brown*) *Anabap-*
" *tiſts*, and *Atheiſts*; ſuch who deſire to deſtroy both Church and State,
" and who have already condemned you to Ruin for being loyal to us.
" That you may ſee what Uſe I mean to make of your Valour if it pleaſe
" God to bleſs it with Succeſs, I have thought fit to publiſh my Reſo-
" lution to you in a Proteſtation; which when you have heard me make,
" you will believe you cannot fight in a better Quarrel, in which I pro-
" miſe to live and die with you."

The

1642. THE Proteſtation his Majeſty was then pleaſed to make was in theſe Words. " I do promiſe in the Preſence of Almighty God, and as I hope " for his Bleſſing and Protection, that I will, to the utmoſt of my Power, " defend and maintain the true Reformed Proteſtant Religion, eſtabliſh- " ed in the Church of *England*; and, by the Grace of God, in the ſame " will live and die.

" I DESIRE to govern by all the known Laws of the Land, and that " the Liberty and Property of the Subject, may be by them preſerved " with the ſame Care, as my own juſt Rights. And if it pleaſe God, by " his Bleſſing upon this Army, raiſed for my neceſſary Defence, to pre- " ſerve me from this Rebellion, I do ſolemnly and faithfully promiſe, in " the Sight of God, to maintain the juſt Privileges and Freedom of Par- " liament, and to govern by the known Laws of the Land to my utmoſt " Power; and particularly, to obſerve the Laws conſented to by me this " Parliament. In the mean while, if this Time of War, and the great " Neceſſity, and Straits I am now driven to, beget any Violation of thoſe, " I hope it ſhall be imputed by God and Men to the Authors of this War, " and not to me, who have ſo earneſtly laboured for the Preſervation of " the Peace of this Kingdom.

" WHEN I willingly fail in theſe Particulars, I will expect no Aid or " Relief from any Man, or Protection from Heaven. But in this Reſo- " lution, I hope for the chearful Aſſiſtance of all good Men, and am con- " fident of God's Bleſſing."

*The Subſtance of the King's Speech to the Gentry and Free-holders of the County of* Shrewſbury.

AFTER the King had made his Proteſtation, he continued his March towards *Shrewſbury*, and having aſſembled the Gentry and Freeholders of the County, he ſpoke to them thus: " That it was a Benefit to him from " the Inſolencies and Misfortunes, which had driven him about, that " they had brought him to ſo good a Part of his Kingdom, and to ſo " faithful a Part of his People. He hoped, neither they, nor he ſhould " repent their Coming together. He would do his Part, that they might " not; and of them he was confident before he came. He told them, " the Reſidence of an Army was not uſually pleaſant to any Place; and " his might carry more Fear with it, ſince it might be thought (being " robbed and ſpoiled of all his own, and ſuch Terror uſed to fright and " keep all Men from ſupplying him) he muſt only live upon the Aid " and Relief of his People." But he bid them " not be afraid;" and ſaid, " he wiſhed to God, his poor Subjects ſuffered no more by the Inſo- " lence, and Violence of that Army raiſed againſt him, though they had " made themſelves wanton with Plenty, than they ſhould do by his; and " yet he feared he ſhould not be able to prevent all Diſorders; he would " do his beſt; and promiſed them, no Man ſhould be a Loſer by him if he " could help it." He ſaid, " he had ſent for a Mint, and would melt " down all his own Plate, and expoſe all his Land to Sale, or Mortage, " that he might bring the leaſt Preſſure upon them." However, he in- vited them " to do that for him, and themſelves, for the Maintenance of " their Religion, and the Law of the Land (by which they enjoyed all " that they had) which other Men did againſt them; he deſired them " not to ſuffer ſo good a Cauſe to be loſt, for want of ſupplying him " with that, which would be taken from them, by thoſe who purſued his " Majeſty with that Violence. And whilſt thoſe ill Men ſacrificed their " Money, Plate, and utmoſt Induſtry, to deſtroy the Common-Wealth, " they

" they would be no leſs liberal to preſerve it. He bid them aſſure them- 1642.
" ſelves, if it pleaſed God to bleſs him with Succeſs, he would remember
" the Aſſiſtance every particular Man gave him to his Advantage. How-
" ever it would hereafter (how furiouſly ſoever the Minds of ſome Men
" were now poſſeſſed) be Honour, and Comfort to them, that with ſome
" Charge and Trouble to themſelves, they had done their Part to ſupport
" their King and preſerve the Kingdom."

The King ſpoke to them with ſo good a Grace, that as Eloquence is a Charm, and the Quarrel, into which he had a mind to imbark them, was the moſt glorious in the World, they teſtified ſo much Zeal for his Service, that before the Middle of *October* his Army conſiſted of ſix thouſand Foot, three thouſand Horſe, and about two thouſand Dragoons, and as he was making ready to march, the Inhabitants of the Town of *Shrewſbury*, and the Country People in the Neighbourhood likewiſe furniſhed him with Horſes and Carriages for his Baggage.

The King marched in Sight of *Coventry*, with a Reſolution not to ſtop there, if the Governor did not ſurrender it willingly, which he refuſed. Whereupon the King marched on, and incamped at *Southam*, the Earl of *Eſſex* being but at a little Diſtance from it. His Majeſty's Army was become ſo ſtrong, that though it was a great Way from *London*, yet that City was frighted. Whereupon Orders were immediately given for fortifying the Paſſages to it, for ſome Companies of the Train-bands to be under Arms, and for ſending ſome Troops to garriſon *Windſor*-Caſtle. However, the Parliament did not believe that the King would draw near it, before he had fought *Eſſex*, whom he could not fail to meet in his Way: So that General marched at the Head of a great Army, reſolved to decide by the Sword, what could not be done by the Pen.

He had taken Leave of the Parliament the 9th of *September*, and received Orders to do his utmoſt, either by a Battle, or otherwiſe, to get the *King*, the Prince of *Wales*, and the Duke of *York* out of the Hands of thoſe deſperate Men that were about them. (Such they called the Troops that attended the King.) He likewiſe had Orders to diſband his Army, except ſome Regiments for the Security of the King's Perſon, in caſe he ſhould be pleaſed to conſent to the Petition of the two Houſes, which they ſent to their General at *Northampton* by Sir *Philip Stapleton*. The Petition ran thus: " That the two Houſes of Parliament having cauſed
" an Army to be raiſed, as well for the Defence of the Proteſtant Reli-
" gion, his Majeſty's Perſon and Crown, as for maintaining the Liberties of
" the Kingdom, and the Privileges of Parliament, and choſen the Earl
" of *Eſſex* for leading that Army againſt the Rebels and Traitors whom his
" Majeſty authorized; they moſt humbly beſeeched him to abandon thoſe
" wicked Men to the Juſtice and Rigour of their Arms, and to return to
" the Parliament, in order, with their faithful Advices, to redreſs the
" Diſorders and Confuſions that abounded in the Kingdom." In ſhort their General had Power to publiſh a Pardon to all ſuch as in the Space of ten Days ſhould lay down their Arms, and return to their Duty, excepting to ſuch as the Parliament judged to be the chief of thoſe who had been the moſt active in the Rebellion, and whom they had declared Traitors, ſuch as *Endymion Porter*, *Edward Hyde*, and Secretary *Nicholas*: The Viſcounts of *Newark* and *Falkland*, the Earls of *Briſtol*, *Cumberland*, *Rivers*, and *Carnarvon*, the Marquis of *Newcaſtle*, and the Duke of *Richmond*.

*The Petition of the Parliament to the King juſt before the Battle of* Edge-hill.

1642. *The Battle of* Keinton *or* Edge-hill.

THE two Armies being in Sight of each other near *Keinton* in *Warwickſhire*, on the 23d of *October* the King gave Orders to charge the Enemy in a Valley under *Edge-hill*, called the Valley of the *Red-horſe*, a Name not unſuitable to it that Day. For though the Number of the dead on each Side be not agreed upon, yet 'tis certainly believed, that near ſix Thouſand were left upon the Place. The King, by his Example, increaſed the Courage of his own Men; for he ruſhed in among the Thick of the Enemy, and it may be ſaid, that no Prince ever hazarded his Perſon more, than his Majeſty did on this Occaſion. On his Side the Earl of *Lindſey*, General of the Foot, was mortally wounded, and the Lord *Aubigney*, Son to the Duke of *Lenox*, and Brother to the then Duke of *Richmond* and *Lenox*, was killed upon the Spot. On the other Side, the Lord *St. John*, eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Bullenbrook*, with many other Perſons of Note, was ſlain; beſides many Officers of both Sides.

WHAT ſurpriſed every Body moſt was, that of the Parliament's Side ſome Prieſts were found among the Dead: For though in their Declarations they called the King's Army, the Popiſh Army, in order to render it odious to the People; yet they had two Companies of Walloons, and other Roman Catholicks in their own Army; beſides, they had done all that in them lay to ingage in their Service Sir *Arthur Aſton*, a Roman Catholick Colonel of great Reputation. 'Tis true that the King had likewiſe entertained ſome other Roman Catholick Officers in his Army, Men of great Abilities, and very well affected to the Good of the State, ſo his Majeſty called them in the Declaration which he cauſed to be publiſhed after the Battle, to which the Parliament did not fail to anſwer by as many Contradictions. He made it appear, that though the Parliament, without Compariſon, had a much greater Number of Roman Catholicks in their Army than he had in his, and that they had, by all means poſſible, endeavoured to draw in all thoſe of the Kingdom, having promiſed under hand, that provided they would eſpouſe their Quarrel, all the Laws made to their Prejudice ſhould be repealed, yet he could never be brought to call the Roman Catholicks to his Aſſiſtance, nor to revoke his Proclamation, whereby he had forbid them to come. Beſides, he aſſured all his good Subjects, that though he had a Regard for the Perſons of the Roman Catholicks who had aſſiſted him in his Neceſſity, and that he did not forget their paſt Services, yet he never would do any Thing in favour of their Religion; on the contrary, that he would by all means endeavour to ſuppreſs it, as well by putting the Laws ſtrictly in Execution againſt ſuch as ſhould profeſs it, as in proſecuting the Overtures made by the two Houſes of Parliament for the Advancement of the Proteſtant Religion, in which he would cheerfully join with them. In ſhort, he complained in that Declaration of thoſe, who having a Mind to paſs for Lovers of Peace, had created an irreconcileable Hatred between the Nobility and Gentry, and the Commonalty, and of their having rendered all Men of Honour and Worth ſuſpected, and odious to the People under the Name of *Cavaliers*, inſomuch that the Highways were no longer ſafe for Gentlemen, who had been attacked in ſeveral Places. Whereupon he deſired, that all his faithful Subjects might believe, that he thought himſelf no leſs obliged to protect the meaneſt than the greateſt of them, and as they were all born equally free, and that the Laws were alſo equally made for every Man, he was reſolved to do all of them that Juſtice, and give them that Protection which was due, without Diſtinction of Perſons or Qualities: As for the reſt, he exhorted them to love one another

another like Brethren, and to be reconciled with him, who was the common Father of them all. 1642.

In this Battle the King's Party took from the Enemy ſeventy Colours and Standards, with ſeven Pieces of Cannon, and loſt only ſix Colours. Nevertheleſs both Parties pretended to have had the Victory, as they did afterwards in ſeveral of their Ingagements. 'Tis certain, however, that the King having more Nobility and Gentry in his Army than the Parliament had in theirs, for a long Time he was ſtill victorious. And if, by what followed, it may be decided which of the two carried the Day, the Victory was certainly on the King's Side: For the Day after the Battle the Earl of *Eſſex* having retired to the Caſtle of *Warwick*, and Prince *Rupert* having purſued his Rear-Guard, took twenty five of his Waggons loaded with Baggage, and on the 27th the Town and Caſtle of *Banbury* ſurrendered to the King at Diſcretion, and the Garriſon, conſiſting of eight Companies of Foot and one Troop of Light-Horſe, of the Regiments of the Earl of *Peterborough* and Viſcount of *Say*, having marched out, laid down their Arms, and aſked the King's Pardon. His Majeſty took all the Ammunition of the Place, and having ordered only one Regiment to take Poſſeſſion of it, he ſaved the Town from being plundered, though upon being ſummoned to ſurrender it pretended to hold out againſt him.

*The King advances to* Colebrook.

The King having advanced to *Colebrook*, Sir *Peter Killigrew* went to beg of his Majeſty to grant a ſafe Conduct for the Meſſengers of the two Houſes of Parliament, who deſired to treat with him; which he having obtained, the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Pembroke*, and *Montgomery*, the Lord *Weenman*, Sir *John Hippeſly*, and Mr. *Pierrepoint* went to the King the 11th of *November*. They preſented a Petition from the two Houſes, wherein they expreſſed "how much they were affected with a deep Senſe "of the miſerable State of the Kingdom, and of the great Effuſion of "Blood at the Battle of *Edge-hill*, which not having put an End to the "Differences betwixt his Majeſty and them, they repreſented to him, that "That Wound would ſtill bleed, and would ſo weaken all his Kingdoms, "that, perhaps, they may become the Prey of ſome foreign Power. As "they were convinced that his Majeſty was at leaſt as much affected "therewith as they, and that he would be fully diſpoſed to make Uſe of "the Remedies which ſhould be propoſed to him for healing up the "Wound of the State, they humbly beſeeched him to appoint ſome "Place, not far from the City of *London*, where his Majeſty would be "pleaſed to reſide, until the Committees of both Houſes of Parliament "might attend his Majeſty, in order to make ſome Propoſitions for the "Eſtabliſhment of Peace."

*The Parliament petitions the King.*

*The King's Anſwer.*

The King was very well ſatisfied with this Petition, the Style of which he found to be more ſoft, and the Terms more ſubmiſſive than any of the former had been; which made him diſpatch his Anſwer the next Morning, in which he expreſſed "how deeply he was affected with "the Ruin and Miſeries of his Subjects, who could receive no Affliction, "wherein he did not ſhare with them; inſomuch that their Deſtruction "would always make his greateſt Victories bitter to him. Therefore he "was willing to hearken to ſuch Propoſitions, whereby the Diſtractions "of the Kingdom may be ſettled, and an End put to their Sufferings. "And to that end, he told them, that he would reſide at his Caſtle of "*Windſor* (provided the Forces there were removed) and there expect "the

1642. " the Committees of the two Houſes, which he deſired might be ſent " to him as ſoon as poſſible, in order to prevent the Inconveniencies " that may intervene, if they ſhould too long delay coming to him in " that Place; or if the Parliament had no Mind to evacuate it, at the " Place where he may happen to be."

BUT that very Night, after the Meſſengers of the two Houſes were gone for *London*, the King received Advice, that That ſame Day the Earl of *Eſſex* had drawn out of *London* a great many Forces, with a large Train of Artillery, in order to march them againſt him. Whereupon having ordered a Council of War to be called, he repreſented to them, that he found himſelf, in a manner, ſurrounded by *Eſſex*'s Army, one Part of it being at *Windſor*, another at *Kingſton*, and the reſt at *Acton*: So that if he waited till that Earl ſhould make himſelf Maſter of *Brentford* with the Troops he was marching from *London*, it would not be poſſible for his Army to retreat, nor ſubſiſt in the Place where it was. All the chief Officers of the Army voted for preventing *Eſſex*, and taking Poſſeſſion of *Brentford*: But the King, who knew that his Enemies were carefully watching his Actions in order to take Advantage of them, did not yield to their Opinions till he had well-informed himſelf about all that might be objected againſt that Deſign. For ſome might think, that thereby the King ſhewed he was not pleaſed with the Propoſition of a Treaty, and had even broke his Word. The Anſwer to that was, that the being willing to treat did not infer a Suſpenſion of Arms, of which no mention was made, either in the Propoſition of a Treaty made by the Parliament, or in the King's Anſwer, wherein his Majeſty having expreſſed his Deſire, that the Articles might quickly be ſent him, in order to prevent the fatal Conſequence of ſo many Calamities, he rather plainly gave them to underſtand, that there was no Suſpenſion of Arms. That as to the accepting of the Treaty, he thought he had Reaſon to judge by their having refuſed the ſo many reaſonable Offers he had made them, when it was thought he was in no Condition to defend himſelf, that if he did not prevent himſelf from being hemmed in on all Sides, their Propoſition would ſoon come to nothing. So it was reſolved to march to *Brentford*, but firſt of all the King ſent *John White*, one of his Servants, to the Parliament, to acquaint them with the Reaſons of that Motion, and with his firm Reſolution of entering upon a Treaty with them, which he deſired might be begun at *Brentford* as ſoon as poſſible. For all that, this Meſſenger was ſo ill-treated, that both he and the King's Trumpet were made Priſoners, whence his Majeſty judged, that there were dangerous Men amongſt them, who had as little Regard to the Law of Nations, as to the Laws of thē Kingdom.

IN the mean time the King, having only the third Part of his Foot with him, ordered *Brentford* to be attack'd, which two of *Eſſex*'s Regiments had barricadoed. Colonel *Quarles*, who commanded them, was killed in the Attack, many of his Men were drowned, five Hundred made Priſoners, and eight Colours, with eighteen Pieces of Cannon were taken. How ſoon the King heard that *Eſſex*'s Troops had marched out of *Kingſton*, and had left that Paſſage free, he quitted *Brentford*, and marching farther from *London*, he made it appear that he had never had a Deſign to ſurprize it, and much leſs to give it up to be plundered, though this Expedition had occaſioned ſuch a Report in the City; and that the two Houſes had made Uſe of it as a Pretence for breaking off the Treaty.

DURING

During these Transactions the Marquis of *Newcastle* took the Town of *Tadcaster* by Storm, and Lieutenant-General *Wilmot* that of *Marlborough*; Sir *Ralph Hopton*, who performed a great many gallant Actions during this War, for his Share defeated twenty Companies of Foot, and between four and five hundred Horse near *Bodmin* in the County of *Cornwal*. They were drawn up in Order of Battle upon a little Hill surrounded with a Morass, which was not passable but at two Places, where ten Men could scarcely march a-breast. That did not in the least discourage *Hopton*'s Men, who marching boldly up to the Enemy, whose Foot gave one Fire, and then made as if they fled, fancying that the King's Troops, drawn in by that Flight, would pursue them in Disorder, and that their own Cavalry, standing their Ground, might easily defeat them. But by the good Conduct of the Officers, the Soldiers advanced in so good Order, and kept their Ranks so close, that the Enemy was forced to give Ground in good Earnest. After this Defeat *Hopton* took *Holsborough* and *Salt-Ash*, and the King having gained these Advantages upon the Parliament, and offered a general Pardon to all such as should lay down their Arms, and return to their Allegiance, he took up his Winter Quarters at *Oxford*. 1642.

In the Beginning of the following Year, there was some Hopes of Peace, in order to attain which, the King spared no Pains. The Parliament seeming to have the same Design, on the 11th of *January*, sent these Propositions to his Majesty. "I. That he would be pleased to dis- "band his Armies, as they should likewise be ready to disband all those "Forces which they had raised; and that he would be pleased to return "to his Parliament. II. That he would leave Delinquents to a legal "Trial, and Judgment of Parliament. III. That the Papists may not "only be disbanded, but disarmed according to Law. IV. That his Ma- "jesty would be pleased to give his Royal Assent unto the Bill for ta- "king away the superstitious Innovations; to the Bill for the utter a- "bolishing, and taking away of all Archbishops, Bishops, their Chancel- "lors, and Commissaries, Deans, Sub-Deans, Deans and Chapters, Arch- "Deacons, Canons, and Prebendaries, and all Chanters, Chancel- "lors, Treasurers, Sub-Treasurers, Succentors, and Sacrists, and all Vi- "cars choral, Choristers, old Vicars, and new Vicars of any Cathedral, "or Collegiate Church, and all other their Under Officers, out of the "Church of *England*: To the Bill against scandalous Ministers; to the "Bill against Pluralities; to the Bill for Consultation to be had with "godly, religious, and learned Divines. That his Majesty would be "pleased to promise to pass such other good Bills for settling of Church- "Government, as upon Consultation with the Assembly of the said Di- "vines, shall be resolved on by both Houses of Parliament, and by "them presented to his Majesty. V. That his Majesty having expressed, "in his Answer to the nineteen Propositions of both Houses of Parlia- "ment, a hearty Affection and Intention for rooting out of Popery out "of this Kingdom; and that, if both the Houses of Parliament can yet "find a more effectual Course to disable Jesuits, Priests, and Popish Recu- "sants from disturbing the State, or eluding the Laws, that he would "willingly give his Consent unto it; that he would be graciously pleased, "for the better Discovery, and speedier Conviction of Recusants, that an "Oath may be established by Act of Parliament, to be administered in "such Manner as by both Houses shall be agreed on; wherein they shall "abjure and renounce the Pope's Supremacy, the Doctrine of Transub- 1643.

*The humble Desires, and Propositions of the Lords and Commons in Parliament, tendered to his Majesty.*

1643. " ſtantiation, Purgatory, worſhipping of the conſecrated Hoſt, Crucifixes,
" and Images: And the refuſing the ſaid Oath, being tendered in ſuch
" Manner as ſhall be appointed by Act of Parliament, ſhall be a ſufficient
" Conviction in Law of Recuſancy. And that his Majeſty would be gra-
" ciouſly pleaſed to give his Royal Aſſent unto a Bill, for the Education
" of the Children of Papiſts by Proteſtants in the Proteſtant Religion.
" That for the more effectual Execution of the Laws againſt Popiſh Re-
" cuſants, his Majeſty would be pleaſed to conſent to a Bill, for the true
" Levying of the Penalties againſt them; and that the ſame Penalties
" may be levied, and diſpoſed of in ſuch Manner as both Houſes of Par-
" liament ſhall agree on, ſo as his Majeſty be at no Loſs; and likewiſe to
" a Bill, whereby the Practice of Papiſts againſt the State may be pre-
" vented, and the Law againſt them duly executed. VI. That the Earl
" of *Briſtol* may be removed from his Majeſty's Council; and that both
" he, and the Lord *Herbert*, eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Worceſter*, may
" likewiſe be reſtrained from coming within the Verge of the Court; and
" that they may not bear any Office, or have any Employments concern-
" ing the State or Common-wealth. VII. That his Majeſty would be
" graciouſly pleaſed, by Act of Parliament, to ſettle the Militia both by
" Sea and Land, and for the Forts and Ports of the Kingdom, in ſuch a
" Manner as ſhall be agreed on by both Houſes. VIII. That his Majeſty
" would be pleaſed, by his Letters Patents, to make Sir *John Bramſton*, Chief
" Juſtice of the Court of King's Bench; *William Lenthall* Eſquire, the
" now Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, Maſter of the Rolls; and to
" continue the Lord Chief Juſtice *Banks*, Chief Juſtice of the Court of
" Common-Pleas; and likewiſe to make Mr. Serjeant *Wild*, Chief Ba-
" ron of the Court of Exchequer; and that Mr. Juſtice *Bacon* may be
" continued; and Mr. Serjeant *Rolls*, and Mr. Serjeant *Atkins*, made Ju-
" ſtices of the King's Bench: That Mr. Juſtice *Reeves*, and Mr. Juſtice
" *Forſter*, may be continued: And Mr. Serjeant *Pheaſant*, made one of
" the Juſtices of the Court of Common-Pleas: That Mr. Serjeant *Creſ-*
" *well*, Mr. *Samuel Brown*, and Mr. *John Puleſton*, may be Barons of the
" Exchequer; and that all theſe, and all the Judges of the ſame Courts,
" for the Time to come, may hold their Places by Letters Patents under
" the Great Seal, *Quamdiu ſe bene geſſerint*: And that the ſeveral Perſons
" not before named, that do hold any of theſe Places before mentioned,
" may be removed. IX. That all ſuch Perſons, as have been put out of
" the Commiſſions of Peace, or *Oyer* and *Terminer*, or from being *Cu-*
" *ſtodes Rotulorum*, ſince the firſt Day of *April* 1642, (other than ſuch
" as were put out by Deſire of both or either of the Houſes of Parlia-
" ment) may again be put into thoſe Commiſſions, and Offices; and that
" ſuch Perſons may be put out of thoſe Commiſſions, and Offices, as
" ſhall be excepted againſt by both Houſes of Parliament. X. That his
" Majeſty would be pleaſed to paſs the Bill now preſented to his Ma-
" jeſty, to vindicate and ſecure the Privileges of Parliament, from the ill
" Conſequence of the late Precedent in the Charge and Proceeding a-
" gainſt the Lord *Kimbolton*, now Earl of *Mancheſter*, and the five Mem-
" bers of the Houſe of Commons. XI. That the Royal Aſſent may be
" given unto ſuch Acts as ſhall be adviſed by both Houſes of Parliament,
" for the ſatisfying and paying the Debts and Damages, whereinto the two
" Houſes of Parliament have ingaged the Publick Faith of the Kingdom.
" XII. That his Majeſty would be pleaſed, according to a gracious An-
" ſwer heretofore received from him, to enter into a more ſtrict Alliance
" with the States of the United Provinces, and other Neighbour Princes,
" and States of the Proteſtant Religion, for the Defence and Maintenance

" thereof

" thereof againſt all Deſigns and Attempts of this Popiſh, and Jeſuitical 1643.
" Faction, to ſubvert and ſuppreſs it; whereby his Majeſty's Subjects may
" hope to be free from the Miſchiefs which the Kingdom hath endured,
" through the Power which ſome of that Party have had in his Counſels;
" and will be much encouraged, in a Parliamentary Way, for his Aid and
" Aſſiſtance in reſtoring his Royal Siſter, and the Prince Elector, to thoſe
" Dignities and Dominions which belong unto them; and relieving the
" other Proteſtant Princes who have ſuffered in the ſame Cauſe. XIII.
" That in the general Pardon which his Majeſty hath been pleaſed to of-
" fer to his Subjects, all Offences and Miſdemeanors committed before
" the 10th of *January* 1641, which have been or ſhall be queſtioned, or
" proceeded againſt in Parliament, upon Complaint in the Houſe of Com-
" mons, before the 10th of *January* 1643, ſhall be excepted; which
" Offences and Miſdemeanors ſhall nevertheleſs be taken, and adjudged
" to be fully diſcharged againſt all other inferior Courts. That likewiſe
" there ſhall be an Exception of all Offences committed by any Perſon or
" Perſons, which hath, or have had, any Hand or Practice in the Rebel-
" lion of *Ireland*; which hath, or have given, any Counſel, Aſſiſtance,
" or Encouragement to the Rebels there, for the Maintenance of that Re-
" bellion; as likewiſe an Exception of *William* Earl of *Newcaſtle*, and
" *George* Lord *Digby*. XIV. That his Majeſty would be pleaſed to re-
" ſtore ſuch Members of either Houſe of Parliament to their ſeveral Places
" of Services, and Employment, out of which they have been put ſince
" the Beginning of this Parliament; that they may receive Satisfaction,
" and Reparation for thoſe Places, and for the Profits which they have
" loſt by ſuch Removals, upon the Petition of both Houſes of Parlia-
" ment. And that all others may be reſtored to their Offices, and Em-
" ployments, who have been put out of the ſame upon any Diſpleaſure
" conceived againſt them, for any Aſſiſtance given to both Houſes of
" Parliament, or obeying their Commands, or forbearing to leave their
" Attendance upon the Parliament without Licence; or for any other
" Occaſion, ariſing from theſe unhappy Differences betwixt his Majeſty
" and both Houſes of Parliament, upon the like Petition of both
" Houſes."

The King having a ſtrong Deſire to ſee an End put to the ſo many Miſeries with which his poor People were overwhelmed, took no Notice of many diſreſpectful and offenſive Expreſſions which he found in the Preamble of theſe Propoſitions, and for the Sake of Peace his Majeſty likewiſe paſſed over in Silence the Reproaches therein caſt upon him of having raiſed an Army againſt the Parliament, and of conſtraining them to take Arms for the Defence of their Religion, the Laws, and the Privileges of Parliament, concealing, that at the Time they took them, the King, far from undertaking any Thing againſt the Rights of others, was not ſo much as in a Condition to defend his own. That as for Religion, the Laws, and their Liberties, they were very well eſtabliſhed, or if any Thing was wanting, the King offered to ſupply it with ſo much Readineſs before ever a Sword was drawn againſt him, that if they had had nothing elſe in their Thoughts but the Peace and Protection which his Subjects and their Forefathers had injoyed under his Majeſty and his Predeceſſors, the Miſunderſtanding betwixt him and his People would not have been the Converſation of all Chriſtendom; nor the little World, over which God had put him, been the ſad Spectacle of Neighbours and Allies, who not long before looked upon it as *Gideon*'s Fleece, dry, —— when almoſt all the Continent was bathed with Blood.

He

1643. He had likewiſe the Goodneſs not to mind, that many of the Propoſitions tended to the Diminution of his Authority, without the leaſt Advantage to his Subjects: Beſides, that there were but very few of them that had any Foundation in Law: And that it was very unbecoming in Senators, to demand new Laws with Sword in Hand. Nevertheleſs, the King was ſo ſenſibly affected with the Sufferings of his People, that he was willing to refer the whole, till a Treaty about the Matters in Diſpute ſhould be entered upon, which might then be explained in the Conference, and he deſired that the Time and Place might be ſpeedily appointed, that ſuch Perſons as his Majeſty and the two Houſes of Parliament ſhould name, might confer upon thoſe Propoſitions, and upon theſe which he anew propoſed to them. "I. That his Majeſty's own Revenue, Magazine, Towns, "Forts, and Ships, be forthwith reſtored unto him. II. That whatſoever "hath been done, or publiſhed, contrary to the known Laws of the Land, "or derogatory to his Majeſty's legal, and known Power and Rights, be re-"nounced and recalled, that no Seed may remain for the like to ſpring "out of for the future. III. That whatſoever illegal Power hath been "claimed, and exerciſed by, or over his Subjects, as impriſoning their "Perſons without Law, ſtopping their *Habeas Corpus*, and impoſing up-"on their Eſtates without Act of Parliament, *&c.* either by both or "either Houſe, or any Committee of both, or either, or by any Perſons "appointed by any of them, be diſclaimed; and all ſuch Perſons ſo com-"mitted, forthwith diſcharged. IV. That as his Majeſty will readily "conſent (having done ſo heretofore) to the Execution of all Laws al-"ready made, and to any good Acts to be made for the ſuppreſſing of "Popery, and for the firm Settling of the Proteſtant Religion now e-"ſtabliſhed by Law; ſo he deſires, that a good Bill may be framed, for "the better preſerving the Book of Common-Prayer from the Scorn and "Violence of *Browniſts*, *Anabaptiſts*, and other Sectaries, with ſuch "Clauſes for the Eaſe of tender Conſciences, as his Majeſty hath formerly "offered. V. That all ſuch Perſons, as, upon the Treaty, ſhall be ex-"cepted out of the general Pardon, ſhall be tried *per pares*, according "to the uſual Courſe, and known Law of the Land; and that it be left "to that, either to acquit, or condemn them. VI. And to the Intent "this Treaty may not ſuffer Interruption, by any intervening Accidents, "that a Ceſſation of Arms, and free Trade for all his Majeſty's Subjects, "may be firſt agreed upon."

But after a long Debate upon the firſt and laſt of theſe Propoſitions, without being able to determine any Thing, the Treaty of Peace came to nothing. The Parliament drew up a large Declaration, in Vindication of their Proceedings, and the King publiſhed another, in order to juſtify his: Wherein he made it clearly appear, that he demanded nothing in the Treaty, ſave only, that the Troops might be diſbanded on both Sides, and that all Things in Diſpute might be debated in a full Meeting of Parliament.

That for that end, they ſhould return to their former State, and that all Things ſhould be put again in the ſame Condition they were in, when the two Houſes of Parliament were full, and at their Liberty; becauſe they could not deny, that the King had demanded nothing in the Treaty but what was due to him by the Laws, and that he had refuſed them nothing that they could prove to be their Right by the ſame Laws: Nor even the leaſt Thing that was worth ſhedding one Drop of Blood for obtaining it.

So

So that it ſeemed that the King had good Reaſon to end his Declaration concerning the Treaty, with theſe Words; " That thoſe who fomented " the War had no other Deſign but to alter the Laws and the State, to " introduce a democratical Government, the Independancy and Equality " of Conditions, and, if they could, to leave neither King, nor Religion, " nor Nobility." 1643.

The Parliament, in their Declaration, complained, that during the Treaty the King kept up a ſecret Correſpondence for War, and they inſiſted particularly upon the Deſign he had upon *Briſtol*, which they called bloody and barbarous; and upon the ſurrendering of the Caſtle of *Scarborough* by Sir *Hugh Cholmondley*. They likewiſe exclaimed againſt a Proclamation which his Majeſty cauſed to be publiſhed on the 8th of *February*, forbidding the Payment of the Taxes impoſed upon the Counties by Order of the two Houſes; becauſe, in that Proclamation, the King called ſuch as obeyed the Parliament, *Rebels*, *Browniſts*, and *Anabaptiſts*, and charged them with having a Deſign upon his Life, and to deſtroy his Poſterity, Religion, and the Laws. But his Majeſty, in the Anſwer he made them, made it appear, that it was a Thing as uncommon as unjuſt, that they ſhould pretend; that the Treaty was to keep him under Reſtraint, while they were at full Liberty. That during the Treaty they might lay Taxes upon his Subjects contrary to Law, and that he could not lawfully forbid the Payment of them. That the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Soldiers might be allowed to rail at Epiſcopacy, to enter the Churches, there to break the Organs, and tear the Surplices and Books of Common-Prayer, and that the King notwithſtanding all that muſt not call them *Browniſts*. That during the Treaty their Army committed Acts of Rebellion openly, and yet the King was in the wrong to call them Rebels. That he might be miſtaken, in believing that their Soldiers had a Deſign upon his Life, they who had fired upon him as often as he had advanced to any Place within the Reach of their Cannon. That the Treaty could not hinder them from taking his Towns and Caſtles, and yet he muſt not recover any, nor even poſſeſs any of his Houſes or Caſtles. That Sir *William Waller* might freely take the Towns of *Malmſbury* and *Tewkeſbury*, but his Majeſty muſt not ſo much as think upon *Scarborough* and *Briſtol*. For the King openly avowed his having had a Deſign upon this laſt Place; but it was falſe that that Deſign was either bloody or barbarous, or that he had given Orders to put all ſuch to the Sword as ſhould not have the Word, or the Ribbon that had been agreed upon. That it might very well be, that ſome Word, or Sign had been given, not with Intention to put all to the Sword that ſhould not have it; but only that ſuch as ſhould have it might be the better found out, and that particular Care might be taken to prevent their running into any Danger, or receiving any Diſaſter. After the Deſign had been diſcovered, *Robert Yeomans*, *William*, his Brother, *George Boucher*, and *Edward Dacres*, Citizens, were hanged, though the Earl of *Forth* ſent Word to Colonel *Nathanael Fiennes*, Son to the Viſcount of *Say*, who commanded in the Town for the Parliament, that thoſe of his Party, whom the King had taken at *Chicheſter*, ſhould be treated after the ſame manner.

So the Treaty produced nothing but new Matter of Quarrel, both Sides were more exaſperated, and the War was carried on with more Heat than ever. The Parliament was not ſatisfied with voluntary Contributions for ſubſiſting their Army; but as they found, that beſides thoſe who had contributed largely, there were many who either had given nothing,

1643. or at leaſt not proportionably to their Eſtates; for which Cauſe they appointed Commiſſioners with Power to tax them at Diſcretion, with this Proviſo only, that the Tax ſhould not exceed the fifth Part of the yearly Rent of their Lands, nor the Twentieth of the Value of their moveable Goods, and that no Perſon ſhould be taxed that had not ten Pounds of Land Rent, or a hundred Pounds in Moveables. Beſides, they ordained that if any Perſon refuſed to pay his Tax, the Collectors might levy it by Force, and require the Aſſiſtance of the Troops neareſt the Place. They likewiſe forbad all Perſons to pay Rents to ſuch as they looked upon to be Delinquents, upon Pain of paying twice. They called Delinquents, all thoſe who carried Arms againſt them, or who had willingly contributed towards the Levies made againſt their Party; and thoſe likewiſe who oppoſed the Levies that were making by Order of the two Houſes of Parliament, and who injured ſuch as contributed thereto in any Manner whatſoever. Under that Name were likewiſe comprehended thoſe who lock'd up their Effects, who concealed thoſe of the Delinquents, or who left their Habitations in order to ſhun the Taxes; and, in ſhort, all others that laid Taxes upon the Subjects for ſubſiſting the Troops raiſed againſt the Parliament. In order to oppreſs all theſe, they appointed Commiſſioners in the ſeveral Counties, to whom they gave Power to ſequeſter the Eſtates of the Delinquents for the Parliament's Service, and ten Days after the Sequeſtration they might cauſe them to be prized and ſold, excepting the fifth Part, which they ſet apart for ſubſiſting their Wives and Children; in caſe, however, it was demanded by them.

It was in a ſpecial Manner ordained, that the two Thirds of the Eſtates of Roman Catholicks ſhould likewiſe be ſold, for they were included amongſt the Delinquents; and particularly thoſe who had harboured any Prieſt ſince the 21ſt of *November* 1642, or who ſhould harbour any afterwards, thoſe who had been at Maſs any Time during that Year, or who ſhould be preſent at it for the Time to come; thoſe who ſhould bring up their Children, or thoſe committed to their Charge, in the Romiſh Religion; in ſhort thoſe, who being twenty one Years of Age, ſhould refuſe to take the Oath which the Parliament had ſet down in the fifth Propoſition which they preſented to the King in the Month of *February*. The Parliament did not ſtop there, for they ordained their Majeſties Demains, and that of the Prince of *Wales* to be ſequeſtrated: And becauſe all that did not anſwer their Ends, they likewiſe eſtabliſhed the Exciſe, that is to ſay, a Tax upon all Commodities as is practiſed in *Holland*.

The King, on his Part, in order to free his Subjects from theſe horrible Oppreſſions, cauſed ſeveral Proclamations to be publiſhed, and gave Orders for their Protection. He declared all Ordinances made for Taxes, and the Sequeſtration of Eſtates, void; expreſsly forbidding all his Subjects to pay the ſaid Taxes, injoyning the Farmers and Debitors of particular Perſons, to pay their Lords and Creditors what they owed them; and alſo generally forbad all Sorts of Perſons to buy any Goods or Eſtates that had been ſeized and ſold by Order of Parliament. He likewiſe ordered the Farmers and Debitors of ſuch as aſſiſted at the Execution of thoſe Ordinances, or who ſhould favour them, to keep the Rents and Revenues of their Lords and Creditors, that his Majeſty's good Subjects, who had ſuffered Loſſes by the Rebels Army, might be indemnified. For the Execution of which Things, he injoyned all Governors and Lieutenants of Counties, as well as all Mayors of Towns, to aſſiſt thoſe who demanded their Help. He likewiſe forbad all the Farmers and Debitors of ſuch as were

were in the Rebellion to pay them any Thing; but, on the contrary, to keep the Rents and Debts for indemnifying ſuch as continued in their Allegiance. Then he prohibited all Commerce with the City of *London*, which had become the Seat of the Rebellion: And as he took very much to Heart the Oppreſſion of the Clergy in many Places, where the Rectors and Parſons had been turned out; becauſe, as the King ſignified in his Proclamation, they would not preach up Sedition, nor publiſh the Ordinances ſent them by the two Houſes of Parliament, (believing that they could make none that were valid during the King's Abſence) nor pray againſt his Majeſty, or thoſe that followed him. He alſo forbad all his Subjects to moleſt or diſturb ſuch Perſons in their Miniſtry, or to put others in their Places, and ordained all their Pariſhioners to pay them the Tithes, and the Church-Wardens to oppoſe the Violence of ſuch as offered to diſturb the ſaid Parſons in their Functions, injoining all his Lieutenants and Officers in the Counties to imploy their Authority for the Execution of his Ordinances, and ſupporting thoſe who ſhould have Livings conferred upon them by the Ordinaries. 1643.

Lastly, the King cauſed a long Proclamation to be publiſhed, making Mention of all the Outrages and Violences of the Parliament, in order to warn his Subjects not to ſuffer themſelves to be impoſed upon by the pretended Ordinances of the two Houſes of Parliament, becauſe the Members of both were deprived of the Freedom of Parliament; which was evident, as well becauſe the Peers of the Upper-Houſe had been threatened, and ſuch Boldneſs had been practiſed there, as to demand the Names of ſuch as refuſed to give their Conſent to ſome Propoſitions debated in their Houſe, as becauſe the Members of both Houſes had been impriſoned, for having given their Votes againſt the prevailing Faction. Beſides, that not only his Negative Voice had been called in Queſtion, but alſo that he and the greateſt Part of the Members of the two Houſes had been driven away by a rebellious Army which domineered over ſuch as had continued there. In a word, that the Reſolutions about the Liberty of the Perſons, and the Property of the Eſtates of his Subjects, were taken in a ſecret Council of about fifteen or ſixteen, the chief of which were the Earl of *Mancheſter*, the Viſcount of *Say*, Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *Hambden*, Mr. *Strode*, and Mr. *Martin*, who made no Report of them to the two Houſes.

The King declared in his Proclamation, that he was ready to make good theſe Things, and offered Pardon, and even Protection, to all the Members of the two Houſes, who ſhould withdraw from them, and come to his Majeſty, except to the Earls of *Eſſex*, *Warwick*, *Mancheſter*, and *Stamford*; the Viſcount of *Say*, Sir *John Hotham*, Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*, Sir *Henry Ludlow*, Sir *Edward Hungerford*, Sir *Francis Popham*, *Nathanael Fiennes*, *John Hambden*, *John Pym*, *William Strode*, *Henry Martin*, *Alexander Popham*, *Iſaac Pennington* Alderman of *London*, and Captain *Vane*, who having been the principal Authors of the Calamities of the Kingdom, had ſacrificed the Peace and Proſperity of their native Country to their Malice and Ambition.

In the midſt of the warlike Diſpoſitions, the Parliament ſet about the regulating Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, and ordered, that as it was a Matter of great Concern, that the Livings depending upon the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſhould be beſtowed upon good Men, till an End ſhould be put to his Trial, he ſhould give Induction to ſuch Perſons as the two Houſes ſhould

1643. ſhould preſent to him. The Archbiſhop having refuſed, upon their Preſentation, to receive a Curate in the County of *Kent*, they cauſed his Temporalities to be ſeized, and declared him ſuſpended from all Epiſcopal Juriſdiction, ordering his Vicar to admit for the future ſuch as ſhould be named to the Livings depending upon that Archbiſhoprick. They likewiſe ordained, that the Book for tolerating Recreations on the Lord's Day ſhould be burnt, and gave Orders for the calling of that Aſſembly of Divines which they had demanded of the King, to the end, ſaid they, that the two Houſes might confer with them upon means for eſtabliſhing the Eccleſiaſtical Government according to the Word of God, and ſettling the Preaching of the Goſpel in its true Purity. They had reſolved to aboliſh Epiſcopacy, with all Eccleſiaſtical Dignities, though the Act for aboliſhing them was not made till the ninth of *October* 1646, and that for the Sale of their Eſtates the 16th of *November* the ſame Year.

SOME time after, the Parliament ordained, that all that paſſed among them for Monuments of Idolatry ſhould be deſtroyed, to wit, the Crucifixes, and the other Images that were upon the Windows of the Churches, all which were immediately broken, giving Orders at the ſame Time not to meddle with the Coats of Arms, nor the Motto's that were upon the ſame Windows. They likewiſe ordered all the Stone-Tables to be taken out of the Churches, and the Altars, the Steps for going up to them, and the Rails to be pulled down, and thoſe Places to be equally levelled with the reſt of the Pavement. The ſtately Monument of gilded Braſs, which ſtood in *Henry* VII's Chappel, was not ſpared, nor that magnificent Croſs in *Cheap-ſide*, which King *Edward* I. had cauſed to be erected in Remembrance of his firſt Wife *Eleanor*, the Daughter of *Ferdinand* III. King of *Spain*, as he had cauſed ſeveral others to be ſet up in the Places where her Body had reſted, from *Hareby* in *Lincolnſhire*, to *Weſtminſter*, where ſhe was buried. That Croſs in *Cheap-ſide* was of an admirable Structure, all the Statues were of Lead, and it was curiouſly painted, and richly gilded from the Baſe to the very Top of the Pyramid, where the Croſs was fixt. They went to pull it down with Drums beating, and as a Statue fell, the Trumpets were ſounded, and the Mobb huzzaed. Thus did they make a Triumph of the Downfal of the Croſs, which had been exalted above the Crowns of Kings, and which the Emperors *Theodoſius* and *Valentinian* forbad to be painted or ingraven upon the Ground, out of the Reſpect they had for that Symbol of our Redemption.

THE Storm reached as far as the Univerſities of *Cambridge* and *Oxford*. The firſt being expoſed to the Inroads of the Troops, that were in the aſſociated Counties towards the Eaſt of the Kingdom, under the Command of the Earl of *Mancheſter*, at the Deſire of the Earl of *Holland*, who was Chancellor thereof, had got one Safe-guard from the Houſe of Peers, and another from the Earl of *Eſſex*: But at the ſame time that this Protection was obtained for it, the Lord *Grey* of *Wark* ſent a Power to Colonel *Coke* in the County of *Cambridge*, to enter the Houſes of the Roman Catholicks, the Malignants, and all Sorts of Perſons that ſhould refuſe to pay the Contributions according to the Orders of the two Houſes of Parliament, and to ſeize their Horſes, Arms, and Ammunition. So that under Pretence of ſearching after Roman Catholicks and Malignants, there was ſcarce one Scholar in all the Univerſity but underwent the Search: And as if their Chappels, Libraries, and Cloſets had been Stables, or Armouries, the Soldiers entered every where, and pillaged and carried off every Thing they found there.

THAT,

8

That, however, was only the Fore-runner of the many Miſchiefs which the Univerſity had to undergo: For the Earl of *Mancheſter* having received an Order of Parliament for regulating the Colleges, and depoſing the Miniſters, in the aſſociated Counties, that were looked upon to be ſcandalous, a great Number of Doctors, Maſters, and Batchelors of Arts, virtuous and learned Men, were taken, abuſed, and put into different Priſons; ſome were even carried aboard of Ships, and with great Inhumanity thrown into the Holds. The Colleges were turned into Guard-houſes, the Ornaments of the Chapels were burnt and deſtroyed, and the Book of Common-Prayer torn in Pieces. The Occaſion of this bad Uſage was, that this Univerſity, for which the King as well as his Father had a particular Regard, had, the Year before, aſſiſted his Majeſty with Money in his Neceſſity, when it ſaw him ſtript of all his Demains, and as the King knew very well that that Act of Gratitude vexed his Enemies, who wanted an Opportunity to be revenged of it, he offered to the Univerſity to ſecure their Plate, which was of a great Value, provided they would put it into his Hands. For which end he wrote in moſt obliging Terms to that Body, that they would take an exact Memorandum, not only of the Weight of each Piece of Plate, but likewiſe of its Form, with the Names and Arms of ſuch as had given it to the Colleges, that in Caſe it ſhould happen, that he could not keep it intire, he might afterwards reſtore it of the ſame Weight, in the ſame Form, and with the ſame Arms: Which his Majeſty promiſed on the Word of a King. Whereupon the Univerſity ſent him a Part of their Plate in the Beginning of *Auguſt* 1642, long before there was open War. *Cromwell* having ſoon after had Orders from the Parliament to go down to *Cambridge*, and to prevent any Thing from being ſent out of it to the King, but finding he had come too late, he fell into a Paſſion, like a Lion that had been robbed of his Prey; but very ſoon after he made that famous Univerſity feel his Anger. He had a Mind to ſhew the Parliament by his Zeal and Conduct in the firſt Imployment they had given him, what they were to expect from his Services, which have been ſo great, that he afterwards deſerved to be Lieutenant-General of their Army, and became one of the moſt daring Warriors of his Age. 1643.

By the Deſolation of this Univerſity, one may judge what Treatment that of *Oxford* received, where the King for a long Time found a ſafe Retreat, and of which the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* having been Chancellor, he had inriched it with the Spoils of all the Eaſt. 'Tis certain there was nothing to be ſeen in the World ſo magnificent as the Schools and Seminaries of theſe two Univerſities were. In that of *Cambridge* there are ſixteen Colleges, and in *Oxford* twenty four. Their Buildings are ſtately and magnificent, and before this War their Gardens and Walks were ſo fine and ſpacious, that there were few that came up to them. All the Colleges were very richly founded: The Foundations were called Fellowſhips, whereof there were a great Number, which could not be poſſeſſed by married Men. All the Members of both Univerſities went always in Gowns, as well in the City as in the Colleges. Theſe Gowns were of different Faſhions, according to the Quality of the Perſon; they went every Day into their Chapels with the Surplice and ſquare Cap to the Morning and Evening Prayers, which were read in *Latin* in ſome of the Colleges: Which, however, was not a new Thing: For Queen *Elizabeth* had ordained the Service to be performed in *Latin* in the two Univerſities, not that ſhe had any Deſign to comply with the Practice of the Church of

1643. *Rome:* But becauſe ſhe thought that the *Latin* Language ought to be the vulgar Tongue of Scholars. The two Univerſities ſent Members to repreſent them in Parliament, and the Vice-Chancellor of each had Juriſdiction four Miles round the Cities of *Cambridge* and *Oxford*, taking it for granted that the Walk of the Scholars might reach ſo far. It was not allowed to take them Priſoners within that Precinct, without the Permiſſion of the Vice-Chancellor, or to ſue them at Law before any other Court but his own.

THESE two famous Univerſities have been the great Luminaries of that Nation, which hath given the *Hales*'s and *Ockhams* to the Church, both of them of the Order of S. *Francis*, and the firſt of which was Maſter to S. *Thomas* and S. *Bonaventure*; the *Harveys* and the *Holcots*, of the Order of S. *Dominick*; the *Bacons* and the *Waldens*, of the Order of Carmelites, of which, particularly in *England*, there has been a great Number of good and learned Men. So whilſt that Kingdom was ſubject to the Paſtors who had their Miſſion from S. *Gregory*, and his Succeſſors, it always had the Happineſs to have a great Number of Doctors and Prelates, as well Natives as Foreigners, eminent in Knowledge and Sanctity, for whom the Holy See had a moſt particular Eſteem.

POPE *Agathon*, in the Letter which he wrote to the ſixth Synod at *Conſtantinople*, ſignifies, that he had delayed the Meeting of it, till *Theodore*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with his Clergy ſhould arrive. In like manner, Pope *Sergius*, by his Letters, begged of the Abbot *Golfridus* to ſend him the venerable *Bede*, a Monk of his Abbey, becauſe of ſome important Queſtions which were debating at *Rome*; and Pope *Urban* II. at the Council of *Bari*, in the Kingdom of *Naples*, received S. *Anſelm* there with very great Honour, calling him the Apoſtolical Patriarch of another World, and after having heard him diſpute with the *Greeks* about the Proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt, he gave a high Teſtimony of the Favours which Heaven had poured down upon that holy Prelate. It was his Predeceſſor, *Lanfrancus*, who made *Berengarius*, the *Iſhmael* of his Age, ſubmit, and obliged him, with his own Hands, to burn the Book he had written againſt the Truth of the moſt Holy Sacrament of the Altar.

AT laſt the two Houſes of Parliament undertook one of the moſt bold Affairs of State that ever was, and which never had had any Precedent, that was, to make a new Great Seal. The Houſe of Peers for a long Time oppoſed that Motion of the Commons, alledging, that ſince all the Affairs had been diſpatched by the Ordinances of the two Houſes, ever ſince the Great Seal was carried to the King, they muſt continue to act in the ſame Manner, and make no Innovations: But at laſt the Lords yielded to the Reaſons offered by the Managers of that weighty Affair, who made it appear to the Lords, that the Great Seal ought to be with the two Houſes, which compoſe the ſupream Court of Juſtice of the Kingdom, for diſpatching the great Affairs of State, which, beſides a general Suſpenſion of all Juſtice, ſuffered conſiderable Prejudice, for want of the Seal, which the Lord *Littleton*, the Keeper, and Speaker of the Houſe of Lords, had traiterouſly carried to the Army which the King had levied againſt the Parliament. Moreover, as the Great Seal ought always to be in the Keeping of one, or more Officers ſworn for that end, it ought not to be made Uſe of but for the Good and Security of his Majeſty's Subjects; nevertheleſs the King had put it into the Hands of Men well affected to Popery, who had not taken the Oath, and who had not made

made Uſe of it but for the Ruin of the Parliament, and of the whole Kingdom; for as much as they had diſpatched many Commiſſions, as well for making Levies againſt the Parliament and their Adherents, as for informing againſt ſeveral of them, as againſt Traitors, and for executing the bloody Deſign of *Waller*, and his Accomplices, upon the two Houſes and the City of *London*. And having cauſed many Libels to be publiſhed againſt the two Houſes, under the Name of Proclamations, declaring many Members, and their Friends, Rebels, they had ſealed a Commiſſion for treating about a Ceſſation of Arms with the Rebels of *Ireland*, after the Effuſion of ſo much innocent Blood: Whereupon that Ceſſation having been concluded, thoſe Rebels had recovered Courage, and were in Hopes not only to extirpate the Proteſtants, but to conquer the whole Kingdom of *Ireland*. 1643.

As all thoſe Letters and Commiſſions, with many others of the ſame Nature, had been diſpatched under the Great Seal, without the Parliament's having any Hopes of being able to obtain any Redreſs of them from his Majeſty, the Houſe of Commons demanded, that it might be reſolved by the two Houſes, that all thoſe Letters and Commiſſions; all the Confiſcations of the Eſtates of ſuch as have ſided with the Parliament; all Compoſitions and Favours for Ward-tenures granted contrary to Law, which the King had promiſed to ſuch as ſhould die in his Service; all Grants of Titles of Honour, of Lands, of Houſes, or of any other Thing made to Perſons, who in any manner have contributed to the War againſt the Parliament; all Pardons granted to ſuch Perſons; and generally all Things paſſed under the Great Seal, derogatory to the Proceedings of the two Houſes of Parliament, ſince the 22[d] of *May* 1642, were declared void and of no Effect. In like manner, that all that ſhould be diſpatched under the Great Seal which is in the King's Poſſeſſion, after the Publication of that Reſolve, was likewiſe of itſelf null, and that all ſuch as ſhould make Uſe thereof, were deemed Enemies of the State. Laſtly, that the Uſe of the Great Seal, which the two Houſes ſhould cauſe to be made, might be authorized, and committed to the Cuſtody of the Earls of *Rutland* and *Bullingbrook*, Members of the Houſe of Peers, *Oliver St. John*, *Samuel Brown*, *John Wild*, and *Edmund Prideaux*, Members of the Houſe of Commons: And that all theſe, or any three of them, whereof at leaſt there ſhould be one of each Houſe, might have the ſame Authority to make Uſe of that Seal upon all Occaſions, as ever heretofore any Chancellor, or Keeper of the Seals had, by Virtue of his Office.

These Things being thus ordained by the two Houſes, all the People were ſeized with Conſternation, and had Reaſon to believe, that at laſt the Diviſions betwixt the King and Parliament would become irreparable, and that there would be no Hopes left of their being reconciled with one another, the Breach made in his Majeſty's Authority being ſo great, that it portended nothing leſs than the Ruin of the State, and the Diſſolution of the Monarchy.

This Ordinance obliged the King to cauſe a Declaration to be publiſhed, wherein he ſeemed to doubt that that Inſtrument of Anarchy, for ſuch he termed it, had had the Approbation of the Lords that remained in the Houſe of Peers, ſince it had been rejected by that Houſe, and that it was publiſhed by Order of the Houſe of Commons only: But however it might be, he did not believe, that any Man would think it ſtrange, if the

1643. the Earls of *Eſſex*, *Stamford*, *Denbigh*, whoſe Father had died in his Majeſty's Service, and *Mancheſter*; the Lords *Say*, *Wharton*, *Rochford*, *Grey* of *Wark*, who made the greateſt Part of the Peers that had continued at *Weſtminſter*, and who had all carried Arms againſt him, had, for their own Defence, combined with fifty or ſixty Perſons, who made up the greateſt Part of the other Houſe, who were as guilty as themſelves; in order to ſtrip him of that Mark of Sovereignty, which ſtill threatened them with the Execution of the Laws againſt their Rebellion. On the contrary he did not believe, that that ſmall Number of deſperate Conſpirators, aſſuming the Title of Lords and Commons, would ever have Credit with Men of Honour, or be able to make ſuch Things paſs for juſt and lawful, and tending to the publick Good, as by all the Laws have always been declared to be Crimes of Treaſon, or that that new Ordinance, which put a ſham Reſemblance of Power in the Place of Royal Authority, in order to diſtract the Minds of his Majeſty's Subjects, and alienate their Affections from him, could have any other Effect, ſave only to open their Eyes, and raiſe in them a juſt Indignation againſt the Hypocriſy and Rebellion of their Seducers. That they might likewiſe ſee, that the Reaſon why Mr. *Martin*, a Member of the Houſe of Commons, had been put in Priſon, was not for having voted criminally, but only becauſe he had divulged in the Month of *Auguſt* the Treaſon, which they did not intend to put in Execution till that of *November*. For his Majeſty looked upon the depriving him of the Means of protecting his Subjects by the way of Juſtice, and likewiſe of pardoning them by his Clemency, to be tacitly dethroning him.

He afterwards made Anſwer to what the Parliament alledged in Juſtification of their Ordinance, and in the firſt Place, ſignified, that he took it kindly of them, that they had ſpecified the Time when the Great Seal was brought to him at *York*, when he was ſo far from having an Army, that he had not ſo much as one Muſket, nor one ſingle Barrel of Powder in his Poſſeſſion. From that he took Occaſion to intreat his Subjects to conſider, that ſince they were ſo groſsly impoſed upon in Matters of Fact, they ought to give no Faith to Matters of Right; but that they were bound more to regard the ancient Ordinance made the 28th Year of the Reign of King *Edward* I. whereby the Chancellor is injoined to follow the King, than that pretended new One, which declares, that the Great Seal ought to be with the Parliament. That though that were true, they could reap no Advantage by it, ſince he himſelf was the moſt eſſential Part of the Parliament. What obliged the King to order the *Lord Keeper* to come and attend him was, that after his retiring from *London* about the end of *March*, being then ſatisfied with a very moderate Retinue; and far below that which the Majeſty of a King neceſſarily requires; and having perceived that the Dangers he was in, and which had obliged him to leave that City, were daily increaſing; he thought he was bound ſeriouſly to conſider of his own Preſervation by other means than by long Patience. Therefore having been fully informed, that not only his having cauſed many Ordinances to be publiſhed without being ſealed, was laid to his Charge as a Crime; but alſo, that in order to impoſe upon his Subjects, the ſealing of that for ſettling the Militia, which had paſſed in the two Houſes with ſo much Violence, that the Lords had been threatened in theirs after having twice rejected it, was in Agitation, he thought himſelf bound, as well for the Security of his own Perſon, as for that of his Subjects, to have the Great Seal at his own Diſpoſal. To that end, in the Month of *May*, he ordered the Keeper

to come to him, which he obeyed as ſoon as he had received his Majeſty's Letter. He knew very well that if he had not obeyed, he ſhould have acted contrary to the Duty of his Office, and to the Fidelity he owed the King; becauſe it was he alone who had committed the Seal to his Hands and Charge. 1643.

As to what they charged the King with concerning the Cuſtody and Uſe of the Seal, his Majeſty anſwered, that it was no new Thing to ſee the Great Seal out of the Keeper's Hands by his Order, having ſometimes been put into the Cloſets of the Kings, whence the Chancellor, or Keeper, and even ſometimes other Perſons imployed by them, took it as occaſion required, and put it there again afterwards. And 'tis true, that as ſoon as the Seal was brought to him at *York*, having underſtood, that the People at *Weſtminſter* were very impatient of that Loſs, and full of Grief, and even that Orders had been given to arreſt the Keeper where-ever he might be found, the King took the Seal into his own Poſſeſſion, being fully perſuaded that no Stone would be left unturned in order to recover it.

And that excellent Miniſter found this Procedure of the King ſo reaſonable, that when his Majeſty offered to return it him again, he begged of him to keep it, and to be the Depoſitory of it himſelf. But that ever his Majeſty had put it into the Hands of diſaffected Perſons, was a Thing ſo far from being true, that it never could be made Uſe of but in Preſence of the Keeper, or, upon extraordinary, ſecret, or preſſing Occaſions, in Preſence of the King, and that could be done according to the Ordinances of *Henry* VIII. Beſides, the Great Seal was ſo in the Power of the Kings, that in the Ordinances of *Philip* and *Mary*, it is called the Great Seal of the King and Queen, which could not be counterfeited without committing Treaſon, as it is declared in the Ordinances of *Edward* III.

Moreover, the King, that the Commiſſions diſpatched under the Great Seal for making Levies of his faithful Subjects, againſt an Army of Rebels who were ſeeking his Ruin: And for informing againſt ſuch as fomented the Rebellion, were according to the Courſe of Juſtice. That as to the Commiſſion which was ſent to *Edmund Waller* Eſquire, a Member of the Houſe of Commons, the King avowed it; but maintained, that it was of the ſame Nature with the reſt, that is to ſay, for levying and commanding Troops for his Service, and the Defence of his Perſon. That he believed there was no Man that doubted but he might do it lawfully in *London* and the County of *Middleſex*, where the Rebellion began. The two Houſes, however, made a great Noiſe about that Commiſſion, and as the King had explained himſelf, they repreſented it in bloody Colours: For the Account that was publiſhed of it by their Order, was, that *Waller* being impeached upon it, had diſcovered, that Mr. *Tomkins*, Mr. *Challoner*, Mr. *Haſſel*, and Mr. *White* were comprehended in the Commiſſion, and that the Deſign appeared to be: I. "To ſeize into their Cuſtody the "King's Children. II. To ſeize ſeveral Members of both Houſes, the "Lord Mayor, and Committee of the Militia, under Pretence of bring-"ing them to a legal Trial. III. To ſeize upon the Out-works, Forts, "Tower of *London*, Magazines, Gates, and other Places of Importance "in the City. IV. To let in the King's Forces to ſurprize the City, and "to deſtroy all thoſe who ſhould oppoſe them by Authority of the Par-"liament. V. By Force of Arms to reſiſt all Payments impoſed by Au-

1643. " thority of Parliament, raiſed for the Support of the Armies imployed " for their juſt Defence, *&c.* to ſuſpend, if not to alter, the whole Govern- " ment of the City, and, with the Aſſiſtance of the King's Force, to " awe, and maſter the Parliament."

BUT the particular Inclination which the King had always had to ſpare the Blood of his Subjects, the Paſſion he had ſhewn, on many Occaſions that had offered, for putting a Stop to the Shedding of it, and the great Tenderneſs he had had at all Times for what concerned his poor People, ſhew clearly that he had no Hand in, nor any Knowledge of ſuch a Deſign, if it be true that there ever was any ſuch, as they had thus deſcribed. All thoſe that were accuſed were condemned to die, but, however, there was none of them but *Tomkins* and *Challoner* that were hanged before the Windows of their own Houſes: *Waller* himſelf was ſaved, becauſe, it was ſaid, that he had very ingenuouſly confeſſed the whole Matter, and that Mr. *Pym*, who was the Commiſſioner for interrogating him, had promiſed him his Life upon that Condition: But in all Appearance it was becauſe he bought his Life with Ten thouſand Pounds, which the Parliament imployed for raiſing new Forces to recruit their Army which had been ruined in *Cornwal.*

THIS Affair occaſioned the Parliament to order a Form of Oath to be drawn up, which having been firſt ſworn by the two Houſes, they ordained to be taken likewiſe by the Army, then by all the Inhabitants of the Kingdom: The Words of the Oath were: " I *A. B.* in Humility, and " Reverence of the divine Majeſty, declare my hearty Sorrow for my " own Sins, and the Sins of this Nation, which have deſerved the Cala- " mities, and Judgments, that now be upon it; and my true Intention " is, by God's Grace, to endeavour the Amendment of my own Ways; " and I do farther, in the Preſence of Almighty God, declare, vow, and " covenant, that in order to the Security and Preſervation of the true Re- " formed Proteſtant Religion, and Liberty of the Subject, I will not con- " ſent to the laying down of Arms, ſo long as the Papiſts, now in open " War againſt the Parliament ſhall by Force of Arms be protected from " the Juſtice thereof. And that I do abhor and deteſt the ſaid wicked, and " treacherous Deſign, lately diſcovered: And that I never gave, nor will " give my Aſſent to the Execution thereof, but will, according to my " Power, and Vocation, oppoſe and reſiſt the ſame, and all other of the " like Nature. And in caſe any other like Deſign ſhall hereafter come " to my Knowledge, I will make ſuch timely Diſcovery, as I ſhall con- " ceive may beſt conduce to the preventing thereof. And whereas I do " in my Conſcience believe, that the Forces, raiſed by the two Houſes of " Parliament, are raiſed, and continued for their juſt Defence, and for the " Defence of the true Proteſtant Religion, and Liberty of the Subject, " againſt the Forces raiſed by the King; that I will, according to my " Power, and Vocation, aſſiſt the Forces raiſed and continued, by both " Houſes of Parliament, againſt the Forces raiſed by the King without " their Conſent: And will likewiſe aſſiſt all other Perſons that ſhall take " this Oath, in what they ſhall do in Purſuance thereof; and will not " directly, or indirectly, adhere unto, nor ſhall willingly aſſiſt the Forces " raiſed by the King, without the Conſent of both Houſes of Parliament. " And this Vow, and Covenant, I make in the Preſence of Almighty " God, the Searcher of all Hearts, with a true Intention to perform the " ſame, as I ſhall anſwer at the great Day, when the Secrets of all Hearts " ſhall be diſcloſed."

*A ſacred Vow, and Covenant, taken by the Lords and Commons, aſſembled in Parliament upon Diſcovery of the late horrid and treacherous Deſign, for the Deſtruction of this Parliament, and the Kingdom; the ſixth of* June 1643.

AT

At laſt the King, by an expreſs Declaration, made it known, that the Commiſſion for treating of a Ceſſation of Arms in *Ireland* for a Year, had been granted at the Requeſt of his Council in that Kingdom, who had ſought it from him for the Good of the Affairs of his Proteſtant Subjects, whoſe Preſervation ſhould always be as dear to him, as that of his own Perſon, or of his Children. 1643.

In the Month of *February*, while a Peace was negotiating, the Queen having made ready for her returning to *England*, before ſhe left *Schevelling* in *Holland*, ſhe ordered Sir *William Boſwell*, his Majeſty's Reſident at the *Hague*, to enter a Proteſtation againſt the *States General* of the United Provinces, in her Name. The Reaſon was, that the Queen having cauſed a Ship to be loaded, wherein, amongſt other Things, there were Arms and Ammunition, the Veſſel was ſearched and arreſted, by Virtue of a Prohibition made by the *States General*, forbidding the Exportation out of their Dominions of any Arms or Ammunition for the King, or Parliament. But beſides that the Queen thought ſhe had Reaſon to complain of that Prohibition, which put the Parliament of *England* on a Level with the King, and that it was not even obſerved towards the Parliament, who had cauſed to be brought from *Holland* great Plenty of all Sorts of Warlike Stores, and bought Ships in order to imploy them againſt the King. She could not conceal her Diſpleaſure with being ſo unworthily treated, that the Ammunition had been ſeized, which had been put aboard the Ship that ſhe had hired for the Security of her own Perſon; and reckoned that her having taken no Notice of ſeveral other Injuries that had been done her, without ſhewing any Reſentment, had drawn this Abuſe upon her, which obliged her to open her Mind; that ſhe took the Order which had been given for arreſting her Ship, as a great Affront done to her Perſon, which ſhe thought herſelf obliged highly to reſent; and that if the *States* did not cauſe her Ship to be releaſed, the Alliance betwixt the King, her Huſband, and them was violated and broke. But as ſhe did not doubt but the *States* knew very well the Conſequence of an Affair of that Importance, ſhe hoped they would take a better Reſolution, and would not give either the King or her ſuch Cauſe of Diſcontent.

The Queen, by the Application of the Prince of *Orange*, having got Reparation of the Affront, left *Holland*, and, about the end of the Month, landed at *Burlington*, in the County of *York*, with a great Number of Officers, and ſome Ammunition which ſhe had cauſed to be put aboard in *Holland*. The next Day in the Morning four Men of War, and a ſmall Frigate, in the Parliament's Service, having anchored in *Burlington* Road, diſcharged above a hundred Cannon Shot through the Houſes; ſo that the Queen was forced to riſe quickly out of her Bed, and get into a Bottom, where the Earth, raiſed by the Bullets, often fell upon her Majeſty. In the mean time the Officers, that had accompanied her, having in all Haſte cauſed a Battery to be raiſed againſt the Men of War, ſent them ſome Cannon Shot, which obliged them to retire. One of the Captains was taken ſome time after at *Scarborough*, and brought to the Queen, that ſhe might order him to be hanged: But that good Princeſs would ſuffer no Harm to be done him, and, after having pardoned and treated him with great Humanity, ſent him back again.

Very

1643. VERY ſoon after, ſhe was attacked after a much more uncommon Manner: For having then eſcaped the Violence of the Parliament's Arms, they had the Boldneſs to proſecute her as a Criminal. The Houſe of Commons impeached her of High Treaſon, and ſent the Bill to the Houſe of Lords by Mr. *Pym*, where, after it had ſtuck for a long time, it paſſed at laſt. The Articles of the Impeachment were; "That the Queen had "raiſed the Rebellion in *Ireland*; that ſhe was making a Party in *Scot-*"*land*, and that ſhe had pawned the Jewels of the Crown in *Holland*." But all the King's Declarations concerning the Affairs of *Ireland*, were ſo many Apologies for the Queen, who had no Hand in, nor Knowledge of the Inſurrection of that Kingdom. That if ſhe gave a kindly Reception to his Majeſty's faithful Subjects of *Scotland*, and incouraged them to give Proofs of their Fidelity and Affection towards their native Prince, it was an Action worthy of the generous Daughter of *Henry* the *Great*, whoſe laſt Thoughts made all *Europe* tremble. As for the Jewels that were pretended to be of the Crown, that magnanimous Princeſs, who, out of her incomparable Love, has ſo often ventured her Life in order to free that of the King, her Huſband, from Danger, and who has ſtript herſelf of all that ſhe had of greateſt Value for ſupplying his Neceſſities, did not think ſhe could imploy the Jewels of the Crown better, than in ſecuring it upon the Head of the King, her Lord, to whom it belonged. So 'tis Matter of Surprize, that that Act of conjugal Love ſhould have been imputed to her as a Crime, and what's more (who could believe it?) the Crime of High Treaſon. That Act, I ſay, which, with many other of the ſame Nature, ought to be ingraven in Braſs and Marble for the Sake of Poſterity, and for which Statues ought to have been erected in Honour of that *Hypſicratea* of *Great-Britain*.

THIS Malice againſt the Queen was transferred from her Perſon to that Part of her Family ſhe valued moſt, which was the Capuchin Friars whom ſhe had left in her Palace at *London*. They had been alarmed the Year before, when four or five hundred armed Men came there, under Pretence of ſearching for Prieſts that they pretended had taken Shelter with them: But the *French* Ambaſſador hearing of it, made his Complaint to the Houſe of Peers, who put a Stop to the Diſturbance, and offered to the Ambaſſador to convey them beyond Sea, if he did not chuſe rather to receive them into his own Houſe. To which the Ambaſſador anſwered, that they having remained in the Queen's Houſe by her Majeſty's Order, and having been ſent to *England* at her Deſire, and by a Treaty betwixt the two Crowns, he could not receive them into his Houſe, much leſs ſend them to *France*, till he had firſt known the King, his Maſter's Pleaſure. Whereupon it was ordered for that Time, that the Friars ſhould remain in the Houſe, and perform the Service privately amongſt themſelves, without allowing one *Engliſhman* to be preſent. But in the Month of *March* 1643, Mr. *Martin*, one of the moſt violent Men in the World, having got an Order of the Houſe of Commons, went with ſome Soldiers into the Houſe, turned out the Friars, broke the Organs, and threw down the Altar of the Chapel, which was richly adorned, as it was ſuitable to the Piety of ſo great and virtuous a Queen. Then going into the Church-yard, with great Inſolence he cauſed the Croſs which was placed in the Middle to be pulled down, leaving the Marks of his Fury in all the other Places of her Majeſty's Devotion. Her Confeſſor, Father *Phillips*, a Prieſt of the Oratory, had been thrown into Priſon about the end of the Year 1641, where he was interrogated about Things with

with which that religious Man did not meddle. He had always lived with ſo much Moderation, and performed his Office with ſo great Prudence and Chriſtian Charity, that Malice itſelf could find nothing to cenſure in his Conduct, it was ſo godly, and ſo great an Example of Humility, which is the firſt of the Virtues, and Guardian of all the reſt. We ſhould be wanting in what we owe to his Memory, if, after his Death, we ſhould paſs over in Silence a Particularity of that Virtue, which he ſtrove to hide all his Life-time. The Queen having aſked a Cardinal's Cap of Pope *Urban* VIII. his Holineſs made ſome Difficulty with reſpect to the Perſon ſhe had recommended; but, in a Letter he wrote to her Majeſty upon that Subject, with a great deal of Willingneſs he offered to beſtow it upon Father *Phillips*, if ſhe would be pleaſed to name him. The Letter having fallen into the Hands of this good Prieſt, and having learnt what it contained, from a Perſon who had a Mind to tell him agreeable News, the Splendor of the Purple was ſo far from dazzling his Eyes, or tickling his Fancy in the leaſt, that he concealed the Eſteem which the Pope had for him, and did not deliver the Letter to the Queen. After having been kept ſome Time in Priſon, he was ſet at Liberty, and continuing to attend her Majeſty, he accompanied her to *France*, where, in the Beginning of the Year 1647, he was ſeized with an acute Diſeaſe in the Houſe of the Fathers of the Oratory in *Paris*, where the Queen honoured him with a Viſit, and with Tears expreſſed how ſenſibly ſhe was affected with the Loſs ſhe was going to ſuſtain. At laſt this holy Man gave her his laſt Bleſſing, and died on the Eve of *Epiphany*. 1643.

*The End of the Third* BOOK.

A

# THE HISTORY OF THE TROUBLES OF *GREAT-BRITAIN.*

## BOOK IV.

1643. AT the ſame Time that the Queen landed in *England*, the Marquis of *Montroſe*, accompanied by the Lord *Ogilvie*, the eldeſt Son of the Earl of *Airly*, came there, in order to acquaint the King with many Things of great Importance to the Good of his Service. And having learnt at *Newcaſtle*, that the Queen was landed at *Burlington*, he went to wait upon her, and told her that the Covenanters were beginning to riſe in *Scotland*, and who hearing, that the Affairs of the Parliament of *England* were in a bad Way, which might break their Meaſures, they had a Mind to eſpouſe the Parliament's Quarrel.

THE Queen being upon the Point of ſetting out for *York*, put off deliberating upon this Advice till her Arrival in that City; becauſe ſhe was reſolved to ſtay ſome Time in it. As ſoon as her Majeſty had got there, the Duke of *Hamilton* arrived from *Scotland*, whither he had been ſent by the King, in order to keep Matters in that peaceable State he had left them. The Duke having paid his Compliments to the Queen, and congratulated her upon her ſafe Return, he entertained her with the State of the Kingdom, and was of Opinion, that in order to put a Stop to the new Diſturbances, gentle Meaſures were to be taken with the People, to which

which end he offered his Service. He added that the mildeſt Remedies must be tried firſt, and that Fire and Sword muſt not be applied but the lateſt that may be, and when the Diſtemper ſhould appear to be incurable. On the contrary, *Montroſe* maintained, that thoſe reſtleſs People muſt be kept under by Force, and that to dally with them, was giving them Time to take Arms, and make themſelves Maſters of the whole Kingdom. The Queen began but then to know that great Probity of the Marquis which has ſhined ſo bright ſince; and the Opinions of thoſe, in whom ſhe much confided, appearing more plauſible, ſhe imbraced the Duke's Overture, and accepting the Offer of his Service, cauſed a full Power to be given him to negotiate on the King's Part in *Scotland*. The Duke, before he left *York*, and very ſoon after his Arrival in *Scotland*, cauſed the Marquis to be ſpoken with, in order to gain him over to his Opinion: But he would not hear of it, and retired again to his own Houſe. 1643.

A great Number of the Nobility and Gentry came to wait upon the Duke at *Edinburgh*, where the Commiſſioners, appointed to preſerve the Peace betwixt the two Nations, having met in the Month of *May* with thoſe which the Parliament of *Scotland* had appointed to have the Inſpection of the publick Neceſſities of the Kingdom, repreſented; "That "the King having refuſed their Interceſſion for making up the Differen- "ces between his Majeſty and his Subjects of *England*, the Proteſtant "Religion, his Majeſty's Perſon, and the Peace of his Kingdoms were in "the utmoſt Danger, by Reaſon of the great Number of Papiſts, and "their Adherents, that were in Arms as well in *England* as *Ireland*; and "that the Importance of that Affair required the Advice of the Repre- "ſentative Body of the Kingdom." Therefore ſeeing the King had refuſed to grant them a full Meeting of Parliament, it was neceſſary to have Recourſe to that Aſſembly, which they call *the Convention of the Eſtates*, which differs but little from it, except in the Pomp and the Formalities of the Meeting.

*A Remonſtrance from the Commiſſioners of* England *to thoſe of* Scotland.

The Duke invited all the King's Servants to be preſent in this Convention, which met the 22d of *June*, undertaking to bring it to a happy Iſſue for the Good of his Majeſty's Service; and in caſe they ſhould happen to be over-matched in it, he would proteſt againſt the Proceedings. *Montroſe* perſiſting in his Opinion, demanded more, that they ſhould be ready, in caſe of Need, to maintain his Majeſty's Intereſt with the Sword: But finding that they had not all the Reſolution which he could have wiſhed, he reſolved to remain a bare Spectator of all that ſhould paſs in the Convention. The Commiſſioners of the Parliament of *England* went there, in order to demand of that Meeting, and of the General Aſſembly, which was called very ſoon after, Aſſiſtance againſt the Faction of the Prelates and Papiſts that was making War upon them, and likewiſe to invite them to ſend ſome of their Divines to the Synod that was ſitting at *Weſtminſter* by the Authority of Parliament.

These Commiſſioners offered, in Name of the two Houſes of Parliament, "To enter into a Covenant with them for the Reformation of "the Church, which they had partly begun, having not only turned the "Biſhops out of the Houſe of Peers, but alſo abrogated the Court of "High Commiſſion, and preſented a Petition to the King for aboliſhing "Epiſcopacy. And becauſe that curſed Faction hindered the Progreſs of "this Work, the two Houſes of Parliament demanded a Supply of Foot "and Horſe, for vigorouſly oppoſing the Enemies of the publick Good,

"obliging

1643. "obliging themſelves to render like for like to the Covenanters, if it "happened, that they ſhould be attack'd on any account whatſoever. "They likewiſe bound themſelves to keep a Squadron of Men of War "upon the Coaſt of *Scotland* againſt the Rebels of *Ireland*, as long as "the Covenanters Army ſhould be in *England*. Laſtly, the Commiſſi- "ners repreſented, that the Deſign of the two Houſes of Parliament was "to cauſe the *Scots* Army that ſhould march into *England* to be ſubſiſted "as their own, till the Faction of the Prelates and Papiſts ſhould be "brought under the Obedience of the Parliaments of both King- "doms."

It was then that the Parliament of *England* was very low, and that their Affairs ſeemed to be deſperate: For the King had made himſelf Maſter of all the North of the Kingdom, by the Valour and Vigilance of the Marquis of *Newcaſtle*, where the Lord *Fairfax*, and Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, his Son, commanded for the Parliament, with ſome Succeſs at firſt. They took the Town of *Wakefield*, and retook that of *Leeds* from the Marquis, and when he marched to *Bradford* they were ready to diſpute his Paſſage upon *Aderton* Heath, in the County of *York*, where having lodged themſelves in an advantagious Poſt, they boldly bore the Shock for two Hours, their Muſketeers firing upon *Newcaſtle*'s Troops from behind the Hedges, where they wounded many of them, and killed others. But after the Marquis had drawn up his Foot in Order, and pointed his Cannon, he broke them, and having purſued them as far as *Bradford*, he took Poſſeſſion of the Place, from whence Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, the Governor, had retired as it was about to be inveſted. He did juſt ſo at *Leeds*, which fell again into *Newcaſtle*'s Hands, and both Sir *Thomas* and his Father were forced to fly into *Hull*, where the Marquis beſieged them. At the ſame Time Sir *Hugh Cholmondley* made himſelf Maſter of *Beverly*, and the Parliament's Troops quitted the Town of *Halliſax*, which boaſts of the Birth of that excellent Mathematician *Joannes de Sacroboſco*, who lies buried in the Cloiſters of the Mathurins at *Paris*; but the *Scots* pretend that he was born in a Place called *Holy-wood*, near *Dumfreis*, where ſtill are to be ſeen the Ruins of an old Monaſtery. This Town of *Halliſax* was of old called *Horton*, but the Superſtition of the People changed its Name upon this Account: A moſt chaſte Girl was a long Time ſollicited contrary to her Honour by a laſcivious Man, whoſe Paſſion having turned into Fury, he cut off her Head, which being put upon a Yew Tree, the People had a Veneration for it even after it was rotten, and as it was an ignorant Age, and the Superſtition groſs in ſome Places, the People preſerved a Devotion for the Tree itſelf, imagining that the Fibres, ſpread betwixt the Bark and the Trunk, were the real Hair of the Girl, whence the Town was called *Hali-fax*, that is to ſay, Holy Hair.

The King's Affairs had no leſs Succeſs in the Weſtern Counties. The Earl of *Carnarvan* reduced the Town of *Dorcheſter*, in the County of *Dorſet*: The Port of *Weymouth*, *Melcomb*, and the Iſles of *Purbeck* and *Portland*, in the ſame County were likewiſe brought under the King's Obedience. In *Cornwal*, the Lord *Hopton* defeated the Earl of *Stamford*, General of the Army which the Parliament had in the South Part of the Principality of *Wales*, who had kept the Field for ſome Time with Succeſs. He had even cauſed the Siege of *Plymouth* to be raiſed. But after this Defeat, which was near *Stratton*, the Earl was forced to retire into *Exeter*, where *Hopton* having purſued and beſieged him, and Prince *Maurice*

*rice* being ſent thither to command the Troops, the Town was forced to ſurrender upon Capitulation. Sir *William Waller*, a great Officer, on the other Hand had gained great Advantages, and reduced many Places under the Obedience of the Parliament: He had contributed much towards the taking of *Portſmouth* from Colonel *Goring*, one of the moſt gallant and reſolute Officers the King had on his Side. 1643.

He had likewiſe taken the Town of *Chicheſter*, in the County of *Suſſex*, whence the Biſhop and ſeveral Perſons of Note were ſent Priſoners to *London*. He had added to his Conqueſts the Town of *Chepſtow*, in the County of *Monmouth*, and that of *Hereford*, where he took the Lord *Scudamore* Priſoner, with ſome Gentlemen and Officers whom he ſent to *Glouceſter*, and having ſurprized *Leominſter*, in the County of *Hereford*, he found there a rich Booty, which came very ſeaſonably for the Subſiſtance of his Troops. With the ſame good Fortune he had made himſelf Maſter of the Town of *Malmſbury*, ſo called from *Mardulph*, where that learned and holy *Scots* Hermit had built a Cell. He likewiſe took the Town of *Tewxbury*, in the County of *Glouceſter*, near which Place was fought the laſt Battle for the Crown, betwixt *Henry* VI. and *Edward* Earl of *March*, the Son of *Richard Plantagenet*, Duke of *York*, who having been killed in the Battle of *Wakefield*, out of Deriſion, after his Death, was crowned with Paper, and expoſed to a thouſand fooliſh Indignities: But his Son *Edward* revenged his Death at *Tewxbury*, where he came off victorious. Queen *Margaret*, of the Houſe of *Anjou*, who had drawn all this Storm upon her Family, having fled for Shelter into a Convent, was turned out of it, and carried Priſoner to the Tower of *London*, where King *Henry* ended his Days. Their only Son *Edward* endeavouring to make his Eſcape, was likewiſe taken, and brought before King *Edward*, and as neither his Misfortunes, nor Adverſity had in the leaſt leſſened the Greatneſs of his Courage, he ſpoke to the King with much Boldneſs and Reſolution, which ſo irritated the King, that he gave him a ſevere Blow in the Face with his Gantlet, and at the ſame time *Richard*, the King's Brother, with the Stroke of a Dagger put an End to the Miſeries of that unfortunate Prince, which freed him from the Confuſion, wherewith, no doubt, his Mind was ſeized in their Preſence.

After ſo many Advantages, *Waller* had an unlucky Rencounter with the Marquis of *Hertford* near the *Devizes*, in *Wiltſhire*, where, after an obſtinate Fight of twelve Hours, *Waller*'s Soldiers ſtuck their Matches in the Hedges, and left the Field to the Marquis, who loſt Sir *Bevil Greenvil* fighting gallantly at the Head of his Troops; and ſoon after, about the 13th of *July*, the Lord *Wilmot*, Lieutenant General of the King's Horſe, gave him an intire Defeat, took a great Number of Priſoners, with all his Cannon and Baggage, and forced him to fly into *Briſtol*, which did not long ſerve him for Retreat. For Prince *Rupert* having joined his Brother, Prince *Maurice*, beſieged that opulent City, and made himſelf Maſter of it about the end of *July*. It is ſituate upon the Borders of the Counties of *Glouceſter* and *Somerſet*, upon the River *Avon*, which falls into the *Severn*. The Caſtle, which ſurrendered with the Town, was built by *Robert*, natural Son of *Henry* I. being then Sheriff of the Town. It was erected into a Biſhoprick by King *Henry* VIII, who likewiſe erected *Glouceſter*, *Peterborough*, *Cheſter*, *Oxford*, and *Weſtminſter* into Biſhops Sees. But the Erection of this laſt having had no other Foundation but the Caprice of that Prince, *Thomas Thirlby* was the firſt and laſt Biſhop of it. For Queen *Mary* reſtored that famous Abbey to the Monks of St. *Benedict*,

1643. and Queen *Elizabeth* ſecularized it, and made it a Collegiate Church, the Deanery of which is one of the fineſt Benefices, without Cure of Souls, in *England*. Theſe Actions of *Henry* might be taken for certain Marks of his good Will towards the Church, whoſe Lands, indeed, he liked very much. For theſe he made but ſmall Reſtitutions, inſtead of the great Riches he had uſurped. For having ſeized upon all the Abbeys, he erected the chief of them, which were in thoſe Towns, into Biſhopricks, and which had abundance of Revenue for his Erections. 'Tis true Cardinal *Wolſey* was the firſt that opened a Door to that Sacrilege, for having with-held the Revenues of forty ſmall Abbeys, in order to found two Colleges only; the one which he had cauſed to be built at *Ipſwich*, the Place of his Nativity; the other extremely magnificent, which he had begun at *Oxford*, under the Name of *Cardinal-College*, he ſet an Example for *Henry* to uſurp the fatteſt Benefices; for in all Kinds of Sins, there's only the firſt Step that's difficult, ſo that that Prince intirely ruined thoſe Houſes, which the Piety of his Anceſtors had built and founded with ſo much Magnificence. Indeed, as the learned Biſhop *Richard Montague* writes, they ought to have been reformed, and brought back to their firſt Inſtitution; but War ought not to have been made againſt God, *& Aras ad Haras, Altaria ad Lupanaria flagitioſo facinore transferre.*

THE King's Arms had had no worſe Succeſs in many other Places: For Prince *Rupert* had taken the rebellious Town of *Birmingham*, in the County of *Warwick*, where the old Earl of *Denbigh*, who had adhered to the King's Party, was mortally wounded. And the Prince after a Siege of three Weeks had recovered the Cloſe of *Lichfield* (containing the Cathedral Church, and all the Clergymens Houſes) which had been ſtrongly fortified, where the Lord *Brooke*, in beſieging it for the Parliament, was killed with a Muſket Shot in the Eye, upon the Feaſt of S. *Chad*, the firſt Biſhop of that Church, and in whoſe Memory it had been built.

BESIDES, about the middle of *March*, *Spencer*, Earl of *Northampton*, having met Sir *John Gell* in the County of *Stafford* with fifteen hundred Men, the Earl marching at the Head of twelve hundred Horſe, attacked him with ſo much Vigour on *Hopton-Heath*, about two Miles from the Town of *Stafford*, that he put *Gell*'s Horſe to the Flight in great Diſorder; ſo that many of them were taken Priſoners. This Victory, indeed, was not compleat, for the Earl was killed upon the Spot, running headlong to break the Foot, who ſtood their Ground, and Sir *William Bruerton* having come to *Gell*'s Aſſiſtance, the brave Earl's Horſe were forced to retire with Loſs. But ſoon after, his Son was revenged near *Banbury*, where he cut in Pieces ſeven hundred Foot, and five Troops of Horſe, and took all their Cannon and Baggage.

ABOUT the ſame Time Colonel *Charles Cavendiſh* having taken *Grantham*, in *Lincolnſhire*, had cauſed it to be diſmantled, and, near *Ancaſter*, defeated *Hotham*, the Son. Some time after, both the Father and Son being ſuſpected by the Parliament, were ſent Priſoners to the Tower of *London*, where, after a long Impriſonment, they were executed as Traitors. Even the Troops that ſerved as a Guard to the Queen had done ſome warlike Exploits; for the Lords *Jermyn* and *Loughborough* had taken *Burton* upon *Trent*. At the ſame Time, the King marched to meet the Queen, and the meeting of their Majeſties happened to be at *Edge-hill*, where the King had ſo gallantly defended the Honour and Intereſts of his Crown, with Sword in Hand, on the 23[d] of *October* the foregoing Year.

AMIDST

Amidst the ſo many Advantages which his Majeſty had obtained over the Parliament in all thoſe Counties, their Generals made ſome Progreſs in that of *Lancaſter:* Colonel *John Seaton* made himſelf Maſter of *Preſton* and *Wiggan*, and *Mancheſter*'s Troops took *Warrington*, a conſiderable Place in that County, from the Earl of *Derby*. The Earl of *Eſſex*, who commanded the main Body of their Army, beſieged *Reading*, which, on the 27th of the ſame Month, was ſurrendered upon Articles, wherein the King's Orders were not obſerved: For thoſe of the Garriſon, who had deſerted the Parliament's Service, were not comprehended in the Capitulation, although the King, by his Proclamations, had promiſed them Protection. The King, in Vindication of himſelf therein, immediately cauſed a Proclamation to be publiſhed, in which he diſowned that Action, done without his Knowledge, and found Fault with his Officers for being ſo cowardly as to ſign a Capitulation ſo prejudicial to his Service. The taking of this Town proved very fatal to the Earl of *Eſſex*; for his Army was ſeized with the Plague, which in a Trice dwindled ſo away, that above a hundred Soldiers died in a Day. 1643.

The King's Affairs then being in ſo favourable a Situation, and thoſe of the Parliament at ſo low an Ebb, there was great Appearance, that had his Majeſty, inſtead of marching to *Glouceſter*, which he beſieged in the Month of *Auguſt*, being the only conſiderable Place that held out for the Parliament in thoſe Parts, directed his March towards *London*, that haughty City had been forced to have Recourſe to his Clemency, and beg his Pardon. And even the Apprehenſion which the Parliament and Magiſtrates of the City had of it, occaſioned the fortifying and drawing a Line about the whole City; wherein Thouſands of the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty of all Sorts imployed themſelves daily, for advancing the Work; nay the Ladies, willing to have a Share in it, put their Hands to the Work with as much, or rather more Eagerneſs than the Men.

Now, the Covenanters having heard the Propoſitions of the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners, and framed the Deſign of aſſiſting their Parliament with their Arms, they immediately caſt their Eyes upon *Montroſe*, and had a Mind to ingage him in the Deſign before entering openly into the Treaty with them. The Proofs which the Marquis had given of his Conduct and Valour during the firſt Commotions, had gained him ſuch Reputation, that it concerned them much to get him not to oppoſe their grand Deſign. And as they imagined, that he was diſſatisfied, becauſe their Majeſties had preferred Duke *Hamilton*'s Advice to his, they ſent to ſound him. *Montroſe*, the better to diſcover their Secrets, apparently received their Meſſengers very kindly, expreſſing great Satisfaction in the Account they gave him of the preſent State and Affairs of the Kingdom. Theſe Meſſengers then opened their Minds freely, and aſſured him in Name of all the Covenanters, that if he would join with them, they certainly would make him Lieutenant General of the Army which they were reſolved to raiſe for the Aſſiſtance of the Parliament of *England*. *Montroſe* made no Anſwer to that Propoſal, and they, taking his Silence for a Conſent, begged of him, that for the better carrying on of the Deſign, he would be pleaſed to diſcourſe with *Alexander Henderſon*, the Miniſter, who ſhould come from them to wait upon him: And becauſe *Henderſon* could not be long abſent from their Meetings, having a great Share in all the Affairs that were treated of there, and where all his Words were received as Oracles, they intreated the Marquis, who was then at his Houſe of *Kincardin*, in the Shire

1643. Shire of *Strathern*, to conſent to the holding of their Conference in the Houſe of *Keir*, near *Stirling*; *Montroſe* agreed to it, and, that he might give no Umbrage to his Friends, he took with him the Lords *Napier* and *Ogilvie*, with ſome other Gentlemen that were known to be zealouſly affected to the King's Service, to whom he always communicated all that paſſed. Upon his Arrival at the Houſe of *Keir*, *Henderſon* having ſtayed at ſome Diſtance from it, ſent to *Montroſe*, begging to be excuſed from coming there, becauſe that Place was too publick, and intreating he would be pleaſed to come, with another in Company, to a Place about three Miles from thence, on the Banks of the *Forth*, where they might diſcourſe with Freedom. *Montroſe* went thither, and he had no ſooner ſaluted *Henderſon*, than he ſpoke to him like a Man that wanted nothing but to treat, and who was ready, upon honourable Terms, to imbark in the Party. *Henderſon* having found him, as he thought, fully prepared, diſcovered to him plainly the whole Secret of the raiſing of Forces that were deſigned for *England*, which he called the main Affair of the Covenanters, the Prop, and Security of the Covenant.

He added, that they were reſolved to ſpare nothing, and to lay all at Stake for the Subſiſtance of that Army. At laſt having opened his Mind, and declared, that all the Covenanters would be overjoyed to underſtand, that he had entered into that holy Union, and was reſolved to fight for ſo good a Cauſe, he begged of him, with the ſame Confidence, to tell him what Anſwer he might give from him to the Convention of Eſtates. *Montroſe* could not, without ruining himſelf, diſcover what he had in his Heart, much leſs would he give him Reaſon to hope for the leaſt Thing: Having got out of him all that he longed for, he wanted only to keep him in Suſpence, and to get rid of him as gently and artfully as he could, which he did thus. *Henderſon* had brought with him Sir *James Rollock*, who was one of thoſe Meſſengers that had at firſt been ſent to *Montroſe*, and who had procured this Conference. Sir *James*, as *Henderſon*'s Aſſiſtant, endeavoured to perſuade *Montroſe*, that they had propoſed nothing to him but according to the expreſs Orders they had received from the Convention of Eſtates. Whereupon *Henderſon* reſuming the Diſcourſe, ſaid, that as for himſelf he was come to have a Conference with the Marquis of his own Accord, and without having any Order for it. The Marquis then ſeeing that they contradicted one another, bid them agree betwixt themſelves, and that they could not expect he would explain himſelf upon the Propoſitions they had made him, until he had ſeen their Orders, and the Parliament's Commiſſion in writing. This Anſwer confounded them, and their having ſo ill-concerted their Meſſage, and their Miſunderſtanding troubled them ſo much, that they withdrew without appointing another Interview, ſtill in Hopes, however, of bringing over *Montroſe* to their Party.

Being returned to his Friends, whom he had left at *Keir*, he told them all that had paſſed at this Conference, and propoſed to them to go immediately to the King in order to acquaint him with the Deſign of the Covenanters, that he might take care of it in Time, and give the neceſſary Orders for preventing and warding off that Blow. They ſeeing no Remedy for the King's Affairs, which they looked upon to be intirely ruined; and beſides thinking it impoſſible to get to him, were quite diſcouraged, what Affection ſoever they had for his Majeſty's Service, and for *Montroſe*'s Perſon. On the other Hand, the Marquis finding no Difficulties but what he was reſolved to ſurmount, or periſh, ſince his Maſter's Intereſt was at Stake;

Stake; without any farther Deliberation ſet out with the Lord *Ogilvie*, and got ſafe to *Oxford*, from whence the King had but juſt gone with the Flower of the *Engliſh* Nobility and Gentry to the Siege of *Glouceſter*, which was inveſted by the King's victorious Army the 10th of *Auguſt*. 1643.

*MONTROSE* having waited on the Queen, whom he found at *Oxford*, imparted to her the Cauſe of his coming to Court; but her Majeſty took that for a falſe Alarm, and believed, that he had been eaſily perſuaded, that the Covenanters had a Deſign to riſe in Arms, becauſe of the Advice he had already given at *York*, to oblige the Covenanters to continue in Obedience by Force of Arms. From thence he went to the King at *Glouceſter*, where he diſcourſed with him at Leiſure of all that the Covenanters had reſolved upon for the Aſſiſtance of the Parliament of *England*, and that they had gone ſo far as to offer to make him Lieutenant General of the Army, which they were ready to ſend to their Relief. However the King, as well as the Queen, could hardly believe it. Indeed there was little Appearance that the Covenanters had been ſo forgetful; and had loſt the Senſe of ſo many Favours, with which the King had newly loaded them, or that they would be ſo much Enemies of their own Quiet, as to ingage in a War, whereby having nothing to expect, they had much to be afraid of.

Nevertheleſs, the Covenanters being met both in a General Aſſembly and Parliament, and having no Regard to theſe Motives, accepted the Covenant betwixt the two Nations, the Articles of which were:

*The ſolemn League and Covenant betwixt the two Kingdoms.*

" I. That we ſhall ſincerely, really, and conſtantly, through the Grace of " God, endeavour in our ſeveral Places and Callings the Preſervation of " the Reformed Religion in the Church of *Scotland*, in Doctrine, Wor- " ſhip, Diſcipline, and Government, againſt our common Enemies; the " Reformation of Religion in the Kingdoms of *England*, and *Ireland*, in " Doctrine, Worſhip, Diſcipline, and Government, according to the Word " of God, and the Example of the beſt Reformed Churches; and we " ſhall endeavour to bring the Churches of God in the three Kingdoms, " to the neareſt Conjunction and Uniformity in Religion, Confeſſion of " Faith, Form of Church-Government, Directory for Worſhip, and Ca- " techiſing; that we, and our Poſterity after us, may, as Brethren, live in " in Faith and Love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midſt " of us.

II. " That we ſhall, in like manner, without reſpect of Perſons, endea- " vour the Extirpation of Popery, Prelacy (that is, Church Government " by Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, their Chancellors, and Commiſſaries, Deans " and Chapters, Arch-Deacons, and all other Eccleſiaſtical Officers de- " pending on that Hierarchy) Superſtition, Hereſy, Schiſm, Prophaneneſs, " and whatſoever ſhall be found to be contrary to ſound Doctrine, and the " Power of Godlineſs; leſt we partake in other Mens Sins, and thereby be " in Danger to receive of their Plagues; and the Lord may be one, and " his Name one in the three Kingdoms.

III. " We ſhall, with the ſame Sincerity, Reality, and Conſtancy, in our " ſeveral Vocations, endeavour with our Eſtates, and Lives, mutually to " preſerve the Rights and Privileges of the Parliaments, and the Liberties " of the Kingdoms, and to preſerve, and defend the King's Majeſty's Per- " ſon, and Authority, in the Preſervation and Defence of the true Reli- " gion, and Liberties of the Kingdoms; that the World may bear Wit-

1643. " neſs, with our Conſciences, of our Loyalty; and that we have no " Thoughts or Intentions to diminiſh his Majeſty's juſt Power, and Great- " neſs.

IV. " We ſhall alſo, with all Faithfulneſs, endeavour the Diſcovery of " all ſuch as have been, or ſhall be Incendiaries, Malignants, or evil Inſtru- " ments, by hindering the Reformation of Religion, dividing the King " from his People, or one of the Kingdoms from another, or making any " Factions or Parties among the People, contrary to this League and Co- " venant; that they may be brought to publick Trial, and receive condign " Puniſhment, as the Degree of their Offences ſhall require or deſerve; " or the ſupreme Judicatures of both Kingdoms reſpectively, or others " having Power from them for that Effect, ſhall judge convenient.

V. " And wherein the Happineſs of a bleſſed Peace between theſe " Kingdoms, denied in former Times to our Progenitors, is by the good " Providence of God granted unto us, and hath been lately concluded " and ſettled by both Parliaments, we ſhall, each of us, according to our " Places and Intereſt, endeavour, that they may remain conjoined in a " firm Peace and Union to all Poſterity, and that Juſtice may be done " upon the wilful Oppoſers thereof, in manner expreſſed in the precedent " Articles.

VI. " We ſhall alſo, according to our Places and Callings, in this com- " mon Cauſe of Religion, Liberty, and Peace of the Kingdoms, aſſiſt and " defend all thoſe that enter into this League and Covenant, in the main- " taining and purſuing thereof; and ſhall not ſuffer ourſelves, directly, or " indirectly, by whatſoever Combination, Perſuaſion, or Terror, to be di- " vided, and withdrawn from this bleſſed Union and Conjunction, whether " to make Deſertion to the contrary Part, or to give ourſelves to a deteſt- " able Indifference or Neutrality in this Cauſe, which ſo much concerneth " the Glory of God, the Good of the Kingdoms, and the Honour of the " King; but ſhall, all the Days of our Lives, zealouſly and conſtantly con- " tinue therein, againſt all Letts and Impediments whatſoever. And what " we are not able ourſelves to ſuppreſs or overcome, we ſhall reveal, and " make known, that it may be timely prevented or removed; all which " we ſhall do as in the Sight of God.

" And becauſe theſe Kingdoms are guilty of many Sins, and Provoca- " tions againſt God, and his Son Jeſus Chriſt, as is too manifeſt by our " preſent Diſtreſſes and Dangers, the Fruits thereof; we profeſs and declare, " before God, and the World, our unfeigned Deſire to be humbled for " our Sins, and for the Sins of theſe Kingdoms; eſpecially, that we have " not, as we ought, valued the ineſtimable Benefit of the Goſpel, that we " have not laboured for the Purity, and Power thereof; and that we have " not endeavoured to receive Chriſt in our Hearts, nor to walk worthy of " him in our Lives, which are the Cauſes of other Sins and Tranſgreſſions " ſo much abounding amongſt us: And our true, and unfeigned Purpoſe, " Deſire, and Endeavour for ourſelves, and all others under our Power " and Charge, both in Publick and in Private, in all Duties we owe to " God and Man, to amend our Lives, and each one to go before another " in the Example of a real Reformation; that the Lord may turn away " his Wrath and heavy Indignation, and eſtabliſh theſe Churches and King- " doms in Truth and Peace. And this Covenant we make in the Preſence " of Almighty God, the Searcher of all Hearts, with a true Intention to

" perform

" perform the ſame, as we ſhall anſwer at that Great Day, when the Se- 1643.
" crets of all Hearts ſhall be diſcloſed; moſt humbly beſeeching the Lord,
" to ſtrengthen us by his holy Spirit, for this end; and to bleſs our De-
" ſires, and Proceedings, with ſuch Succeſs, as may be a Deliverance and
" Safety to his People, and Encouragement to other Chriſtian Churches,
" groaning under, or in Danger of the Yoke of Anti-chriſtian Tyranny,
" to join in the ſame, or like Aſſociation and Covenant, to the Glory of
" God, the Enlargement of the Kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt, and the Peace,
" and Tranquillity of Chriſtian Kingdoms and Common-wealths."

These Articles were confirmed by the Parliament and General Aſſembly of *Scotland* the 17th of *Auguſt*; and at the ſame Time, they ordered all the Subjects of the Kingdom to ſwear and ſign them. They were afterwards ratified by the meeting of Divines at *Weſtminſter* the firſt of *September*, by the Houſe of Commons the ſecond, and by that of the Peers the fourth of the ſame Month.

*Reaſons for juſtifying the Covenant.*

The Covenanters, who knew that this Action would make a great Noiſe in the World, immediately cauſed a Writing to be publiſhed, containing many Reaſons, whereby they pretended to juſtify this Covenant; wherein they quoted the Scripture right or wrong, calling it to their Aſſiſtance, and, according to their uſual Cuſtom, adapting it to all their Deſigns. Theſe Reaſons were: I. " That the Controverſies in Diſpute at
" preſent in *England* were betwixt Jeſus Chriſt, and Anti-Chriſt, and his
" Agents; ſo that the Repreſentative Body of *England* making Applica-
" tion to that of *Scotland*, inviting them to give Aſſiſtance to the Lord,
" they could not refuſe it them, without incurring the Curſe of *Meroz*;
" becauſe they were certain, that what Aſſiſtance they ſhould give the
" Church of *England* at this Juncture, would be given to God himſelf,
" who would amply reward them for it. II. That the Parliament having
" made an Ordinance in the Year 1585, according to the Deſire of the
" Aſſembly which was held in 1583, for making a League betwixt the
" two Nations, in which the other Proteſtant Princes and States were in-
" vited to join, for the Defence of the Proteſtant Religion, as well againſt
" all Deſigns of Foreigners, as againſt the Sedition of the Papiſts in the
" two Kingdoms; that League was ſigned in like manner betwixt the two
" Crowns at *Berwick* in 1586. Juſt ſo, in 1588, upon the Fear of the
" *Spaniſh Armada*, a Confeſſion of Faith having been ſigned by Order of
" the King and his Council, by all the Subjects of the Kingdom, they
" bound themſelves, by a ſolemn Oath, to join, with their Friends and
" Relations, againſt the whole Popiſh Faction, and their Favourers that
" ſhould make any Diſturbance. Therefore having now the ſame Cauſe
" to defend, the ſame Factions to ſtruggle with, the ſame Dangers to a-
" void, they thought themſelves bound to put in Execution at preſent,
" what they had ſworn then. III. That they were ſenſible of what they
" owed to *England* for the Favours they had formerly received from it,
" when *Scotland* was in the ſame Condition, in which itſelf is at preſent.
" Such was the Aſſiſtance which they had againſt the *French*, who had
" Poſſeſſion of the Port of *Leith*, and ſoon after they received a new Re-
" lief from it, by the Help of which they took the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*,
" which the Laird of *Grange* held out for the Queen, whereof mention
" is made in the publick Prayer, which is inſerted before the Book of
" *Pſalms*, in order to preſerve the Memory of that Favour. Beſides, in
" the late Troubles, the *Engliſh* not only refuſed to take Arms againſt
" them; but became Mediators of the Peace, kept up their Army a whole
" Year,

1643. " Year, and, for Reparation of their Damages, made them a Preſent of a " large Sum of Money: Which made the *Scots*, with good Reaſon, oblige " themſelves, to requite that Friendſhip, and, when Occaſion ſhould offer, " to render them like for like, not in Words, but in Deeds, as they have " promiſed in ſeveral of the Remonſtrances, which they have ſent to the " Parliament of *England*. IV. That the common Danger, wherewith the " Churches of the two Kingdoms are threatened, ought to oblige them to " aſſiſt the Parliament of *England*, ſince, according to their own Language, " they and the *Engliſh* were ſailing in the ſame Ship, dwelling in the ſame " Houſe, and were Members of the ſame Body: Inſomuch, that according " to theſe Principles, if one of the two Nations, or of their Churches were " ruined, the other could not long ſubſiſt, and if the Power of the Par- " liament of *England* were deſtroyed, and Popery eſtabliſhed there, both " the Church and State of *Scotland* would be in a fair Way to be quite al- " tered; becauſe theſe two Kingdoms had the ſame Friends to preſerve, " the ſame Enemies to ſtruggle with, the ſame Cauſe to ſupport, and the " ſame Hazard to run. Beſides, that the Experience of many Years had " ſufficiently taught them, what powerful Influence Popery and Hierarchy " might have upon *Scotland*, if they ſhould be eſtabliſhed in *England*, ſee- " ing the Biſhops, the Ceremonies, the Liturgy, and the Canons had come " from thence, and that the War likewiſe from thence was ſolely owing " to the Oppoſition which *Scotland* had made to all theſe Novelties. Which " being the Caſe, they ought boldly to eſpouſe the Intereſt of *England*, " as the common Cauſe which equally concerned them all, and imploy " their Strength for the Liberty of that Nation, if they had a Mind to " ſhew any Zeal for Religion, Reſpect for the Laws, or Love for their " Liberties. V. That the common Advantage, which the two Kingdoms " may expect therefrom, ought to ſtir them up to give this Aſſiſtance; it " being certain, that by granting it with a good Grace, they would find a " noble Opportunity for bringing about a compleat Uniformity of their " Communion in all Things, which would be the moſt ſtrict Bond of their " Union, and the greateſt Bulwark of its Defence, and which, for that " Reaſon, was as much longed for by all good Men, as it was dreaded by " the Papiſts. That the *Engliſh* having already laid the Foundation of this " Building, in overturning that great Idol of Epiſcopacy, with claſped " Hands begged of them now to come and aſſiſt them in order to the fi- " niſhing of what they had ſo well begun, and crowning that Work, which " could not but turn to the Comfort of the oppreſſed Churches in other " Kingdoms, which would begin to recover Courage, and to ſtrike Ter- " ror into the Kingdom of Anti-Chriſt, which, without doubt, would re- " ceive a conſiderable Wound from this holy Union. VI. That if they " ſhould leave *England* in the Lurch, they would forſake their beſt Friends, " and thoſe who could moſt conveniently aſſiſt them, if, in Proceſs of " Time, it ſhould happen to them to be reduced to the Straits, into which " their Neighbours have now fallen, by the Power of their common Ene- " my, againſt whom they could not expect Aſſiſtance from any other " Place, as well becauſe ſome of the other Proteſtant Churches are at a " Diſtance, as becauſe the reſt are under Oppreſſion, ſo that if they ſhould " deprive themſelves of the Help they might expect from *England*, by " ſuffering its Parliament to be ruined, they would baſely betray their own " Intereſt, and pave the Way for the *Engliſh* to be even with them in " their Straits. For as the Law of Nature teacheth us to do by others " as we would be done by, probably they would require no leſs of their " Neighbours, than a ſpeedy Aſſiſtance, if it ſhould happen again, as in " the Time of Queen *Mary*, that the Popiſh and Prelatical Faction ſhould

1643.

" be uppermoſt. VII. That if they ſhould ſuffer the Power of the Parliament of *England* to be weakened, their Peace would be for ever broke with that Kingdom: Becauſe having been once deceived by the breaking of the Treaty of *Dunce*, they reſolved in good Earneſt to make a firm and laſting Peace, both for themſelves and their Poſterity, and found no better Way to compaſs it, than by agreeing to all the Articles by the Advice of this Parliament, which by that means became Surety that the Peace ſhould be durable. They likewiſe ingaged the publick Faith, that they would treat all ſuch as as ſhould act contrary to that Treaty, and invade the Kingdom of *Scotland*, as Diſturbers of the publick Tranquillity. Therefore not only Religion, but even common Senſe taught them to preſerve the Friendſhip of thoſe who had obtained for them not only the Liberty of Religion, but the Eſtabliſhment of the State againſt the Deſigns of the Papiſts and Biſhops, their mortal Enemies: Who at preſent ſtill maintained that Liberty to them againſt the ſame Perſons, who had not only refuſed to pay the Contributions demanded of them for making War againſt them; but alſo who had procured them that brotherly Aſſiſtance, which ought never to be forgotten; who, in fine, would probably ſtill be ready to prevent their being diſturbed from *England*. But if, by the Fortune of War, theſe Sureties of their Peace ſhould be overcome by the Faction of Papiſts and Prelates, who are the Occaſion of the common Misfortune, 'tis not to be doubted but the Storm may reach them; that the King and Parliament, domineered over by that Faction, may declare War againſt them; and that thoſe wicked Men may, by all manner of Deceit, ſo manage thoſe in Power as to ſpur them on to that, having made that Nation's reſiſting the King to paſs for a Rebellion, and a Crime of High Treaſon. VIII. That though they ſhould be ſo ungenerous as to forſake their Brethren, yet their Deliverance, as *Mordecai* very well ſaid to *Eſther*, would come from another Place, and nothing could ſecure them, but they and the Houſes of their Fathers muſt be deſtroyed: Beſides, that they could not ſhun the Reproach of being alſo ungrateful towards God, who had beſtowed ſo particular a Favour upon them, having reſtored them to the Liberty and Purity of the reformed Religion, if they did not aſſiſt their Brethren in *England*, who both Day and Night were ſhedding Tears of Blood, in their Prayers to God for a Reformation, ſince they had the moſt favourable Opportunity of ſhewing their Love towards Jesus Christ, and their Zeal for his Cauſe, that ever preſented it ſelf to any Nation whatever, For which Cauſe, as the two Tribes of *Reuben* and *Gad*, with the half of that of *Manaſſeh*, did not ſtand with their Arms acroſs in the Lands that fell to their Share, but taking their Arms, they paſſed *Jordan* before their Brethren, in order to put them in Poſſeſſion of the *Land of Promiſe*; juſt ſo ought they to go before theirs, in order to help them to drive out the *Canaanites*, and recover the Liberty of the Goſpel. In ſhort, that this Aſſiſtance given to the Parliament of *England* would be the only means to eſtabliſh Peace betwixt the King and them, to put a Stop to the War, and to deſtroy all the Enemies of Religion and the State: Becauſe the Remonſtrances made to the King otherwiſe than with Sword in Hand, would never be received, becauſe of the common Enemies, who ſurround his Majeſty, and who make him ſhut his Ears to the Complaints of his Subjects.

All theſe Reaſons had a very falſe Foundation: For lawful Leagues are made only betwixt Sovereign Princes; and though the two Nations were imbarked in the ſame Ship, yet they could not arrive at the Port without

1643. having their Pilot; beſides, what ever Zeal either of them had for Religion, it ought not to have been ſo warmly purſued, contrary to the Obedience which is due to the Prince. So that 'tis to be ſuppoſed, that what was repeated over and over, did not equally perſuade all the Covenanters. For though the Clergy and People gave Way to the Paſſion they had to ſee Epiſcopacy ruined, the Altars pulled down, and the Liturgy aboliſhed in *England:* And that they hoped to eſtabliſh their Service and Preſbyterian Government, in order, by that means, to ſecure themſelves on that Side, from whence they always dreaded ſome Innovation; yet it was believed, that the chief of the Nobility and Gentry had more regard to what concerned the political Government; beſides, it ſeemed that theſe conſidering, that the Parliament of *England* had made Propoſitions to the King for the Government of the State, and the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, like thoſe which his Majeſty had approved of in the laſt Parliament of *Scotland*, where the Circumſtances of his Affairs ſeemed to oblige him then to grant what they deſired, that he might not all at once draw the Strength of the two Kingdoms upon his Back; from thence they inferred, that aſſiſting their Neighbours to eſtabliſh the ſame Things in *England*, they would take the deeper Root, and be ſo much the more corroborated in *Scotland*. In a Word, all of them, as well the Zealots as the Politicians judged, that the two Nations being in the ſame Intereſts, the King would never attack the one but the other would run to its Aſſiſtance.

THEREFORE the Reſolution was taken with great Zeal and much Courage, to ſend an Army into *England* for aſſiſting the Parliament of that Kingdom; but, however, with the ſame Proteſtation that the Parliament had made when they took up Arms; that it was likewiſe for the Defence of the King's Perſon, Honour, and Authority: So that it ſeemed to many, that there was ſomething in their Procedure not unlike that of a certain Emperor, who kept the Pope Priſoner in the Caſtle of S. *Angelo*, and for all that, cauſed Prayers to be ſaid, and Proceſſions to be made, at which he aſſiſted in Perſon, for the Deliverance of him whom he kept Priſoner.

IN order to raiſe the auxiliary Troops, and at the ſame Time to provide for the Security of the Kingdom, the Parliament appointed particular Commiſſaries in all the Shires for muſtering the Militia, gave Orders for the Subſiſtance of a Body of Troops in the Country, which was to be maintained at the Charges of the Shires, and at the ſame Time laid a Duty upon the moſt part of Commodities, for defraying the Charges of the Levies; but becauſe a ſufficient Sum could not ſo quickly be expected, the Parliament ordained, that all ſuch as had Money ſhould be deſired to come and lend it to the State. That the publick Faith ſhould be ingaged to them for thoſe Loans, with ſuch particular Security beſides as they ſhould require. That ſuch as ſhould refuſe to comply therewith, ſhould be compelled to do it by the Committees of Parliament. That, on the contrary, thoſe who ſhould frankly agree to it, would thereby expreſs their Affection and Zeal for Religion, and the Good of their native Country. Theſe Orders being given, and the Rates of the new Duties adjuſted; the Parliament agreed to the following Articles with the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of *England*. I. "That, as ſoon as poſſible, an Army of eigh-
"teen thouſand Foot, and three thouſand Horſe ſhould be levied, and
"well armed, and each Man furniſhed with forty Days Proviſions and
"Pay, and that it ſhould appear at the Rendezvous which ſhould be ap-
"pointed for it on the Borders, with a Train of Artillery ſuitable to ſuch

"an

1643.

" an Army. II. That it ſhould be commanded by a General to be named " by the Parliament of *Scotland*, and that it ſhould follow the Orders, " which the Parliaments of the two Kingdoms ſhould give with one Ac- " cord. III. That the Kingdom of *Scotland* ſhould be at the Charges of " this Armament, which ſhould afterwards be reimburſed by that of " *England*, as ſoon as the Peace ſhould be proclaimed in the two King- " doms. IV. That the Parliament of *England* ſhould pay to this Army " thirty thouſand Founds a Month, which Sum ſhould be taken out of " the Eſtates of the Papiſts, Prelates, and their Adherents, whom they " called Malignants; and in caſe, that at the end of the Month, any " Thing be remaining unpaid of that Sum, the publick Faith ſhould be " ingaged for ſatisfying it, with all the Arrears, and Intereſt at twelve *per* " *Cent.* V. That if the Parliament of *Scotland* thought they had Reaſon " to demand of their Brethren of *England* a more ample Satisfaction for " the Charges they may be forced to be at; and for the Dangers they " may run, they would ingage the publick Faith, that they ſhould be " honourably recompenced. VI. That the Parliament of *England* ſhould " advance a hundred thouſand Pounds, which ſhould be allowed to them " in the Payment of the firſt Month after the Arrival of the Army in " *England.* VII. That the Parliament of *Scotland*, in order to teſtify their " Zeal in Favour of the Affairs of *England*, ſhould join the publick " Faith of their Kingdom to that of *England*, for a Loan of two hundred " Pounds, that the Parliament of *England* may the more quickly make " the neceſſary Advance for the Aſſiſtance demanded of their Brethren. " VIII. That no Treaty of Truce or Peace, nor even of Ceſſation of " Arms ſhould be made, but by the common Advice of both Kingdoms. " IX. That that of *Scotland* ſhould ingage the publick Faith, not to im- " ploy their Army to any other End, but to that which is contained in " the Covenant betwixt the two Nations. X. That as the Parliament of " *Scotland* was ready to aſſiſt their Brethren of *England*, theſe obliged " themſelves in the ſame manner to aſſiſt the Kingdom of *Scotland* on the " like Occaſion, and the ſame Conditions. XI. That while the *Scots* Ar- " my ſhould continue in *England*, the Parliament of that Kingdom ſhould " order eight Men of War to be fitted out, and maintained for the De- " fence of the Coaſt of *Scotland*, which ſhould be commanded by ſuch " Captains as the Earl of *Warwick* ſhould appoint, with the Approbation, " however, of the Parliaments of both Kingdoms; Which with com- " mon Conſent ſhould give Orders to thoſe Captains. XII. That a *Scots* " Garriſon of ſix hundred Foot, and two hundred Horſe, ſhould be put " into the Town of *Berwick*, the Governor of which, as well as the prin- " cipal Officers of the Garriſon, ſhould be approved of by the Parlia- " ment of *England*, which ſhould furniſh a thouſand Pounds a Month " for ſubſiſting the Garriſon. XIII. That the Parliament of *Scotland* " ſhould ingage the publick Faith, for withdrawing their Garriſon from " that Place, and demoliſhing all the new Fortifications they ſhould make " for its Defence, when Peace ſhould be made in the two Kingdoms." All theſe Articles were ſigned at *Edinburgh* the 29th of *November*, and in a ſhort time after, the Army was ready to march into *England*. Thus was the Covenant and League concluded betwixt the two Nations, the Conſequences of which have but too plainly demonſtrated to the King, that the Advice of thoſe, who at the Beginning perſuaded him to ſacri- fice *Scotland*, in order to ſave *England*, tended only to make him loſe both.

While

1643. WHILE theſe Things were tranſacting in *Scotland* betwixt the Commiſſioners of the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, the *Sieur de Bois-Yon*, a Gentleman ſent by his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, arrived there, and preſented a Letter to the King's Privy Council, dated the 23d of *September*, in theſe Words:

*A Letter from the King of* France *to the Privy Council of* Scotland.

"MOST dear and great Friends, at all Times there have been Alliances between the Kings, our Predeceſſors, and thoſe of *Scotland*, which have been ſo religiouſly and faithfully obſerved, that the Faith of both Nations has been acknowledged and publiſhed by all the People of the Earth as a Wonder. We have been brought up for having the Command of the firſt and moſt auguſt Monarchy of *Europe*, and we are willing to preſerve the Friendſhip of the moſt gallant Nation that inhabits it, and, in Teſtimony thereof, to concern ourſelves in its Affairs. You have, with the Conſent of the King of *Great-Britain*, ſent to us, as your Delegate, the Earl of *Lothian*, who having gone away content; by the Advice of the Queen Regent, our moſt honoured Lady and Mother, we ſend to you the *Sieur de Bois-Yon*, in order to aſſure you of the Continuance of our Affection. He will have occaſion to propoſe ſome Affairs to you, we deſire you to give Credit to whatever he ſhall ſay to you from us, and to be pleaſed to give us Contentment therein as our true and ancient Allies: Which is what we expect from your Prudence, and that you will not be wanting to your own Intereſts, for which we ſhall always have a ſingular Regard, as you ſhall aim at the Obedience and Service of the King, your Maſter. So we pray God, moſt dear and great Friends, that he may have you under his holy Protection."

THEIR moſt Chriſtian Majeſties concerning themſelves more in the King's Affairs, than the other Allies of that Crown, made it appear that they had his Intereſts not much leſs at Heart than their own. Preſently after the Death of the invincible *Lewis* XIII. the *Sieur de Creſſy*, Steward of his Houſehold, was ſent to *England* to notify that Death, and to offer the Mediation of *France*, for accommodating the Differences between the King and his Subjects. For that end, the Count *d'Harcourt*, after having ſo often carried Terror amongſt his Maſter's Enemies, went thither Ambaſſador extraordinary, in order to reſtore Peace amongſt his Friends and Allies. However, it was not with the ſame Succeſs: For amongſt thoſe he had found nothing that was able to withſtand his Courage; but he could not ſubdue the Inflexibility and Stubbornneſs of theſe. At the ſame Time the Earl of *Norwich*, one of the ableſt Men of the Age, was ſent Ambaſſador extraordinary to *France*. That Lord confirmed at *Ruel* the Alliances betwixt the two Crowns, and ſerved the King with ſo much Fidelity and Prudence, that he carried back from the Court of *France* this Teſtimony; that nothing could exceed the Zeal he had ſhewn for the good Succeſs of the Affairs of the King, his Maſter, or the Care he had taken to ſerve him well.

THE King found more Reſiſtance at *Glouceſter*, than he could have imagined from ſo weak a Place. The Out-works were but half finiſhed, and the Garriſon conſiſted only of two thouſand Men. The Town is ſituate upon a riſing Ground, and the River of *Severn* runs by the Foot of the Walls towards the South-Eaſt, where it makes the little Iſland of *Alney*, very famous for the Duel that was fought there, between *Edmund Ironſide*,

*Ironſide*, and *Canutus*, the *Dane*. After theſe two Princes had fought many bloody Battles for the Crown, they reſolved to decide their Differences by a Duel, and having gone over to this Iſland in Sight of their Armies, drawn up in order of Battle on both Sides of the River, they fought for a long time, without any Advantage on either Side; whereupon they entered into a Treaty, and divided the Kingdom betwixt them. But ſoon after *Edmund* having been murdered by a perfidious Captain, belonging to *Canutus*, this laſt remained ſole Monarch. 1643.

The King being come before *Glouceſter*, cauſed it to be ſummoned by two Heralds, and promiſed, as well to the Garriſon as Inhabitants, all manner of good Treatment if they would ſurrender it to him. They anſwered, that they were all ready to obey his Majeſty's Commands, which ſhould be preſented to them by Order of Parliament. Whereupon Prince *Rupert* and the Earl of *Forth* having advanced with ſix thouſand Horſe, the Suburbs were ſet on Fire, and the Siege was immediately formed. Colonel *Maſſey*, who commanded in the Town, came nothing ſhort of whatever the Parliament could expect of him. He made frequent Sallies, countermined the Mines of the Royaliſts, and took ſuch prudent Meaſures, that the Houſes ſuffered but little Damage by the red hot Bullets that were thrown into the Town.

In the mean time, the Parliament having cauſed Recruits to be raiſed in all Haſte for the Earl of *Eſſex*'s ſhattered Army, and obliged ſome of the Trained-band Regiments of *London* to hold themſelves ready to join him, on the 24th of *Auguſt* he reviewed his Troops on *Hounſlow-heath*, and marched that Night to *Colebrook*. From thence he marched to *Berton*, and appointed the general Rendezvous to be at *Brackley*, where, on the firſt of *September* the *London* Regiments joined him. But the Body of Reſerve, which the Parliament had ordered to be levied for *Waller*, could not march ſo ſoon. As he continued his March towards *Glouceſter*, he had ſome Skirmiſhes with Parties of the King's Troops, and the 5th of the ſame Month having drawn up his Army upon the riſing Grounds of *Preſtbury* in Sight of *Glouceſter*, he cauſed four Cannon to be fired, to give Notice of his Arrival. Upon the Approach of this Army, the King ordered the Siege to be raiſed in order to go to meet *Eſſex*, and fight him. For it appeared, that the King's Buſineſs was firſt to defeat this new Army, and then not only *Glouceſter*, but the whole Kingdom would eaſily be brought under his Obedience. The Earl marched in Battle Order to *Cheltenham*, the King's Troops ſkirmiſhing with him during his March, and, after he was incamped at *Cheltenham*, they beat up his Quarters. From thence he marched to *Glouceſter*, where he was received with great Acclamations, and having left all Sorts of Proviſions there, for ſtanding out a new Siege, he marched directly for *Tewkeſbury*, and from thence to *Cirenceſter*, of which he made himſelf Maſter very opportunely for his Army, which wanted Proviſions, whereof he found good Store there. As he continued his March towards *Hungerford*, he was purſued by a Party of the King's Horſe, who attacked his Rear-Guard very briſkly, and handled it pretty roughly 'till it joined the main Body, then the Fight was more ſharp, and maintained with great Courage on both Sides, there never having been a Rencounter, wherein more gallant Actions had been performed than in that. Amongſt thoſe who were killed upon the Spot of the King's Side, the Marquis of *Vieu-Ville*, who, puſhed on by *French* Generoſity, had put himſelf as a Volunteer in his Majeſty's Army, and was in very great Eſteem, all the Officers ſhewing him a great deal of Deference, was made

1643. Priſoner, and after he had been diſcovered by an Officer of the Enemy's Horſe, whom he had wounded in the Fight, he was baſely murdered in cold Blood, and very much regretted by the King and the whole Nobility of the Army, who had admired the Wit and Courage of that young Nobleman.

*The Battle of* Newbury.

THIS Rencounter was only the Fore-runner of the great Battle that was fought the next Day the 19th of *September* near *Newbury*. *Eſſex* thought that he indiſputably had carried the Day: And, accordingly he was received ſome time after in great Triumph at *London*. On the contrary, the Royaliſts gave out, that they had remained Maſters of the Field of Battle. Indeed *Eſſex* retired from it in great Haſte, and pretended, that it was becauſe he wanted Proviſions. However that may be, the King loſt that Day the Earls of *Carnarvan* and *Sunderland*, the Viſcount of *Falkland* and Colonel *Morgan*; and the Parliament ſome Officers. As for the Number of the dead, they differed about that, both Sides thinking themſelves victorious. But ſoon after *Cromwel* defeated a Body of an Army at *Horncaſtle* in *Lincolnſhire*, commanded by the Lord *Withrington*. And about the ſame time the Marquis of *Newcaſtle* raiſed the Siege from before *Hull*, which he had put to great Straits, and which the Lord *Fairfax* had vigorouſly defended.

THE King being returned to *Oxford*, where he had fixed his Winter-Quarters, the Duke of *Hamilton* ſent him Word from *Scotland*, that having ſtill expected to have made the Covenanters underſtand, that Religion, Honour, and their own Intereſts ought to hinder them from entering into a League with the Parliament of *England*, and taking up Arms in their Favour; he ſaw now, that his Advices had been to no Purpoſe, and without minding the Remonſtrances he had in vain made to them, they had reſolved to ſend an Army into *England*, which they had raiſed ſince the Meeting of the Parliament, under Pretence of providing for the Security of the Kingdom. Whereupon he was obliged to break with them, and to make it appear to all the World, that he diſapproved of their Proceedings. The King, ſurprized at this News, called for *Montroſe*, who had followed him to *Oxford*, and told him, that he no longer doubted but the Account he had formerly given him was true, though he could never bring himſelf to believe it before. But now, ſeeing that Matters were ſo as he had repreſented them to him, he commanded him to tell him freely what he thought was fit to be done in this Conjuncture, in order to drive back the Covenanters Army, who, not content with breaking all Laws, both divine and human, and plunging themſelves into Rebellion, but were coming to foment that of their Neighbours likewiſe.

*MONTROSE*, who had already formed in his Mind a Plan of all that could be attempted for recovering the King's Affairs, anſwered his Majeſty, that though the Evil was very great, and that it was a very difficult Matter to remedy it, ſeeing that the whole Body of the Kingdom was cloſely united, and powerfully fortified by a League offenſive and defenſive with the Parliament of *England*; yet, if he approved of his Advice, he would undertake ſome Diverſion, which ſhould be brought to a good Iſſue at the Peril of his Life, Affairs being in ſuch a Condition, that they could not be worſe, and that being carried on with more Vigour than formerly, perhaps their Face would quickly alter. He begged then of the King, that he would be pleaſed to give Orders for levying ſome Troops in *Ireland*, and tranſporting them to the Weſtern Coaſt of *Scotland*.

*Scotland.* That his Majeſty would order the Marquis of *Newcaſtle* to furniſh him with as many Horſe as he could. That he would ſend to the King of *Denmark* to deſire of him a Supply of Men and Ammunition, which that Prince had conſtantly offered his Majeſty theſe two Years; by which Means he hoped to make a Party that would ſtagger the League, and which, in his Opinion, would bring his Majeſty's Subjects under his Obedience. 1643.

*The Marquis of Montroſe's Expedition into Scotland.*

The King approved of theſe Overtures, and at the ſame Time ſet about the Work. The Marquis of *Antrim*, an *Iriſh* Peer, but of a *Scots* Extract, being then at Court, his Majeſty propoſed to him to raiſe Men in *Ireland*. He accepted of the Commiſſion, and obliged himſelf to tranſport two thouſand Men into *Scotland*, and to land them in the Shire of *Kintire* before the Month of *April* of the following Year, at which time *Montroſe* was to be in Arms in the ſame Kingdom. Colonel *Cockbran* was at the ſame time diſpatched into *Denmark*, and it was reſolved, that *Montroſe* himſelf ſhould carry the Orders to the Marquis of *Newcaſtle*. Nothing remained but his Majeſty's Commiſſion for *Montroſe*, who would not take upon him to command in Chief; for though he was of one of the moſt illuſtrious Families of *Scotland*, and that his Anceſtors had been in the higheſt Imployments, and poſſeſſed the greateſt Offices of State; yet in order to ſhun Jealouſy, and for the Good of the King's Service, which was the only Thing he aimed at, without regard to his own Advantage, he begged his Majeſty to make Prince *Maurice*, his Nephew, General of the Royal Army in *Scotland*, of which he would accept to be Lieutenant General. The King approved of the Advice, and cauſed his Commiſſion to be made out in the Form he had deſired.

While theſe Things were a doing, the Duke of *Hamilton* left *Scotland* in order to come and wait upon the King. As ſoon as he arrived at *Oxford*, his Majeſty cauſed him to be arreſted, with the Earl of *Lanerick*, his Brother. Some Days after the Duke was carried to *Briſtol*, and from thence to the ſtrong Caſtle of *Pendennis*, which commands the fine Harbour of *Falmouth*. But the Earl having had only the Town for his Priſon, found means to make his Eſcape, and went to *London*. The King having Account of it, he gave the Seal to Sir *Robert Spoteſwood*, who officiated as Secretary of State for a long Time. The Reaſon of the Duke's Diſgrace was, that his Proceedings in *Scotland* not having pleaſed every body, Complaints had been made of them to the King, and his Majeſty having a mind to inquire into them, thought fit to ſecure his Perſon. *Montroſe* was likewiſe of that Opinion, and declared freely to the King, that if he was pleaſed to leave the Management of his Affairs any longer to the Duke, he begged his Majeſty to allow him to be gone, in order to carry Arms ſomewhere elſe amongſt the Allies of the Crown.

*The Covenanters get Poſſeſſion of* Berwick, *and General* Leſly *enters* England.

The Covenanters having taken Poſſeſſion of *Berwick* in the Month of *December*, and put a *Scots* Garriſon into it, as had been agreed betwixt the two Nations, General *Leſly* entered *England* with the Auxiliary Army in the Beginning of the following Year, where he immediately took the Caſtle of *Wark* in *Northumberland*, and afterwards that of *Morpeth*, where he left a Part of his Baggage, which he could not carry farther becauſe of the Seaſon. At the ſame time the General cauſed *Blyſnok*, a ſmall Sea-Port, in the ſame County, to be fortified, whither Proviſions might come from *Scotland* to the Army: Then having paſſed the River of *Tyne* upon a Bridge of Boats below *Newcaſtle*, he directed his March towards *Sunderland*,

1643. *land*, a Sea-Port in the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, at the Mouth of the *Were*, which he cauſed to be fortified for the ſame Reaſon as he had done that of *Blyſnok*. From thence having advanced to *Dalden-hill*, Lieutenant General *King*, with a Detachment of the Royal Army, came to obſerve him. They ſkirmiſhed for ſome time with Loſs on both Sides; but at laſt *King* retired to *York*, and *Leſly* continued his March, in order to lay Siege to that great City, which was the Metropolitan of all *Scotland*, till the Pope withdrew the Biſhops of the Kingdom from it. The Biſhops of *Durham*, *Carliſle*, and *Cheſter*, are now its only Suffragans. All the other Biſhops of *England*, and the Archbiſhop of *York* himſelf being now ſubject to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury:* Which was decided in a Synod held at *Windſor* in the Time of *William* the Conqueror, becauſe *Thomas*, Treaſurer of *Bayeux*, being advanced to that See, had refuſed to take the Oath of Canonical Obedience to *Lanfrancus*. This City is famous for having been the Reſidence of the Emperors *Severus* and *Conſtantius*, who ended their Days in it; beſides, in the Opinion of ſome, its Tribunal has been honoured with the Perſon of that Oracle *Papinianus*, and it was in this City that the Imperial Conſtitution *De rei Vindicatione* was publiſhed, which is to be found in the 3[d] Book of the *Code*, tit. 32. The River of *Owſe* paſſeth through the middle of the City; and in the *Swale*, which falls into it, the Archbiſhop S. *Paulinus* baptized ten thouſand *Saxons* in one Day, and made an Army of regenerated Men ſpring out of the Boſom of that River, who with an Emulation liſted themſelves under the Banner of the Croſs.

*LESLY*, on his March towards *York*, joined the Parliament of *England*'s Troops, which came to meet him under the Command of the Earl of *Mancheſter*, *Cromwell*, the Lord *Fairfax*, and Sir *Thomas*, his Son. This laſt is the Gentleman, whoſe martial Atchievements have ſince raiſed him ſo high, though he has not puſhed his Greatneſs to that Height, to which it juſtly might have been carried: For when he ſaw himſelf Maſter of all the Forces of *England*, and that he had it in his Power to give Laws to the Parliament, he let ſlip ſo fair an Opportunity, which Fortune had preſented to him, of ſetting the King upon his Throne again, and making himſelf one of the greateſt and moſt glorious Subjects in *Europe*.

THIS Invaſion of the *Scots* Covenanters obliged the King to call a Parliament of the Kingdom of *England* to meet at *Oxford*. It was compoſed, for the moſt part, of Members who had either withdrawn from, or been expelled the two Houſes at *Weſtminſter*, and in the Proclamation for calling it, dated the 22[d] of *December*, the King offered a general Pardon to all ſuch as had a mind to withdraw from them, and come to this Meeting at *Oxford*, which was opened the 22[d] of *January*. Some of thoſe who had been of the Houſe of Commons in the Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, were of the Houſe of Peers in this: For 'tis ſufficient in *England*, if the King thinks fit to write to a Gentleman to go and take his Place in the Houſe of Peers, for making him a Lord, and thoſe are called Lords under a Sign-Manual, to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe who are declared ſuch by Letters Patent.

IN the Houſe of Peers were, the Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *York*, Duke of *Cumberland*, *Littleton*, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, *Cottington*, Lord Treaſurer, Duke of *Richmond*, Marquis of *Hertford*, the Earls of *Lindſey*, *Dorſet*, *Shrewſbury*, *Bath*, *Southampton*, *Leiceſter*, *Northampton*, *Devonſhire*, *Carliſle*, *Briſtol*, *Berkſhire*, *Cleveland*, *Rivers*, *Dover*, *Peterborough*,

*rough*, *Kingſton*, *Newport*, and *Portland*: The Viſcounts of *Conway* and *Cambden*; the Lords *Digby*, *Mowbry* and *Matravers*, *Wentworth*, *Cromwell*, *Rich*, *Paget*, *Chandois*, *Howard* of *Carleton*, *Lovelace*, *Savile*, *Mohun*, *Dunſmore*, *Seymour*, *Piercy*, *Wilmot*, *Leg*, *Hatton*, *Jermyn*, *Carrington*, *Abergavenny*, *Arundel*, *Capel* and *Newport*. There were a great many other Peers in the Royal Party, ſome of which were imployed elſewhere for his Majeſty's Service, or had Liberty of Abſence, ſuch as the Marquiſſes of *Wincheſter*, *Worceſter*, and *Newcaſtle*; the Earls of *Derby*, *Huntington*, *Clare*, and *Marlborough*; the Viſcount of *Falconbridge*, with the Lords *Morley*, *Darcy*, *Stouton*, *Evers*, *Daincourt*, *Pawlet*, *Brudenel*, *Powis*, *Herbert* of *Cherbury*, *Hopton*, *Loughborough*, *Byron*, *Vaughan*, and *Withrington*: Others were out of the Kingdom; to wit, the Earls of *Arundel*, *St. Albans*, and *Norwich*; the Viſcounts of *Montague* and *Stafford*, with the Lords *Stanhope*, *Coventry*, *Craven* of *Hampſtead*, and *Craven* of *Ryton*; beſides the Earl of *Cheſterfield*, and the Lord *Montague* of *Boughton*, whom the Parliament kept Priſoners. In the Houſe of Commons there were one hundred and forty Members, who had all left the Parliament of *Weſtminſter*, beſides a great Number, who had Commands in the King's Army, or Imployments elſewhere for his Service. 1643.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

*The King's Speech to the Parliament at* Oxford.

"When I call to mind the common Intereſt which you have in the "Honour of the *Engliſh* Nation, and when at the ſame time I conſider "the Hardſhips each of you in particular has undergone, for the Proofs "you have given me of your Fidelity; I cannot but look upon you as "the Men in the World moſt capable of giving me Advice in what con- "cerns the preſent State of my Affairs, ſince we run the ſame Riſk, and "that the ſame Force hath oppreſſed us all. I have called you, as well "to be privy to my Intentions as Witneſſes to my Actions. Surely if I had "the leaſt Thought of doing any Thing contrary to the Happineſs and Se- "curity of the State, I would not call ſo good and faithful Counſellors as "you. I likewiſe think that the good Underſtanding that will be amongſt "us, will ſo prevail upon the Minds of all my Subjects, that it will no "longer be in the Power of thoſe, whoſe Malice has had but too great "Influence upon the People, to caſt a Blemiſh upon my Actions, of which "you ſhall be Witneſſes; nor to make my Promiſes to be diſregarded, "whereof you ſhall be the Sureties. Almoſt all of you know how loath "I was to have Recourſe to Arms for my Defence; I had ſo great an A- "verſion to it, that before I took care of my Safety, I was very near "falling into the Hands of thoſe, who, in two pitched Battles, have ſuf- "ficiently ſhewn the Reſpect and Affection they have for my Perſon. I "not only foreſaw the Oppreſſion of my People, whoſe Condition grows "every Day worſe and worſe, according as our Enemies diſcover their "pernicious Deſigns; but alſo the Inconveniences that my good Subjects "were to ſuffer by the Army which I was obliged to raiſe for their Pro- "tection: For I am not ſo ignorant of War, as not to have foreſeen, that "it was impoſſible for me to get Diſcipline to be obſerved in it, being in "want, as I was, of all Things neceſſary for maintaining it in a regular "Way. And I can aſſure you, that the Sufferings of thoſe, who eſpouſe "my Intereſt, affect me more than all that concerns me in particular. "I ſtill hoped, that God would quickly calm the Storm, either by his "Bleſſing upon my Arms, or by the Repentance of my Enemies: But on "the contrary, Rage and Deſpair have made them more inſolent and ma- "licious, than I had imagined they could be; for inſtead of contributing "towards the Pacification of the Kingdom, they have given a Call to

1643. " foreign Troops to invade it, and have been ſo impudent as to ſollicit " that Invaſion in Name of the States of the Kingdom, and under Pre- " tence of the publick Goood. As for you, my Lords and Gentlemen, " as you have bravely diſclaimed ſuch Proceedings, ſo you clearly ſee, that " my Subjects of *Scotland*, by taking up Arms, have broke the Peace " which had been ſo ſolemnly made by your Care between the two Na- " tions, and that they intend no leſs than the Alteration of your Laws, " and the Conqueſt of your Country. I ſhall ſend you what Accounts I " have already had of that Rebellion, and ſuch as I may hereafter receive. " I requeſt you, without Loſs of Time, to deliberate quickly upon what " is fit to be done in the preſent Juncture of the Affairs of both Nations. " As we have but one Aim, 'tis to be thought that we ſhall have but little " Difficulty in agreeing upon the Means for attaining it. Let us, in a par- " ticular Manner, take care of our Religion as the Foundation and Baſis " of all our Happineſs: Let us reſtore Royal Majeſty to its ancient Splen- " dour, and its Rights, upon which yours depend: Let us preſerve your " Liberties, and all your Privileges, without which I would not be your " King. For my part I promiſe to concur with you in all the Propoſi- " tions which you ſhall make, and to join with you in whatſoever you " ſhall find reaſonable for the reſtoring of Peace, and for the Proſperity " of the Kingdom."

THIS Parliament, according to the King's good Intentions, forthwith applied themſelves with great care to find out means for re-eſtabliſhing Peace: And as they had perceived that the Offers, which the King had made to treat with the two Houſes that had continued at *Weſtminſter*, had taken no Effect, they thought fit to write to them in their own Name. But becauſe the Lords and Commons, who had continued there, had prohibited any kind of Addreſs to be made to them, except through the Hands of the Earl of *Eſſex*, their General, thoſe at *Oxford* reſolved to write to *Eſſex*, " conjuring him by all the Obligations that have Power upon Ho- " nour or Conſcience, to reflect upon the deplorable State of his native " Country, and to join with them in the Deſire they had to treat with " ſome of thoſe by whom he was truſted with the Command of their " Troops, to the end that ſome good Men on either part being met in a " Place that ſhould be agreed on, the utter Ruin and Deſolation of the " Kingdom may be prevented, which otherwiſe was inevitable." The Letter, which was dated the 27th of *January*, was ſigned as well by their Royal Highneſſes, as by all the Peers and Members of the two Houſes, and was ſent to the Earl of *Eſſex* under the Cover of the Earl of *Forth*, General of the King's Army.

*ESSEX* anſwered that Earl, " that he had found in the Packet, a " Writing ſigned by the Prince of *Wales*, the Duke of *York*, and a great " many other Lords and Gentlemen; but that Writing not being addreſ- " ſed to the Parliament, nor containing any Acknowledgment of them, he " could not impart it to them; for as much as they and he were reſolved " to ſpend the very laſt Drop of their Blood, for the Defence of the " Parliament of *England*, and their Privileges; becauſe theſe were the " Foundation upon which their Laws and Liberties were built." With the Letter he ſent a Copy of the Covenant between the two Nations, with a Declaration of the two Kingdoms upon the Entry of the *Scots* into *England*.

THE

The two Houſes at *Oxford* took this Anſwer for a Refuſal, which thoſe at *Weſtminſter* made of the Treaty; becauſe they had appointed Commiſſioners for drawing up the Anſwer with *Eſſex*, and that what he alledged concerning the Addreſs of their Letter, was nothing but a Pretence the better to cloke the Affair. Theſe were the Expreſſions which the Parliament at *Oxford* made uſe of in the Declaration which they publiſhed of this Negotiation. To which they added; " That the Covenant which " had been ſent them could mean nothing elſe, but that they muſt join " with the Covenanters, as well for the Suppreſſion of Epiſcopal Govern- " ment, as for expoſing the Eſtates, Lives, and Honour of all thoſe who " had ſerved his Majeſty, and likewiſe for approving the Invaſion of the " *Scots*, before they could expect to treat with the Parliament at *Weſt-* " *minſter*. But they judged that Procedure to be ſo much the more ex- " traordinary, as, beſides, that they looked upon the Covenant to be a " ſeditious, diſloyal, and criminal League, as the King had declared it in " his Proclamation of the 19th of *October* before, it deſtroyed the Nature " of the Treaty; becauſe if they ſhould accept it, nothing would remain " to be decided, the Covenant containing all that the Covenanters of the " two Nations could demand." 1643.

These ſo uncommon Proceedings did not diſcourage the Parliament of *Oxford*, who, not having a mind to break about controverted Qualities and Titles, judged, that they muſt write no more; but beg of the King to ſend ſome Perſons to *Weſtminſter* that were not ſuſpected by either Side, with Inſtructions for demanding a Treaty. His Majeſty conſenting to that, named two Gentlemen of great Reputation, *Richard Fanſhaw* and *Thomas Offly*, and ordered the Earl of *Forth* to write to the Earl of *Eſſex* for getting them a Paſs-Port; becauſe without that no Body could go in Safety from the King to *London*. *Forth* having written to *Eſſex*, he gave him to underſtand by his Anſwer, that when it ſhould pleaſe the King to require a ſafe Conduct from the Parliament at *Weſtminſter* for theſe Gentlemen, he would contribute with all his Power to ſo good a Work, as the Underſtanding was, and which every Man ought to wiſh for between the King and the two Houſes of Parliament, his only Council.

The Parliament of *Oxford* obſerved, that *Eſſex* had not anſwered directly to *Forth*'s Demand, and thought it ſtrange that he had called their Party the King's only Council, thereby making them their Judges, and depriving of that Honour, not only the two Houſes of Parliament aſſembled at *Oxford*, by the ſame Authority as thoſe at *Weſtminſter*; but likewiſe his Majeſty's Privy Council, and his learned Council at Law. Nevertheleſs as there was nothing that could diſcourage them in ſo juſt and glorious an Undertaking; they humbly begged his Majeſty to be pleaſed to write once more to the two Houſes at *Weſtminſter*, and in order to obviate the Objections that they might make to the Direction of his Letters, to addreſs them *To the Lords and Commons of Parliament aſſembled at* Weſtminſter. The King was ſo good as to yield to that, and ſent them his Letters, dated the 3d of *March*, " whereby he invited them to a Confe- " rence, leaving it to their Opinion to make Choice of the Perſons as well " as the Number, the Time, and the Place where their Conference ſhould " be held with thoſe whom he ſhould ſend. Above all Things he ex- " horted them to think upon means whereby all the Members of the two " Houſes of Parliament may freely meet, in order to confer together a- " bout

*The Subſtance of the King's Letter to the two Houſes of Parliament at* Weſtminſter.

1643. " bout the publick Affairs, which were in ſo miſerable a State, that one " muſt be altogether inſenſible not to be affected with it."

THIS Letter of the King's was ſent by the Earl of *Forth* to the Earl of *Eſſex*, who having preſented it to the Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, they made an Anſwer which *Eſſex* ſent by a Trumpet to *Forth* to be preſented to his Majeſty. Their Letter was dated the 9th of *March*, and ſigned by *Grey* of *Warke*, Speaker of the Houſe of Peers in Parliament *pro tempore*, and by *William Lenthall* Speaker of Commons in Parliament, and was as follows:

*May it pleaſe your Majeſty,*

*The Anſwer of the two Houſes.*

" WE the Lords and Commons aſſembled in the Parliament of *Eng-* " *land*, taking into our Conſideration a Letter ſent from your Majeſty, da- " ted the 3d of *March* Inſtant, and directed to the Lords and Commons " of Parliament aſſembled at *Weſtminſter* (which, by the Contents of a " Letter from the Earl of *Forth* unto the Lord General the Earl of *Eſſex*, " we conceive was intended to ourſelves) have reſolved with the concur- " rent Advice, and Conſent of the Commiſſioners of the Kingdom of " *Scotland*, to repreſent to your Majeſty, in all Humility and Plainneſs, as " followeth: That as we have uſed all means for a juſt and ſafe Peace, ſo " will we never be wanting to do our utmoſt for the procuring thereof; " but when we conſider the Expreſſions in that Letter of your Majeſty's, " we have more ſad and deſpairing Thoughts of attaining the ſame than " ever; becauſe thereby, thoſe Perſons now aſſembled at *Oxford*, who, " contrary to their Duty, have deſerted your Parliament, are put into an " equal Condition with it. And this preſent Parliament, convened accord- " ing to the known and fundamental Laws of the Kingdom (the Conti- " nuance whereof is eſtabliſhed by a Law conſented to by your Majeſty) " is in effect denied to be a Parliament; the Scope and Intention of that " Letter being to make Proviſion, how all the Members, as is pretended, " of both Houſes may ſecurely meet in a full and free Convention of " Parliament; whereof no other Concluſion can be made, but that this " preſent Parliament is not a full, nor free Convention; and to make it a " full and free Convention of Parliament, the Preſence of thoſe is neceſſa- " ry, who notwithſtanding that they have deſerted that great Truſt, and " do levy War againſt the Parliament, are pretended to be Members of " the two Houſes of Parliament.

" AND hereupon we think ourſelves bound to let your Majeſty know, " that ſeeing the Continuance of this Parliament is ſettled by a Law, " which (as all other Laws of your Kingdom) your Majeſty hath ſworn " to maintain, as we are ſworn to our Allegiance to your Majeſty (theſe " Obligations being reciprocal) we muſt in Duty, and accordingly are re- " ſolved, with our Lives and Fortunes, to defend and preſerve the juſt " Rights and full Power of this Parliament; and do beſeech your Majeſty " to be aſſured, that your Majeſty's royal and hearty Concurrence with us " herein, will be the moſt effectual and ready Means of procuring a firm " and laſting Peace in all your Majeſty's Dominions, and begetting a perfect " Underſtanding between your Majeſty and your People: Without which, " your Majeſty's moſt earneſt Profeſſions, and our moſt real Intentions " concerning the ſame muſt neceſſarily be fruſtrated. And in caſe your " Majeſty's three Kingdoms ſhould, by reaſon thereof, remain in this ſad " and bleeding Condition, tending, by the Continuance of this unnatural " War, to their Ruin, your Majeſty cannot be the leaſt, nor the laſt Suf- " ferer.

" ferer. God in his Goodneſs incline your royal Breaſt, out of Pity 1643.
" and Compaſſion to thoſe deep Sufferings of your innocent People, to
" put a ſpeedy and happy Iſſue to theſe deſperate Evils, by the joint Ad-
" vice of both your Kingdoms, now happily united in this Cauſe by their
" late ſolemn League and Covenant; which as it will prove the ſureſt
" Remedy, ſo it is the earneſt Prayer of your Majeſty's loving Subjects,
" the Lords and Commons aſſembled in the Parliament of *England*.

The Parliament aſſembled at *Oxford* found Fault with many Things in this Anſwer of the other Parliament at *Weſtminſter*. In the firſt Place they did not approve of ſome Expreſſions, which Subjects, that are willing to continue dutiful, ought not to make uſe of, ſuch as their calling his Majeſty's Endeavours for obtaining Peace, *a bare Profeſſion*, ſetting off their feigned Propoſitions for the ſame Thing, under the Name of *real Intentions*: But they were yet more ſurprized at this Threat; *That the King would not be the laſt, nor the leaſt Sufferer*: That Expreſſion ſeemed to them to be of a dangerous Conſequence, coming from Subjects in Arms againſt their King. They were more ſurprized at the Contents of the Letter, and wondered, that thoſe who called themſelves the Parliament of the Kingdom, neither would, nor could agree upon what Anſwer they were to give the King, without the Advice and Conſent of the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*: So that the *Scots* had got a Negative Voice, and thoſe Lords and Commons, who, in their former Letter, had a mind to paſs for the King's only Council, were now no longer ſuch without the Conjunction of the *Scots* Commiſſioners. That being the Caſe, the Lords and Commons aſſembled at *Oxford* deſired to know, by what Law the two Houſes at *Weſtminſter* could exclude them from having Seat and Voice in the Parliament, they, who had been legally called to it, and admit therein Men of another Kingdom, who, on the contrary, were not bound to go by the Laws of *England* in their Deliberations.

Above all, they thought their Expreſſions to the King very odd concerning the Obſervance of the Laws, putting him in mind, that he had ſworn to maintain them, in the ſame Manner as they were bound to obſerve their Allegiance to him, theſe Obligations being reciprocal. The Parliament of *Oxford* joined with them, that that was true in one Senſe, to wit, that they both ought to keep their Oaths; but whoever would explain the Parliament of *Weſtminſter*'s Letter according to the Words of their Covenant, wherein they have ſworn to defend the King's Perſon and Authority, as he ſhall preſerve the Religion, Laws, and Liberties of the Kingdom, would find another Senſe; which is, that Subjects may diſpenſe with the Oath of Allegiance they have ſworn; whenever, in their Opinion, the King fails in his Duty, making themſelves Judges of that Failing, and aſſuming to themſelves the Liberty of riſing in Arms againſt their Sovereign. Which is a Principle deſtructive of all Government, which the Parliament of *Weſtminſter* took care not to own, leſt the People ſhould make uſe of it againſt themſelves, and come to ſhake off the Yoke under which they were groaning: Becauſe thoſe who ſpoke moſt of the Obligation Men were under of obſerving the Laws, laboured more to deſtroy them than others, by the Power which they had aſſumed of riſing in Arms without the King's Conſent: Of making their Ordinances to paſs for Laws legally eſtabliſhed: Of impoſing Taxes: Of iſſuing out Warrants againſt ſuch as refuſed to pay them: And of diſpoſing at their Pleaſure of the Eſtates and Perſons of all the Inhabitants of the Kingdom in an arbitrary manner.

1644. THE Parliament of *Oxford* acknowledged, that ſince the War, they themſelves as well as many others of his Majeſty's faithful Subjects, who were under the Protection of his Army, had ſuffered much, and been put to great Charges: However, they did not pretend that theſe Things were done by virtue of any Laws; but only either by voluntary Contributions, or by a fatal Neceſſity of contributing, which always attends War, and which likewiſe muſt ceaſe when this Rebellion ſhould be ſuppreſſed. In fine, they declared, that having hitherto concurred with the King in the Deſign of giving Peace to his People, though their Endeavours have been hitherto fruitleſs, they were reſolved not to deſert their Religion, to maintain their Laws and Liberties, and to hazard their Lives in ſupporting them, in recovering as well the Rights of the Crown, as the Privileges of Parliament, and in driving back the *Scots* who were attempting to invade the Kingdom.

AFTER that the Parliament of *Oxford* had loſt all Hopes of being able to treat with the two Houſes of *Weſtminſter*, they gave Orders for the Subſiſtance of the King's Army, and declared many Actions of thoſe Houſes High Treaſon, among the reſt their Ordinance for making a new Great Seal. As they were ready to take Leave of the King in order to ſet about the Work in their ſeveral Counties, they begged five Things of his Majeſty in order to remove all the Fears and Jealouſies with which the Minds of the People had been filled: I. To cauſe the Declaration which he had made at the Head of his Army, and the other Declarations, wherein he had expreſſed his conſtant Reſolution to maintain the Proteſtant Religion, to be reprinted, and diſperſed amongſt the People with more care than formerly. II. To call a National Synod as ſoon as there ſhould be a full and free Meeting of Parliament for re-eſtabliſhing the Peace of their Church, and finding out ſome Temperament that may eaſe the tender Conſciences of his Proteſtant Subjects. III. To declare that he would inviolably obſerve the Laws, without ſuffering them to be altered, but by the Advice of Parliament. IV. To inform all his good and faithful Subjects, that if he ſhould ſuppreſs this Rebellion by the Force of Arms, he would ſtedfaſtly and as often as poſſible continue to adviſe with his Parliament. V. That his Majeſty would be pleaſed to let all the World know, that he did not mean that the Impoſitions, Taxes, and other extraordinary Contributions, raiſed for the levying and ſubſiſting of his Troops, ſhould be brought into Precedent; but that they ſhould ceaſe and end with the War. The King took this Requeſt in good Part from his Parliament, and gave them all the Satisfaction they wanted as to that; after which, having recommended as well to thoſe who had Commands in his Army, as to ſuch as were imployed about ſubſiſting of it, to uſe their utmoſt Endeavour, that the People might be as little over-charged as poſſible, they broke up the 16th of *April*, with Deſign, however, to meet again the 8th of *October* following.

*A Declaration ordered to be drawn up by* Montroſe, *and ſubſcribed by the* Scots *Nobility and Gentry then at* Oxford.

IN the mean time, *Montroſe*, before he left *Oxford*, cauſed a Declaration to be drawn up, in order to be ſubſcribed by all the *Scotſmen* that were there then in great Numbers, as well for ingaging them, as for finding out what Party each Man was to ſide with. The Purport of the Declaration was very near as follows: "Seeing of all the King's Subjects we ought to be "the moſt ſenſibly affected with the deplorable Condition of his Kingdoms, "the Shame and Confuſion of which reflect particularly upon our Na- "tion: And whereas likewiſe Foreigners, who ſee all Things paſs by pub- "lick

" lick Authority in Appearance, would have Reaſon to believe, that the 1644.
" whole Kingdom were equally guilty: To the end therefore, that a Di-
" ſtinction may be made between a perfidious Faction of Rebels and the
" Body of the Nation: We all, who are here met, declare for all the
" faithful Subjects of *Scotland*, and for ourſelves, that we diſclaim the laſt
" Meeting of Parliament, and that we hold all that has been determined
" therein to be illegal and criminal. That we abhor and deteſt that abo-
" minable Covenant made between the two Nations, into which we pro-
" miſe upon our Honour never to enter upon any Conſideration whatſo-
" ever; on the contrary, that we will with all our Might oppoſe that
" Army of Rebels, which has been raiſed againſt the King and State of
" *England*. Therefore we humbly intreat the two Houſes of Parliament,
" lawfully aſſembled in this Place, to join with us in the Requeſt which
" we have to preſent to his Majeſty, which is: That all *Scotſmen*, who
" ſhall refuſe to ſubſcribe this Declaration, be driven out from among the
" King's faithful and loyal Subjects, and be reputed Favourers of the Re-
" bels of the two Kingdoms." The Earls of *Traquaire*, *Crawford*, *Nithſ-dale*, *Kinowl*, and *Aboyn*, the Lords *Rae* and *Ogilvie*, *William Murray* of the King's Bed-Chamber, with the reſt of the *Scots* Nobility and Gentry that were then at Court, ſubſcribed this Declaration, and offered all that was in their Power for his Majeſty's Service.

*MONTROSE* having thus ingaged in the Party a good Number of his Countrymen, took Leave of the King, and forthwith ſet out for *Scotland* with ſo much Haſte, that in the Beginning of *March* he got to *Durham*. He found the Marquis of *Newcaſtle* there, to whom he preſented the King's Orders, and gave him an account of all that had paſſed at Court. But though that Nobleman was one of the greateſt Sticklers for the King's Service, and who would have done all that he judged neceſſary for powerfully oppoſing his Majeſty's Enemies, nevertheleſs having to do with two Armies, and many Places to garriſon, he could not afford *Montroſe* ſo many Horſe as he expected; all that he could do was to give him a hundred Horſe and two Field Pieces: This might have reaſonably ſtopt *Montroſe* from advancing farther, but either to wait the Succour that was expected from *Denmark*, or till ſome conſiderable Body of an Army ſhould draw together in the Counties of *Cumberland* and *Weſtmoreland*, whither the Marquis of *Newcaſtle* had ſent the King's Orders for raiſing the Militia, and joining *Montroſe*. But calling to mind, that the Time drew near for performing the Promiſe, which he and the Marquis of *Antrim* had made, which he had no mind to break whatever ſhould happen, he went forward to *Carliſle*. The Nobility and Gentry of theſe Parts expreſſed a great deal of good Will for the King's Service, and with a good Grace offered to join *Montroſe*. He had then eight hundred Foot, and two hundred Horſe, and the Nobility and Gentry having furniſhed him with two hundred more, and ſome Companies of Foot, which being joined together might make about two thouſand Men, he entered *Scotland* the 14th of *April*.

But ſome diſaffected Perſons, and who were in the Covenanters Intereſt, having made the *Engliſh* Troops mutiny at the River of *Anan*, they refuſed to paſs it. *Montroſe* notwithſtanding continued his March with what remained, and took the Town of *Dumfries* without any Oppoſition, where having ſtaid ſome time to inform himſelf of the State of the Kingdom, and to get News of the Marquis of *Antrim*, who according to his Promiſe ought to have been landed in *Scotland*, he could get no account of

1644. of him, nor ſaw he any Perſon that ſo much as mentioned him. Beſides, the *Engliſh*, who had appeared to be ſo heartily for the Cauſe before, perſiſted in refuſing to go farther. Moreover, the Country was in Arms, and the Earl of *Callander* was marching with an Army in order to join General *Leſly* at the Siege of *York*, which obliged *Montroſe* to march back to *Carliſle*, from whence having ſent back Spies into *Scotland*, he had no mind to ſhut himſelf up in that Place, nor to remain any where uſeleſs to his Maſters Service; but joining with the *Engliſh*, who had deſerted him, without ſhewing them the leaſt Reſentment of it, he aſſiſted them in retaking the Caſtle of *Morpeth*, and an important Fort at the Mouth of the *Tyne*, from the Covenanters.

In the mean time, the King's Troops made ſome Progreſs in other Places. In *Wiltſhire* Sir *Francis Doddington*, after a long Siege, had made himſelf Maſter of *Warder* Caſtle, and Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, Governor of *Worceſter* for his Majeſty, of that of *Sturton* in *Staffordſhire*. About the ſame time Colonel *Woodhouſe* had taken the Caſtle of *Hopton* in the County of *Salop*, and Colonel *Ellies* the ſtrong Houſe of *Apley*, in the ſame County. Prince *Rupert* had likewiſe taken the Caſtles of *Longford* and *Tonge*, and raiſed the Siege of *Newark*, which the Parliament's Troops had beſieged for three Months: In conſequence of which they very ſoon after left *Lincoln*. It was there, where *William*, King of *Scotland*, and *John*, King of *England*, having met as the Corps of S. *Hugo*, who had been Biſhop of that See, was carrying thither, they went to meet the Company, not thinking it below them to carry the Corps of that holy Prelate to his Church upon their Shoulders.

Prince *Maurice* took by Storm *Studland* Caſtle in *Dorſetſhire*, and the Garriſon of *Glouceſter* having attacked *Newent*, was repulſed by Colonel *Minnes*, Governor of the Place, with the Loſs of ſome of their Men, and two Pieces of Cannon. The Garriſon of *Plymouth* came no better off in the Attack of *Mount-Edgecomb*: But it fared better with the Garriſon of *Latham* in *Lancaſhire*, who having made a great Sally upon the Beſiegers, put all to the Sword that were in the Trenches, put the reſt to the Flight, and carried off with them to the Caſtle three Pieces of Cannon. Prince *Rupert* having immediately after taken *Bolton*, in the ſame County, by Storm, and *Stockport*, in *Cheſhire*, threw a Supply into theſe Places.

In the mean time, the Parliament's two principal Armies, under the Command of *Eſſex* and *Waller*, being joined at *Blewbury* in *Berkſhire*, they marched to *Abingdon*, where *Waller* having halted, with a Deſign to block up *Oxford* on the South Side, *Eſſex* marched to *Iſlip*, in order to inveſt it on the North Side.

The King perceiving their Deſign of beſieging *Oxford*, gave all the neceſſary Orders for the Security of the Place, and marched at the Head of his Army to *Worceſter*, from whence he ſent ſome Troops who reinforced *Dudley* Caſtle. *Eſſex* having had Advice of the King's March, paſſed the River of *Charwell*, and followed his Majeſty as far as *Chipping-Norton*, from thence he marched back to *Burford*, where having ordered *Waller* to obſerve the King's March, he had a mind to have the Honour of taking the Caſtle of *Leſithiel* himſelf.

*WALLER*, in order to ſtop the King's Way, marched into *Staffordſhire*; whereupon his Majeſty having reſolved to reinforce his Army with

the Regiments which he had left at *Oxford*, he returned to *Whitney*: On the other Hand *Waller* reinforced his with the Garriſons of *Glouceſter*, *Warwick*, *Coventry*, and *Northampton*, and appointed his Rendezvous in *Keynton* Field. Of which the King being informed, he reſolved to meet him, and on the 26th of *June* took up his Quarters at *Brackley*; the next Day having advanced to *Banbury*, he found *Waller* in Order of Battle in a very advantagious Poſt, ſurrounded with Ditches and a Moraſs; ſo that it would have been running too great a Riſk to attack him in that Place. But the King, in order to draw him to an Ingagement, having retired towards *Cropredy*, *Waller* quitted his Poſt, and marched after the King, the River of *Charwell* being between the two Armies; whereupon his Majeſty expecting to make *Waller* paſs it, drew off from *Cropredy* leaving the Bridge free to him: Which *Waller* taking to be a great Advantage, he immediately made two thouſand Horſe, with a great Body of Foot, and fourteen Pieces of Cannon paſs the Bridge. The Earl of *Cleveland*, who commanded the Rear-guard of the King's Army, facing about, charged them very vigorouſly; and at the ſame time the Earl of *Northampton*, with the ſame Courage, charged the reſt of the Troops that were fording the River. In this Fight *Waller*, loſt his Cannon, and above three hundred Men, beſides a much greater Number that were made Priſoners. The King did not loſe twenty Men, amongſt whom were Sir *William Boteler*, and Sir *William Clarke*, who had acquired great Reputation in his Majeſty's Army.

1644.

*The Fight of* Cropredy.

The Siege continuing ſtill before *York*, where Proviſions began to fail, towards the Beginning of *July* Prince *Rupert* marched to its Relief, and ſent for *Montroſe* to come and join him with all his Troops. *Montroſe* ſet out immediately, and marched to *Northallerton*; but what Haſte ſoever he made, the Battle was over before he could reach the Army. Upon the Prince's Approach, the three Armies, to wit, that of the *Scots* Covenanters, that of *Manchester*, which *Cromwell* commanded, who was that Earl's Lieutenant General, and that commanded by *Fairfax* and Sir *Thomas*, his Son, raiſed the Siege, and incamped on *Marſton-Moor*. Their Deſign was to intercept the Relief which the Prince intended to throw into the Town, or, whatever ſhould happen, to give him Battle. The Prince ſtill continued his March, and incamped very near the Enemy the firſt Day of *July*. That ſame Night the Marquis of *Newcaſtle* and Lieutenant General *King* went out of the Town, in order to diſcourſe with the Prince about what was fit to be done. He ordered them to return, and to march out the next Morning with the Garriſon, which conſiſted of about ſix thouſand Men, and with all the Inhabitants that he could induce to take Arms, declaring to them, that he was reſolved to fight the Enemy, though ſome were of Opinion that a Relief ought rather to be thrown into *York*.

By Break of Day the Covenanters Army, and that of the Prince were drawn up in Order of Battle, having a long Hedge betwixt their main Bodies, however their Wings were in Sight of one another both on the Right and Left. About eight a-Clock in the Morning the Prince gave Orders to ſalute the Enemy with a Volley of Cannot-Shot, which the Covenanters anſwered: And without either of them quitting their Poſts, they continued cannonading one another all the reſt of the Day, the Prince ſtill waiting impatiently for *Newcaſtle*'s ſallying out of the Town with his Troops, in order to begin the Battle. But it happening to be Muſter-day, when the Soldiers were to receive their Pay, without which they would

1644. not march; and it being to be raiſed out of the Contributions of the Inhabitants, the whole Day was ſpent in collecting it; ſo that *Newcaſtle* and *King* could not march out ſooner than Five a-Clock at Night. The Prince was highly incenſed againſt them, as well for having ſtaid ſo long, as for having been ſo ill accompanied, fretting at the Loſs of Time. Many Officers were againſt ingaging that Day. They repreſented, that Night was approaching; that the Enemy was by much ſtronger than they; that the next Day ſome Companies of the Inhabitants might be drawn out of the Town, who had not had Time to take Arms, and that *Montroſe* might join them: In fine, that they ought to run no Hazard, ſince the good or bad Succeſs of the King's Affairs in *England* depended upon that Battle.

*The Battle of Marſton-moor.* During this Deliberation, the Covenanters, looking upon themſelves to be ſtrongeſt, and perceiving that the Diſpoſition of the Prince's Army was altered by *King*, and that the Troops were not as yet drawn up, their left Wing began the Fight with Piſtol-Shot: Whereupon the Prince, tranſported with a generous Paſſion for fighting, without minding thoſe who adviſed a Retreat, put himſelf upon the right Wing, where the Horſe, on that occaſion, not anſwering the Expectation he had of them, gave Ground, and falling foul upon the Foot, run quite away: But the left Wing, commanded by Colonel *Goring*, broke bravely through the Covenanter's right Wing, where General *Leſly* was, and put it into Confuſion. That General prognoſticating no Good from the Succeſs of the Day, rallied ſome Squadrons of Horſe, and cryed loud out, that he could not ſurvive that Misfortune, and that he choſe rather to die in the Battle: Sir *Adam Hepburn*, one of the Lords of the Court of Seſſions, who was then hard by him, being of the Committee of the Army, with claſped Hands begged of him not to hazard his Perſon, upon the Safety of which, next to God, depended that of the Common Cauſe: Which ſo provoked Major General *David Leſly*, who commanded the Horſe, that the General with Difficulty hindered him from running *Hepburn* through with his Sword. The Fight being very ſharp, all the Generals of the covenanted Army fled, *Leſly* to *Wetherby*, and *Fairfax* to *Cawood*, and there being nothing but Confuſion and Diſorder on all Sides, the Prince retired into the Town with *Newcaſtle*, who had no Command in the Army, having all the Time fought on the Head of his own Troop of Horſe: So that Night coming on, both Sides thought they had loſt the Battle.

In the mean time, *David Leſly* having ſtill ſtood his Ground with ſome Regiments of *Scots* Horſe, and of Foot of both Nations, *Cromwell*, who had been wounded at the firſt Onſet, and had retired only to have his Wounds dreſt, returned after the Battle, joined *Leſly*, and then in the Night-time many Troops rallied, and returned to the Field of Battle; where the Generals did not appear till two Days after. The Prince being told, that the Covenanters had rallied, ſent *John Hurry* in the Morning to view them; that Officer having given him an Account of their Number, the Prince, though he had rallied the greateſt Part of his Horſe, ſaw that of Neceſſity he muſt make a counter March through *Lancaſhire* for reinforcing his Army. Before he left the Town, there paſſed ſome hard Words betwixt him and *Newcaſtle*, whoſe Commiſſion he took from him, and, having given Credit to another Account he had got, that the Covenanters were not ſo ſtrong as they had been repreſented, he alſo broke *Hurry*; which was the Cauſe of that excellent Officer's going over to the Covenanters, and of the Marquis of *Newcaſtle*'s and General *King*'s retiring to *Scarborough*, where they took Shipping in a Veſſel that was bound to *Hamburgh*.

On the King's Side, the Lord *Kerry*, Sir *Thomas Metham*, and the Colonels *Ewer* and *Townley*, with about fifteen hundred Men, the moſt part of them of the Garriſon, who behaved gallantly, were killed in the Battle; and Sir *Charles Lucas*, with the Colonels *Porter* and *Tillard* were taken Priſoners. There were more killed on the Covenanter's Side, who, having had Advice of the Prince's Retreat, drew off their Cannon, with a part of thoſe that he had left, and their Generals being returned, they laid Siege again to *York*, which was ſurrendered upon Articles. The Capitulation was, that the Garriſon that was to march in ſhould be all *Engliſh*: And truly the *Scots* had no great Mind to have it; for as 'tis a very large Place, the greateſt Part of their Army would ſcarce have been ſufficient to guard it. *Berwick*, which they had, with *Newcaſtle* and *Carliſle*, which they took very ſoon after, were more convenient for them. 1644. York *delivered to the Parliament Forces.*

While theſe Things were a doing, the Earl of *Callander* enters *England* with a Reinforcement of ſeven thouſand Men, takes *Hartlepool*, and, after the Battle of *Marſton-Moor*, inveſts the Town of *Newcaſtle* on the *Durham* Side: The City of *York* being taken, General *Leſly* marched immediately, and inveſted it on the *Northumberland* Side, where the Siege laſted two Months, at the end of which the Town was taken by Storm. The Earl of *Crawford*, who commanded in the Caſtle, was forced to ſurrender at Diſcretion, and from thence was carried Priſoner to *Edinburgh*. He was led on Foot, bare-headed through the high Street, and was impriſoned in the *Tolbooth*, the Covenanters not allowing him the Honour of being put into the Caſtle, though he was one of the ancienteſt Earls of the Kingdom.

While Matters were thus paſſing in *England*, the General Aſſembly, which had been appointed to ſit on the 29th of *May*, met at *Edinburgh*, and taxed the Declaration ſubſcribed by the *Scots* Nobility and Gentry at *Oxford* with Treachery, and Blaſphemy againſt the ſolemn League and Covenant between the three Kingdoms, and ordained that all ſuch as had ſubſcribed it ſhould be excommunicated, if they did not acknowledge their Fault, and do publick Pennance. Moreover they ordained, that after the Sentence of Excommunication ſhould be fulminated againſt them, they could not be abſolved from it but on their Death-bed. They likewiſe ordained, that the Marquis of *Huntley*, Chief of the powerful Family of the *Gordons*, who had taken Arms for the King in the North, ſhould be dealt with in the ſame manner as *Montroſe* had been. The reſt of the Time was imployed in anſwering a great many Letters, which had been ſent them by the Aſſembly of *London*, by many Miniſters of *Ireland*, and by their Brethren that were with the Army in *England*. They likewiſe wrote a long Letter of Thanks to the *Claſſes* of the *Low-Countries*, for the Aſſiſtance they had given their Brethren in *Ireland*, and for the Part they took in the Affairs of *Scotland*. The Aſſembly ended with appointing another to meet in the Month of *May* 1645.

At the ſame time the Convention of Eſtates, by Virtue of the Ordinance made in 1641 for a triennial Parliament, met at *Edinburgh*, the Earl of *Lauderdale* having been made Preſident, they confirmed the League made between the two Nations, the raiſing of the Army ſent to the Aſſiſtance of the Parliament of *England*, the Order for the Subſiſtance of the Troops raiſed for the Defence of the Kingdom, the Duty upon Commodities, the Loans, and generally all that had been determined by the extra-

ordinary

1644. ordinary Convention of the Eſtates of 1643. They likewiſe confirmed the Cenſure pronounced by the General Aſſembly againſt the Declaration of *Oxford*, and beſides, ordained a Copy of it to be burnt by the Hands of the Hangman, and that all thoſe who had ſubſcribed it ſhould be puniſhed as Traitors, and wicked Men. They alſo declared Rebels all ſuch as had taken up Arms againſt the Covenant, and condemned them to be puniſhed with the Pains of Treaſon.

THE ſame Convention publiſhed a Declaration concerning the Impriſonment of the Duke of *Hamilton*, to this Effect, " That the Duke being a " Native of the Kingdom, and one of the firſt Peers, having been ar- " reſted at *Oxford*, and detained Priſoner under the Pretence of ſome " Crime committed by him in *Scotland*, without the leaſt Intelligence " thereof being given to the Peers of this Kingdom, its fundamental Laws, " and its Liberties and Privileges were thereby altogether infringed. That " it was an Injury done to this Nation, and an Action of dangerous Con- " ſequence to Poſterity, if they ſhould paſs it over in Silence. That if " his Majeſty had had Advice, that the Duke had done any Thing that de- " ſerved to have been inquired into, he ought to have been ſent to *Scot- " land* in order to be judged there according to the Laws, and by the " Peers of the Kingdom. That if he was not guilty, they expected from " his Majeſty's Juſtice that he would ſet him at Liberty, and preſerve that " of the Kingdom. That if the Advice of ſuch as are Enemies to the " King's Honour, and to this ancient Kingdom, had ſo great Influence " upon his Majeſty as to make him keep the Duke Priſoner any longer, " or proceed againſt him out of his native Country, they declared, that " the Privileges of this Kingdom, which was independent of any other, " and the Liberties of the Subject would be grievouſly infringed, and that " the Kingdom would reſent ſuch an unjuſt Procedure, as an Affront put " upon the whole Nation. In fine, that all thoſe, who, in any manner " whatſoever, ſhould contribute to the Impriſonment, or Trial of a Peer, " or free Subject of the Kingdom, ſhould be lookt upon as Enemies to the " King and State, and purſued on that account with the utmoſt Rigour."

BUT whereas in the Year 1641, the King and Parliament had appointed five Lords to exerciſe the Office of Lord High Treaſurer by Commiſſion, this Convention of Eſtates conſidering that it might be done more for the Advantage of the King's Service, and for the Eaſe of the Subjects, by one than by many, they gave a Commiſſion to the Earl of *Lindſey*, appointing him to exerciſe that Office, and injoy all the Privileges and Honours belonging thereto. Laſtly, having made ſeveral Ordinances both for the civil and military Government, and ingaged their Faith that all maimed Soldiers ſhould be maintained at the publick Expences, they were adjourned to the Month of *January* of the following Year.

IN the mean time *Ogilvie* and *Rollock*, whom *Montroſe* had ſent from *Carliſle* into *Scotland* in Diſguiſe, becauſe the Covenanters had made themſelves Maſters of all the Paſſes, having wandered up and down the Country for a Fortnight, in order to get a particular Account of the State of Affairs, returned to the ſame Place, and told him; " That they heard not " one Word of a landing of the *Iriſh*; that there were Garriſons in all " Places that were worth keeping, and that no Body durſt ſo much as " mention the King's Service but in the Terms of the Covenant." This account ſtaggered *Montroſe*'s People. The greateſt part of his Officers left him, and every one endeavoured to ſecure himſelf. Nay, ſome Perſons of Autho-

Authority lent them a helping Hand, and facilitated their Retreat, by giving them Money to bear their Charges on the Road. There ſtaid none with *Montroſe* but about a hundred Gentlemen, who all with one Voice adviſed him to go to the King where-ever he might be, and return him his Commiſſion, there being no Hopes left of being able to undertake any Thing for his Service. *Montroſe* ſeeing them thus diſpirited, pretended to yield to their Advice, and to have a Deſign to lay down Arms. Whereupon they immediately ſet out in order to go to the King; but *Montroſe* having kept them Company for two Days, began to open his Mind to Sir *Fleming* and Sir *John Innis*, and to others, in whom he could confide; and having privately given Orders to the Lord *Ogilvie* to continue the Journey with the reſt, till they had got to the King, he ſlipt away from them, leaving all his Equipage with the Company, in order to make them believe that he was ſtill following them, and kept with himſelf only Sir *William Rollok*, and one *Sibbald*, who deſerted him ſome time after, with whom he returned to *Carliſle*. *Montroſe* finding himſelf in a Condition to purſue what he had projected, forthwith made himſelf ready for returning to *Scotland*. 1644.

The Difficulties he had to meet with ſeemed to be invincible: For the Covenanters upon the Borders, being alarmed with the paſſing of the Earl of *Aboyn*, kept a ſtrict Guard. Sir *Richard Graham* had given them his Word, that he would advertiſe them whenever any body appeared from the King, and they knew very well that that Knight's Men, who were very numerous in that Border, had Orders to join and aſſiſt them upon a Call. Beſides, there were in theſe Parts ſome Perſons of great Quality, who had but juſt then refuſed the King's Commiſſion for levying Men, and who had a particular Grudge againſt *Montroſe*, on account of what had paſſed betwixt them at *Oxford*, where they had ſigned the Declaration, drawn up there by the King's Order, againſt the Grain, and with great Reluctancy. All theſe Obſtacles were not able to make him alter his Reſolution; but after having intruſted the Care of ſome Affairs to the Fidelity of Mr. *Sandilands*, a clever Gentlemen, and recommended to his Friends at *Carliſle* ſtill to give out that he was gone to wait upon the King, until he had got a good Way in the Country, he ventured to ſet out, accompanied only by the above-mentioned Sir *William Rollok* and *Sibbald*, whom he followed upon a little Nag, and, in the Diſguiſe of a Groom, led another Horſe in his Hand. He could not ſo diſguiſe himſelf, but he was known by a Soldier who named him by his Name; whereupon *Montroſe* took him aſide, and ſtopt his Mouth with a little Money. Having narrowly eſcaped being diſcovered, he made ſuch Haſte, that almoſt without drawing Bit, on the 22d of *Auguſt*, which was the fourth Day after his ſetting out from *Carliſle*, he came to the Houſe of his Friend and Couſin *Patrick Graham* of *Inchbraky*, in the Shire of *Perth*.

After they had refreſhed themſelves there ſome Days, *Montroſe* diſpatched *Rollok* and *Sibbald* to ſeveral Places, with Letters to ſome of his Friends, and having put on the Highland Dreſs, he ſhut himſelf up in the Houſe in the Day-time, and lay in the Fields all the Night, whatever Weather it was. Theſe two Gentlemen ſent him Word, That ſuch as had not taken the Covenant durſt not appear, nor open their Minds to any Perſon, ſo much were they over-awed and perſecuted. That the Marquis of *Huntley* having taken the Field, upon the Approach of the Marquis of *Argyle*, his Army had diſbanded themſelves, and he himſelf had retired to *Strathnaver*, the utmoſt Part of *Scotland*.

1644. To mitigate theſe bad News, *Montroſe* heard it whiſpered about at the ſame time, that ſome *Iriſh* had landed in the Highlands of *Scotland*, and he judged that it might be thoſe, whom the Marquis of *Antrim* had promiſed to ſend over four Months before. He was not deceived, for the next Morning he received Letters from theſe *Highlanders*, who had joined the *Iriſh*, whom *Antrim* had ſent under the Command of Sir *Alexander Macdonald*. It was his Father, who by the Country People, was called *Colkittogh*, which, in the *Iriſh* Language, ſignifies a left-handed Man. He was Proprietor of the Iſland of *Y*, or *Yon*, which is famous, not ſo much for the Tombs of the Kings of *Scotland*, *Ireland*, and *Norway*, the Inſcriptions of which ſtill appear at this Day, as for the Retreat of that great Saint, S. *Colomb*, whoſe Cell has been erected into the Cathedral Church of all the Weſtern Iſlands of *Scotland*.

NEITHER the *Highlanders* nor the *Iriſh* believed that *Montroſe* was in the Country; but their Letters being directed to one of their Friends, who lived near *Inchbraky*, where *Montroſe* was ſkulking, that Man, knowing that the Maſter of that Houſe was one of *Montroſe*'s intimate Friends, addreſſed the Packet to him to be forwarded to the Marquis at *Carliſle*, or where-ever he might be; ſo that it fell happily thus into his Hands.

HE inſtantly returned an Anſwer, and dated his Letters from *Carliſle*; he ſent them Word, that they muſt advance into the Shire of *Athol*, where he expected to raiſe a conſiderable Body of Men, the Nobility and Gentry of that Shire having ſtill preſerved their Loyalty, and the moſt Part of them being his Friends and Relations. Upon Receipt of his Letters, they followed his Orders, and incamped in the *Blair* of *Athol*, about twenty Miles from the Place where he was. *Montroſe* no ſooner heard of their being come there, than he cauſed the News of his being in the Kingdom to be ſpread every where, in order to raiſe up the drooping Courage of the King's good Subjects; and taking only with him *Inchbraky*, he was in the midſt of his Troops, before they could have the leaſt Thought of his being in the Kingdom. Theſe poor People were ſo tranſported with Joy by that agreeable Surprize, that they could ſcarce believe their own Eyes; but being a little come to themſelves again, they knew not what Reception to give him, and above all they were extreamly pleaſed to ſee him dreſſed after their Faſhion.

*MONTROSE* came very opportunely for thoſe poor *Iriſh* Men. They were but about twelve Hundred, in very ſorry Condition; for having no Perſon of any Note to command them, but few People of the Country had joined them. The Covenanters having ſeized their Ships, and *Argyle* following them at the Heels with an Army, put them out of all Hopes of a Retreat. Before them, all the *Low Country* was in Arms, ſo that they durſt not quit the Mountains, where they could not long ſubſiſt. That handful of Men then were deſigned for Slaughter, if *Montroſe* had not come to free them from that Danger; which he did very quickly: For as ſoon as the Gentry of *Athol* heard of his unexpected Coming, they met, and in two Days Time brought him above eight hundred good Men. *Montroſe* ſeeing himſelf at the Head of two thouſand Men, was for loſing no Time, and though the Number of his Men was not equal to the ſmalleſt Body of the Covenanters, he took the Field, and marched directly for the River of *Tay*, the greateſt in *Scotland*, as well to give an Opportunity to all the Royaliſts to join him, as to prevent the joining of the Covenanters

Troops,

Troops, which were aſſembling from all Parts, in order to hem him in on all Sides. Towards the evening of the firſt Day's March, having paſſed the River with a Party of his Men, according to his uſual Cuſtom, he lay in the open Fields, near the Caſtle of *Weme*, and becauſe they refuſed to give him any manner of Proviſions or Aſſiſtance, though he had aſked them with all poſſible Mildneſs and Civility, he ordered Fire to be ſet to the Corn, which, in thoſe Parts, was on the Ground, in order to ſtrike Terror into the other Places where he was to paſs. 1644.

The next Morning, the reſt of his Men having paſſed the River, he marched through the Hills of the Earldom of *Strathern*, and made *Inchbraky* advance with a Party to diſcover the Troops which the Covenanters had raiſed in that Earldom. *Inchbraky* having marched three or four Miles, ſent him back Word, that ſome Troops appeared upon the high Hill of *Buckinth*: Whereupon *Montroſe* having joined him in all Haſte, and ſent to view the Troops that appeared upon the Hill, he found that it was the Lord *Kilpont*, eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Monteth*, and Sir *John Drummond*, Son to the Earl of *Perth*, who had advanced with about five hundred Men to obſerve the Motion of the *Iriſh*; for they knew not as yet that *Montroſe* was in the Kingdom, and he, to let them know it, marched ſtraight towards them. As ſoon as they underſtood who it was, they ſent to know what he wanted of them. He anſwered them, " that " he had taken Arms by the Orders, and for the Service of the King, " their Maſter, and that as his Lieutenant he commanded them to join " their Arms to his, and by that means to ſave both their Lives and Ho- " nour, which they were going to proſtitute for the moſt ignominious " Quarrel in the World." Theſe Gentlemen being none of the moſt diſ-affected, were eaſily perſuaded to hearken to *Montroſe*'s Advice, and came and joined him with a very good Grace. They told him that the Covenanters were aſſembled at *Perth*; but they made not their Army half ſo numerous as it was, beſides, it had been reinforced ſince they had been detached from it. *Montroſe*, having got Intelligence from other Hands, that *Argyle*, by long Marches, was following him with another Army, and judging well, that his Defeat was inevitable, if the Troops, by which he was hemmed in on both Sides, ſhould fall upon him, he continued his March the whole Night towards the Town, reſolved to fight the Enemy as ſoon as he could get Sight of them.

At Break of Day he was got within three Miles of the Town, and but the half of that Diſtance from the Covenanters Army, which he ſaw drawn up upon a large Plain, called *Tipper-moor*. It was compoſed of ſix thouſand Foot, and ſeven hundred Horſe, with nine Pieces of Cannon. *Montroſe* had no Horſe, having only three Scouts in his Army, or Regiment rather; becauſe at the moſt he had not above two thouſand Foot, for the moſt part ill-armed, the *Iriſh* having no Swords, and the Muſketeers but one Shot of Powder each. But though the Match was ſo very unequal, he continued ſtedfaſt in his Reſolution to fight, and all his Men, by the Chearfulneſs of their Countenances, made it appear, that they were not afraid of the Number of their Enemies. He drew up his ſmall Army in order of Battle, but before he ingaged, he ſent the Lord *Maderty* to tell the Covenanters; " That they had no Enemy to fight but themſelves. " That *Montroſe* did not appear there before them, with any other Deſign " but for the Service of the King, their good Maſter. That his Majeſty " had left them without any Grounds of Complaint, and with all Cauſe " of Contentment, having taken care not only of the Liberty, but of the

" very

1644. " very Tenderneſs of their Conſciences, and ſettled ſo good Order over all " the Kingdom, that every Man lived peaceably under the Shelter of the " Laws, and found the Temple of Juſtice open indifferently to all. That " the King had always ſhewed himſelf the Father of his People, conſtantly " willing, that their Safety might be the Supream Law of the State, and " that the Glory of his Reign might be the Happineſs of his Subjects. " That they could not ſhake off ſo eaſy a Yoke, without ſtaining them- " ſelves with the blackeſt Rebellion that ever was. Let them but re- " member, that the Riſing of Subjects againſt their Prince was an odious " Thing among all Nations. That Heaven was juſt, and ſooner or later " would revenge the Injuries done to the Lord's Anointed. Laſtly, let " them not caſt a Blemiſh upon the Reputation of their Nation, which " had always been lookt upon to be loyal, and, in foreign Countries, ſtill " inviolably preſerved ſo glorious Marks and Rewards of Fidelity; but " that having Time given them to come to themſelves, let them join " with *Montroſe*."

*The Battle of Tippet-moor.*

THE Covenanters made no Anſwer, but by Bravadoes diſarmed, and made Priſoner that Lord, who had brought them the Meſſage, threatening to put him to Death as ſoon as the Battle was over. Being firſt in the Field of Battle, they had poſſeſſed themſelves of an advantagious Poſt: And they likewiſe ſaw very well, that they were almoſt four to one; beſides, that they were to fight for the Covenant, and therefore doubted not but the Succeſs of the Day would be both proſperous and advantagious. The Lord *Elcho*, eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Weems*, who was General in chief of the Army, commanded the right Wing; Sir *James Scot* of *Roſſy*, the moſt experienced Officer of their Army, the left; and the Earl of *Tillibardin* led on the main Body. They made a very large Front, and placed the Horſe on the Wings, in order to ſurround the Royaliſts. *Montroſe* perceiving that, drew up all his Men in three Lines, that he might make as large a Front as that of the Covenanters, and placed the *Highlanders*, being beſt armed, on the Wings; he himſelf led the right, knowing well that if he defeated the left Wing of the Covenanters, which *Roſſy* commanded, he would have a cheap Pennyworth of the reſt. He put the Lord *Kilpont* on the left, and *Macdonald* at the Head of the main Body, where he placed all the *Iriſh*, becauſe they were the worſt armed. " Then

Montroſe's *Orders, and Speech to his Men before the Battle.*

" he gave Orders not to fire till they were cloſe in with the Enemy Muz- " zle to Muzzle, and to the three Ranks to fire all together, the firſt kneel- " ing, the ſecond ſtooping, and the third ſtanding; and then to fall upon " the Enemy Sword in Hand, and for ſuch as had none, to make uſe of " the But-ends of their Muſkets. Laſtly, he recommended to them to " behave themſelves like Men of Reſolution, and to ſet in Ballance againſt " that confuſed Multitude that was coming to them, the Greatneſs of " their Courage, and the Goodneſs of their Cauſe, which ought to make " up the Smalneſs of their Number; whereas, without doubt, a ſecret " Sting of Conſcience would diſhearten the Enemy; he bid them conſider " that this Day would give Reputation to their Arms. That it would ſtir " up the Zeal of ſuch as had not as yet ſhewn any Warmth for the King's " Service. That it would ſtrike Terrour into the Covenanters, who " would ſee that Heaven would fight for his Majeſty, and defend the Ju- " ſtice of his Cauſe."

THE Day was very fair, which was the firſt of *September*, and pretty hot for the Seaſon, with a little Wind. The two Armies diſputed a long Time who ſhould get the Advantage of the Ground; at laſt *Montroſe* gained

gained it, and at the ſame time the Lord *Drummond*, eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Perth*, who had come there only in his own Defence, was commanded to charge with his Brigade. *Montroſe* detached ſome Men to receive them, who, with a great Shout, charged, and drove them back upon their main Body, which he taking for a good Omen, and that the beſt Thing he could do was to follow thoſe Run-aways cloſe at the Heels, who were putting their own Troops into Diſorder, he made his whole Army advance, who having born the Fire of the Enemy's Cannon, gave them a Volley Muzzle to Muzzle, as *Montroſe* had ordered. The Covenanters ſeeing that they wanted Powder, charged them ſharply with their Horſe; but the Royaliſts, without giving Ground, ſome with Swords, others with the But-end of their Muſkets, and ſome even with Stones, for want of other Weapons, beat them back, and routed them. The Battle was more fierce betwixt *Montroſe* and *Roſſy*: The Diſpute was about a riſing Ground, where there were ſome Ruins of Houſes, from whence the Muſketeers of the Covenanters fired without Intermiſſion upon *Montroſe*'s Men. In order to drive them out of that Poſt, he ruſhed in upon them with the *Athol-men*, and after a ſharp and bloody Fight he made himſelf Maſter of it. The Covenanters immediately fled, *Montroſe* driving them before him ſix or ſeven Miles, and taking many Priſoners. Two thouſand were killed upon the Spot, and all their Cannon and Baggage taken, and what is very ſtrange, *Montroſe* had only two Men wounded. After this compleat and memorable Victory, the Town of *Perth* opened the Gates. It is ſituate upon the Banks of the *Tay*, and is one of the fineſt in the Kingdom of *Scotland*. Of old it was called *Berth*, and was built a little higher upon the River, which having one Night, in the Time of King *William*, in the Year 1029, over-flowed its Banks, almoſt all the Inhabitants were drowned, and the King's Family itſelf ſuffered by it; for one of his Children with the Nurſe, and fourteen of his Domeſticks periſhed in the Flood. Some time after, the ſame King cauſed a new Town to be built in a more convenient Place, and a little below the other towards the Eaſt, and called it *Perth*, from the Name of the Proprietor of the Ground. 1644.

*MONTROSE* having entered the Town, ſaved it from being plundered, though the greateſt Part of the Inhabitants had been among the Troops, which he had but juſt now defeated; becauſe he had a mind to gain the good Will of the People, and to win their Hearts as much by Clemency as by the Rigour of his Arms. And for that reaſon having made the Priſoners of War, who were more in Number than the ſlain, to promiſe never to carry Arms againſt the King's Service, he ſet them all at Liberty. There were ſome of them that ingaged to follow him, but very ſoon deſerted him. *Montroſe* ſtaid two or three Days at *Perth*, hoping that upon the Noiſe of his Victory, all the King's Friends that were in the Neighbourhood, would come and join him. Yet none came but the Earl of *Kinoul*, followed by ſome Gentlemen of the *Carſe* of *Gowry*, but almoſt all of them left him very ſoon. Therefore having had Advice that *Argyle*, with the whole *Poſſe* of his own *Highlanders*, and many of the *Low-Country* that had joined him, was within a Day's March of him, he judged that the beſt Courſe he could take, was to march into the Shire of *Angus*, and after having made the Inhabitants of the Town to ſwear an Oath of Fidelity to the King, he paſſed the River. The next Day he marched to the Village and Abbey of *Cowper*, where Sir *Thomas Ogilvie*, Son to the Earl of *Airley*, having come to meet him, with ſome of the Gentry of that Shire, he quartered there that Night.

1644. As the Reveille was a beating, *Montroſe* having heard a Tumult in the Camp, believing that the *Highlanders* and *Iriſh* had quarrelled amongſt themſelves, he run to ſee what the Matter was, and found the Lord *Kilpont* baſely murdered by one of thoſe in whom he had the greateſt Confidence. It was believed, that this unhappy Wretch having a Deſign upon *Montroſe*'s Perſon, had opened his Mind to *Kilpont*, expecting to get him to approve of his Undertaking, and to intice him away from the King's Service, and that this Nobleman deteſting ſo wicked an Attempt, and checking the Villain, that he had attacked him unawares, and ſtabbed him, juſtly believing, that he would have diſcovered his Deſign, if he did not put him to Death. This Aſſaſſin in making his Eſcape, after that curſed Blow, killed the Centry that endeavoured to ſtop him, and eſcaped by the Favour of a Fog, which was ſo thick, that one could not ſee the Length of a Pike. The Covenanters received him very kindly, and gave him a Command in their Army. *Montroſe* was grievouſly afflicted for the tragical Death of this promiſing Nobleman, and ordered his Servants to take his Corps and carry it to the burying Place of his Anceſtors.

*MONTROSE* having performed his laſt Duty to his dear Kinſman, marched in all Haſte to the Town of *Dundee*, which is ſituate on the Banks of the *Tay*, where having drawn up his Army in Battle-Order in Sight of the Place, he ſent to ſummon it by a Drum, offering what Terms the Inhabitants ſhould think fit to demand. But as the Town was populous, rich, and well provided with all Neceſſaries, having a good Number of Ships, and commanding the Mouth of the River, they refuſed to treat, and put themſelves in a Condition to ſtand out a Siege. *Montroſe* did not think it fit to hazard the Loſs of his Men in attacking a Town of no great Conſequence, and which *Argyle*, who was continuing his March, would have relieved, if he had formed a Siege. Therefore he kept marching through the Shires of *Angus* and *Merns*, hoping that all ſuch as were well affected to the King would join him, and thereby inable him to make Head againſt *Argyle*. However, none appeared but the brave Earl of *Airly*, though a Man ſixty Years of Age, who met him, with two of his Sons, Sir *Thomas* and Sir *David Ogilvie*, and all the Men he could raiſe, and with admirable Conſtancy ſhared with him in his good and bad Fortune to the end of the War.

*AIRLY* having told *Montroſe*, that there was a Committee of the Convention of Eſtates ſitting at *Aberdeen*, and that all the Troops, which the Covenanters had in the North, were incamped in that Neighbourhood, he reſolved to go and fight them, before *Argyle* could join them. That Reſolution being approved of by all, he entered the Shire of *Aberdeen*, and marched directly towards the Town. They were two thouſand Foot, and five hundred Horſe, which the Lord *Burly*, who preſided in the Committee, commanded in chief. He had placed the Horſe on the Wings in a very advantagious Poſt, where he was reſolved to ſtand his Ground, and wait the Royaliſts. *Montroſe* having advanced within Cannon Shot, they began to fire upon his Men. They were only fifteen hundred Foot, and forty four Horſe: The reſt having either gone with the Lord *Kilpont*'s Corpſe, or, after the Battle of *Tipper-moor*, gone home loaded with Spoil. He divided the Horſe upon the Wings, and ordered them to run to the Aſſiſtance of one another, which ſoever of them ſhould be attacked. The Colonels *Hay* and *Gordon* commanded the right, and

*The Battle of* Aberdeen.

Sir

Sir *William Rollok* the left. The Situation of the Covenanters Camp was so strong, that though their Cannon annoyed the Royalists, yet they could not advance upon them, and much less draw back, without running the Risk of being cut in Pieces, and the Disadvantage they had of the Field of Battle, made their Cannon altogether useless. Insomuch that had the Covenanters continued to fire briskly with their Cannon, without quitting their Post, they would have very much thinned *Montrose*'s Ranks, and made the Event of the Battle doubtful: But *Lewis Gordon*, the Marquis of *Huntley*'s third Son, who commanded their left Wing, having a Mind to signalize himself on this Occasion, advanced in order to charge *Montrose*'s right Wing, which being immediately reinforced by the other Division of Horse from the left, stood the Charge of the Enemy's Horse with so much Courage, that they drove them back in great Disorder, and struck such a Terror into them, that all that Wing gave Ground at once, and fled in Confusion out of the Field of Battle. The Covenanters, in order to be revenged, immediately detached their right Wing, which consisted of two hundred and fifty Horse, to fall upon *Montrose*'s right Wing, left destitute of Horse. Whereupon *Montrose* having called back the few he had, and considering that they could not bear the Shock of the Enemy, in Front, he ordered them, upon their Approach, to wheel, and attack them in Flank, which the Horsemen, and the Platoons of Musketeers that were mixed with them, did with so good Luck, and such Address, that they beat back the Enemy, and took Sir *William Forbes* of *Craigivar*, and *Forbes* of *Boyndly* Prisoners: But as they were but a handful of Men, they could not pursue their Victory farther. The Covenanters retired at a slow Pace to some distance from *Montrose*, and halted, expecting a Reinforcement of Foot, which they had sent from the Town, with a Design to renew the Battle. *Montrose* suspecting it, and judging that he ought to take the Start of the Relief, upon which they grounded all the Hopes of their Safety, he ordered his Foot to lay down their Muskets, and, Sword in Hand, to rush desperately in upon the Enemy's Foot. That it was so they must shew their Bravery, and that Fire-Arms did not distinguish the most gallant Men from the Cowards. The Men, incouraged by this Speech, executed that Order with so much Eagerness, that the Enemy had not the Courage to wait them. What remained of their Horse likewise fled with such Speed, that *Montrose*'s Horsemen being mounted upon little Nags, quite fatigued, could not pursue them. But to make amends, his Foot pursued those of the Covenanters so close, that they entered the Town pell mell with them, where they made a terrible Slaughter. 1644.

This Battle was fought the 12th of *September*. It lasted four Hours, and the Victory was for a long Time doubtful. The Covenanters lost above a thousand Men in it. On the other Hand, *Montrose* had only five Men killed, and ten or twelve wounded, amongst which an *Irish* Soldier having one of his Thighs broke to Pieces with a Cannon-Shot, and seeing his Fellow Soldiers much grieved for him, he told them with a chearful Countenance; *That it was the Fortune of War: Go on, behave yourselves like good Men, and redouble your Courage; as for me, I hope that some time or other the Marquis will, from a Foot Soldier, mount me on Horseback*; this short Soldier-like Speech being ended, he cut the Skin by which the Thigh was held, and gave it to one of his Comrades to bury. *Montrose* hearing of the Resoluteness of this Soldier, ordered that he might be acquainted when he was cured, after which he put him amongst the Horse, where he afterwards did very gallant Service.

1644. IT may be thought ſtrange, that the Marquis of *Huntley* did not come and join *Montroſe*; but it was yet more ſuprizing, that one of his Sons had appeared in Arms againſt him. It will likewiſe be ſeen in the Sequel of this Hiſtory, how many of *Huntley*'s Friends, and even his Vaſſals, whom *Montroſe* had ingaged in the Party, from Time to Time left him very raſhly, and ſometimes when he ſtood moſt in need of them. It was not that this illuſtrious Family ever departed from the King's Intereſt, nor that *Huntley*, who after the Loſs of his Eſtate, ſuffers Impriſonment ſtill for having ſerved his Majeſty, did ever fail in the Allegiance he owed his Prince, no more than his Sons, all brave and gallant Men, who did as their Father directed them: But *Huntley*, who could not at that time return to that part of the Country, where his Eſtate lay, had that Paſſion to ſtruggle with, which has got the better of the greateſt Men. He was the firſt that took up Arms for the King againſt the Covenanters, and was diſpleaſed that the King had given the Command of his Troops to another; or at leaſt he was eaſily perſuaded that *Montroſe*'s Commiſſion did not empower him to command the Troops in the Northern Parts: For as he was his Majeſty's Lieutenant General in thoſe Shires, and that he could bear neither an equal nor ſuperior; ſo he had a Mind to keep the Forces of thoſe Shires, which he commanded, in order to oppoſe the Covenanters with better Succeſs than he had as yet done.

*MONTROSE* rallied his Troops, entered the Town in order to refreſh them, and after having ſtaid there two Days, he marched to *Kintore*, about ten Miles from *Aberdeen*, where he halted, that he might give Time to all ſuch as were well-affected to his Party to come and join him. At the ſame time, he ſent Sir *William Rollok* to the King, to give him an account of all that had paſſed ſince his entering the Kingdom, and to deſire his Majeſty to ſend him a Supply quickly: But finding that no body offered to move in thoſe Parts, whether it was, that they were diſheartened by the bad Succeſs of their firſt Arming, or that they did not like to follow any other General but the Marquis of *Huntley*; and knowing that *Argyle* and the Earl of *Lothian*, who had joined him, with the Forces of the *Low Country*, and a great Body of Horſe, were advancing towards him, he judged that the ſafeſt Way for him was to betake himſelf to the Mountains, where their Horſe could do them little Service, and if they had a Mind to follow him with their Foot, he made but little reckoning of them.

FOR that end, having hid ſome Field-Pieces under Ground, and ſecured the Baggage that could not follow, he marched to the old Caſtle of *Rothemurcus*, which ſtands on the Banks of the River of *Spey*, the moſt rapid of *Scotland*. His March alarmed all the Country on the other Side of the River, where, to the Number of five thouſand Men, roſe up in Arms, to hinder him from paſſing it, and to give *Argyle* Time to advance with his Troops. From thence he marched on to *Badenoch*, where being ſick for two or three Days with the Fatigue of the March, upon the News of which the Covenanters gave out that he was dead: But very ſoon after he made them feel that he had revived, for in a few Days they found, that he was got into the Shire of *Athol*, from whence having ſent *Macdonald* with a Party to invite the *Highlanders* to come and give Proof of their Fidelity to, and Affection for the King, he marched with the reſt of his Troops into *Angus*, intending, by his extraordinary Haſte, to fatigue *Argyle*'s Horſe, who were ſtill following, but ſo ſlowly,

ſlowly, that he ſeemed rather to be ſeeking the Advantage of a Battle, than an Opportunity to fight. He likewiſe expected, in going through that Shire and the *Merns*, to find the Nobility and Gentry more pliable than they had been the firſt Time that he paſſed, but having found them rather more backward, he was forced to return to the *Highlands*, leaving *Argyle* a great Way behind, whom he hoped to ſee in a ſhort time, and to be very ſoon in a Condition to go and find him out where-ever he might be. With theſe Hopes he paſſed over the *Grainſbain*, or *Grampion* Hills, (which run through all *Scotland* from Eaſt to Weſt, as the *Appenines* do *Italy*, and divide it into two equal Parts) and marched ſtraight to *Strathbogy*, a ſtately Houſe belonging to the Marquis of *Huntley*, where he obliged ſome of the Friends and Vaſſals of that Lord to return again to the King's Service: But *Huntley* himſelf keeping ſtill in *Strathnaver*, his eldeſt Son, the Lord *Gordon*, being detained Priſoner by *Argyle*, his Uncle by the Mother's Side, his ſecond Son, the Earl of *Aboyn* beſieged in *Carliſle*, and *Lewis* the third, being in the Covenanters Army, the greateſt Part of the *Gordons* did not appear, notwithſtanding the great Pains that *Montroſe* took to put them in mind of their Duty, and notwithſtanding the great Inclination they themſelves had to ſerve the King. Nevertheleſs he did not ſit idle in his Camp; but every other Night he marched out eight or ten Miles, and ſurprized ſuch of the Enemy as kept not a good look-out. At laſt having loſt all Hopes of prevailing with the *Gordons*, he decamped about the end of *October*; and having marched the whole Night towards the Caſtle of *Faivy*, he beat up the Enemy's Quarters, and having made all the Officers Priſoners, he made himſelf Maſter of the Caſtle. Such as made their Eſcape, did not ſtop, till they had joined *Argyle* and *Lothian*, who, upon Advice of this Defeat, marched Day and Night, with a Deſign to ſurprize *Montroſe*, in which they had very near ſucceeded: For the Scouts he had ſent out for Intelligence betrayed him; ſo that the Enemy was within two Miles of him before he knew that they had paſſed the *Grampion* Hills. They were two thouſand five hundred Foot, and twelve hundred Horſe, and *Macdonald* not being as yet returned from the *Highlands*, *Montroſe* had in all but fifteen hundred Foot, and fifty Horſe. 1644.

But as he very well judged, that it would be Raſhneſs to go and meet the Enemy with ſo few Troops, ſo he juſtly thought, that it would be diſhonourable to ſhut himſelf up in the Caſtle. Therefore having drawn his Men out of it, he drew them up upon a riſing Ground that over-looked it, leaving ſome Ditches and Incloſures made of Turf betwixt him and the Enemy, which their Horſe could with Difficulty get over: But as he was drawing up his Men in order of Battle, ſome of thoſe, whom he had brought from the Neighbourhood of *Strathbogy*, left him: And ſeeing, that the reſt of his Troops were thereby diſcouraged, he put them in Heart again, and ſaid, "that they had Reaſon to be glad that "thoſe cowardly Fellows had not ſtaid to partake with them of the Vi-"ctory, which does not always attend the Number, but the Bravery of "the Combatants." The Covenanters, incouraged by this Deſertion, charged at the ſame time with ſo much Fury, that they made themſelves Maſters of *Montroſe*'s principal Poſt, which had they kept, he had been utterly defeated. But Colonel *O Kyan*, an *Iriſhman*, attacked them ſo vigorouſly, that in Spite of the Enemy's Horſe, who ſuſtained their Foot, he forced them to quit it; the Covenanters retiring in Diſorder, left ſome Arms and Barrels of Powder, of which the Royaliſts ſtood much in need, and who, in gathering them up, ſhewed ſo much Aſſurance, and were

1644. ſo little afraid of their Enemies, that they ſaid jeſtingly, *the Covenanters muſt likewiſe furniſh us with Lead and other Proviſions before the Game is over.* *Montroſe*'s Horſe being drawn up in a Place of eaſy Acceſs to the Enemy, he quickly ſent thither ſome Muſketeers at the ſame time that *Lothian* came to attack them with five Troops of Horſe, who having fired at a diſtance, immediately wheeled about, and joined their main Body; which ſo incouraged *Montroſe*'s Men, that without waiting for Orders, they jumped over the Ditches, and ruſhing in upon the Enemy, drove them out of the Field of Battle. *Argyle* and *Lothian* retired that ſame Night two Miles from *Montroſe*, and being informed that the Royaliſts wanted Ammunition, they took Courage, and the next Morning returned to the Charge: But having drawn up upon the ſame Ground, where they had fought the Day before, the whole Day was ſpent in very ſlight Skirmiſhes; ſo that the Covenanters having retreated by the Favour of the Night, repaſſed the River of *Aithen*, and incamped about four Miles diſtant from it.

*MONTROSE* having waited them ſome Days without ſtirring from the Place, and not being able to ſubſiſt longer at *Faivy* for want of Proviſions, he reſolved to quit that Caſtle, and conſidering how dangerous it was to retreat in the Day-time in Sight of an Army incomparably ſtronger in Horſe, than his; he decamped in the Night-time, and returned to *Strathbogy*, where he was near the Hills, in caſe that the Enemy ſhould come upon him ſtronger, and from whence he ſhortly expected *Macdonald* would join him with the Recruits. The Covenanters hearing of his March, followed him by the Track, and, as ſoon as they came in Sight of him, made as if they had a mind to retrieve their Honour: But *Argyle* having detached ſome *Highlanders* to piqueer with *Montroſe*'s Men, they were ſhamefully beat back, and fell foul upon the Horſe that ſuſtained them; whereupon *Argyle* retired again, and taking an advantagious Poſt, made a Shew of putting himſelf upon the defenſive. He continued three Days in that Poſture in Sight of *Montroſe*, during which time he did all he could to find out means of ſpeaking with ſome of his Officers, hoping to ſucceed better by Cunning than by Arms. At laſt *Montroſe* finding that he wanted nothing but to watch an Opportunity, either to fall upon his Rear-guard with his Horſe during his March, or to intice away his Men; and beſides, not being able to bring him to an Ingagement, without running the Riſk of loſing all; he marched to ſome diſtance from him in order to meet *Macdonald* and his Recruits, whom he expected with great Impatience.

THEREFORE he propoſed to make a long March the whole Night from *Strathbogy* to *Badenoch*; and that it might be done with the leaſt Hindrance, he ſent the Baggage before with a Guard, under Pretence of preparing himſelf the better for a Battle: But the Baggage was ſcarce gone, when he miſſed *Forbes* of *Craigievar*, whom he had left at Liberty upon his Parole, and *Sibbald*, whom he had brought out of *England* with him, as one of his moſt truſty Friends. Whereupon, not doubting but they would give an account of his Deſign to the Enemy, he ordered back the Baggage, and making as if he had changed his Reſolution, he amuſed the Enemy three or four Days more. But as he was ready to decamp in earneſt, towards the Evening he cauſed ſome Centries, on Horſeback, to advance within Sight of the Enemy, and Fires to be made in the Camp, and ſending his Baggage only two Hours before him, he marched after it with ſuch Speed, that early the next Morning he was at

*Balveny* before the Covenanters knew that he was decamped. From thence he intended to march to *Badenoch* in order to join *Macdonald* and the Captain of the *Clan-Ranald*, having had notice that they were there with five hundred Men. That Deſign ſurprized many of his Followers: For conſidering that it was already the Month of *November*, and that they muſt ſuffer a great deal by the Sharpneſs of the Winter in the mountainous North Country, they obtained Paſs-ports underhand from *Argyle*, and retired to their own Houſes. *Argyle* offered the ſame to all *Montroſe*'s Men, and ſollicited very much to treat with himſelf. *Montroſe* having a mind to make Advantage thereof, cauſed a Paſs-port to be deſired of him for a Meſſenger to be ſent to the King, *Rollok* not having been able to paſs, which *Argyle* refuſing, the Treaty came to nothing. Whereupon *Montroſe* decamped from *Balveny*, and marched into *Strath-Spey*, and from thence to *Badenoch*; where having joined *Macdonald*, he had Advice that *Argyle*, with ſome Troops, was at *Dunkel*, endeavouring, by under-hand Dealings, to perſuade the *Athol-men* to revolt. But though *Montroſe* knew that they were of unſhaken Loyalty, yet the more to ſtrengthen the Reſolution of all his Friends, he marched in one Night four and twenty Miles, through moſt rugged Ways, and in Snow up to the Midleg, and was in *Athol* before the Enemy had the leaſt Notice of his March. *Argyle* was ſo frighted with the Report of his coming, that he left his Men to ſhift for themſelves the beſt Way they could, and fled to *Perth*, where the Covenanters had a ſtrong Garriſon. 1644.

*MONTROSE* having incouraged the *Athol-men*, marched to the Lake, out of which the River of *Tay* riſeth, where he began to think of a ſecure Retreat to winter his Troops in. He immediately conſidered that the ſhorteſt Way to be even with *Argyle*, was to carry the War into the Heart of his own Country, as well becauſe the Covenanters drew their beſt Men from thence, where he commanded like a little Sovereign, as becauſe he could never expect that the *Highlanders* would join with him, till they were firſt freed from *Argyle*'s Yoke; and that his Power being once brought low, his Intereſt would be leſſened amongſt his own People. Beſides, he knew that there were ſtrong Garriſons in all the Places of the *Low-Country*, and that of all the Shires in the *Highlands* that of *Argyle* was the beſt preſerved. Theſe Reaſons moved him to take that Rout, and by ſo long Marches, that in the middle of *December* he got within two Miles of *Inverara*, *Argyle*'s principal Houſe, and where he himſelf had arrived a little before, in order, with the greater Conveniency, to make his Recruits for the next Campaign. Never was Man more ſurprized than *Argyle*, when he was told that *Montroſe* was ſo near; becauſe he took him to be at leaſt a hundred Miles from thence. Not finding himſelf ſafe but by Flight, he betook himſelf to a Boat, and eſcaped, leaving his Country and his Friends to the Mercy of an Enemy. *Montroſe* having ſo well-ſucceeded in this Deſign, he divided his Troops into three Parties, in order to over-run all the Lands depending upon *Argyle*. He ſent one under *Clan-Ranald*, another under *Macdonald*, and commanded the third himſelf. They went through the whole Shire of *Argyle*, the Baronies of *Lorn* and *Glencow*, and a Part of *Lochabar*, driving all the Cattle before them, which are the chief Riches of that Country, which produceth but little Corn. They likewiſe fired the Villages and Hamlets where they paſſed, to hinder the Enemy from purſuing them, putting all the Recruits, that were ſo unlucky as to come in their Way, to the Sword. Within the Memory of Man ſo mild a Winter

1644. Winter as that of this Year had not been ſeen in *Scotland*, which was a great Happineſs for *Montroſe*; for if the Seaſon had been ſevere as it commonly is in thoſe Parts, and that the People of the Country, after having driven their Cattle out of the Way, had placed but two hundred Men to guard the Paſſes of the Hills, he would have had much ado to ſubſiſt in a wild, and almoſt inacceſſible Country, and would have been harder put to it in reſiſting the Severity of the Weather, than the Enemy's beſt Troops.

*The Queen is brought to Bed of Princeſs* Henrietta *at* Exeter.

WHILE the King was keeping the Field, the Queen was retired to *Exeter* in order to lye in, and, on the 16th of *June*, was happily brought to Bed of Princeſs *Henrietta*, of which the King received the agreeable News at *Buckingham*. But a Fortnight afterwards the Town being threatened with a Siege by the Earl of *Eſſex*, ſhe was forced, weak as ſhe was, to leave it, and fly to the ſtrong Caſtle of *Pendennis* in *Cornwal*, where ſhe took Shipping and came to *France*. She was purſued by Vice-Admiral *Batten*, who cauſed ſeveral Cannot-Shot to be fired upon the Ship in which her Majeſty was in Perſon: But that Providence which watches particularly over ſacred Heads, preſerved and conducted her to *Chatel* near *Breſt*, where ſhe landed the 15th of *July*.

THE ſame Day, the King marched at the Head of his Army in *Somerſetſhire* to the *Bath*, ſo called from the hot Baths that are there. From thence he marched in purſuit of *Eſſex* in the County of *Cornwal*, having obliged him to quit *Devonſhire*. His Majeſty paſſed the River of *Tamar*, which ſeparates the two Counties, upon the Bridge of *Ponalton*, and retook the Caſtle of *Liſtithiel*, where *Eſſex*'s Army was intrenched: But it was ſeized with ſuch a Fright, that the Night following all the Horſe filed off through his Majeſty's Quarters, and fled to *Plymouth*. It was thought that *Eſſex* himſelf retired from thence in a Boat, with the Lord *Roberts*; ſo that the next Day, the 2d of *September*, all his Foot came and ſurrendered themſelves to the King, with all their Cannon, Arms, Ammunition, and Baggage: And his Majeſty pardoned, and diſmiſſed them without doing them the leaſt Diſpleaſure. Clemency is one of the moſt excellent royal Virtues; but though its Moderation ſhould be Exceſs, as it ought to be in Friendſhip; the King might have drawn ſome Advantage from the broken Remains of that Army, and in pardoning his Enemies he might have ſo dealt with them, that for the Time to come they ſhould not have ſtood in need of a ſecond Pardon.

AFTER this Defeat the Town of *Barnſtable*, in *Devonſhire*, which, at the Approach of *Eſſex*, had ſubmitted to the Parliament, ſurrendered to the King: *Ilfordcomb*, which is a Sea-Port in the ſame County, likewiſe ſurrendered to Colonel *Goring*: *Monmouth*, which had been betrayed by *Kerle*, was retaken by *Herbert* of *Ragland*: Sir *Richard Greenvil* took *Saltaſh*, in *Cornwal*, by Storm, and the Fort of *Plymouth* had very near been delivered up to the King; but Sir *Alexander Carew*'s Deſign of ſurrendering it to his Majeſty being diſcovered, he was taken and carried Priſoner to *London*, where, on the 23d of *December*, he was beheaded in the *Tower*. In the Beginning of *October* the Earl of *Northampton* and Sir *Henry Gage*, Governor of *Oxford*, cauſed the Siege of the Caſtle of *Banbury* to be raiſed, which Colonel *John Fiennes* had beſieged above a Month. In the mean time, the Parliament having called *Mancheſter*'s Army out of the aſſociated Counties, it was reinforced by ſome of the Train-

Train-bands of *London*, in order to march againſt the King, who was returning to *Oxford*; and as he was incamped at *Newbury*, in *Berkſhire*, with a Part of his Army, *Mancheſter* having attempted to beat up his Majeſty's Quarter's, he was repulſed with Loſs. 1644.

From thence the King having aſſembled his Army at *Bullington*, between *Wallingford* and *Oxford*, he advanced to *Hungerford*, in order to fight *Mancheſter*, who ſtill fled before his Majeſty, and ſent the Governor of *Oxford* with a Detachment to relieve *Baſing-houſe*, which the King believed to be in great Straits; but the Garriſon had ſhewn ſo much Courage and Zeal for the King's Service, that the Siege was already raiſed. After theſe warlike Exploits his Majeſty retired to *Oxford* about the end of *November*, there to receive ſome Overtures of Peace; and the Earl of *Eſſex* have reſigned his Commiſſion of General, and returned it to the Parliament, they choſe Sir *Thomas Fairfax* in his Place. That Change ſeemed to many to be of dangerous Conſequence to the the Parliament, their Troops having a great Opinion of the Earl of *Eſſex*: but, however, it ſucceeded to their Heart's Deſire, and proved of great Advantage to them.

*The End of the Fourth* BOOK.

# THE HISTORY OF THE TROUBLES OF *GREAT-BRITAIN.*

## BOOK V.

1644. ALL this great Succeſs did not in the leaſt puff up the King. He took no Pleaſure in ſeeing Trophies erected to him, cemented with the Blood of his People: Though he was victorious, he could not triumph but with Regret in a War which did not inlarge his Dominions; but, on the contrary, laid them Waſte. He ſtill preſerved the Tenderneſs of a Father towards his Subjects, without ever affecting the Air of a Conqueror, and he choſe rather to gain their Affection by gentle Means, than to bring them back to their Duty by the Severity of his Arms.

HIS Majeſty therefore, after the Defeat of *Waller*, on the 4th of *July* wrote to the Parliament of *Weſtminſter*; "That being deeply affected with "the deplorable State of the Kingdom, and the Sufferings of his poor "Subjects, he earneſtly deſired, that they would think of means, which, "by the Bleſſing of God, may change their calamitous Condition, and re-"ſtore Peace to the State. That as the greateſt Succeſs ſhould never be "able to divert him from ſo bleſſed a Deſign, ſo the Averſion, which ſome "had ſhewn to Peace, ſhould never hinder him from ſeeking after it with "Paſſion. That to facilitate the means whereby to obtain it, he was

" ready to conſent to all that was neceſſary for the Good of his People, 1644.
" whether by ratifying the Things which he had already granted, or by
" conſenting to others that ſhould be propoſed for aſſuring his Subjects of
" the Sincerity of his Intentions, for maintaining the Proteſtant Religion
" in the Kingdom, the Privileges of Parliament, the Liberty of private
" Perſons, and the Property of their Goods according to the Laws of the
" Kingdom. That to facilitate ſo juſt and pious a Deſign, he would con-
" ſent to a general Pardon, if it was not thought more expedient to ex-
" cept ſome out of it. Laſtly, that if they would ſend to him ſome
" Men heartily inclined to Peace, they might expect all Things from him
" that could contribute to the Quiet, the Security, and the Happineſs of
" his People."

The Parliament not having given any Anſwer to this Invitation to Peace, the King renewed it the 8th of *September*, and to that end wrote to them from *Taviſtock* in the like Terms. However they returned no Anſwer till the 23d of *November*, that the Earl of *Denbigh*, accompanied by ſome other Members of the two Houſes, went to the King at *Oxford* with a great Number of Propoſitions, all the ſame in Subſtance with thoſe they had ſent before upon other Occaſions concerning Religion, the Militia, and the War of *Ireland*.

His Majeſty having ſeen the Propoſitions, he lookt upon them to be of too great Importance to be anſwered immediately, and ſaid, " That he
" could not come to any Reſolution upon them till after a mature De-
" liberation." For which Reaſon, he ſent the Duke of *Richmond* and the Earl of *Southampton* to the Parliament, to acquaint them, that he deſired they would name ſome of their Body, for treating with as many Perſons as he ſhould appoint on his Part, about all that might contribute towards a happy Peace.

The two Houſes having had a Conference upon this with the Commiſ- 1645.
ſioners of *Scotland*, accepted the Treaty, and wrote to the King the 18th of *January*, " That the Lords and Commons of the Parliament of *Weſtmin-*
" *ſter*, and the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of *Scotland* had named
" for the Treaty, *Algernon* Earl of *Northumberland*, *Philip* Earl of *Pem-*
" *brok* and *Montgomery*, *William* Earl of *Saliſbury*, *Baſil* Earl of *Denbigh*,
" of the Houſe of Peers, and of the Commons, *Thomas* Viſcount of *Wain-*
" *man*, *William Pierpoint*, *Denzil Hollis*, *Oliver St. John*, Sir *Henry Vane*
" the younger, *Bulſtrod Whitlock*, *John Crew*, and *Edmund Prideaux*, and
" for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, *John* Earl of *Lowdon*, Chancellor of the
" Kingdom, *Archibald*, Marquis of *Argyle*, *John* Lord *Maitland*, *John* Lord
" *Balmarino*, Sir *Archibald Johnſton*, Sir *Charles Erſkin*, *George Dundas* of
" *Maner*, Sir *John Smith* Provoſt of *Edinburgh*, *Hugh Kennedy*, and *Ro-*
" *bert Barclay*; together with *Alexander Henderſon*, for the Propoſitions
" relating to Religion. All which Commiſſioners, or ten of them, pro-
" vided ſome of both Kingdoms be always of that Number, ſhould be
" authorized to treat, according to the Inſtructions they ſhould receive,
" upon the Propoſitions that had been ſent them, with ſuch Perſons as
" his Majeſty ſhould be pleaſed to ſend to *Uxbridge* in the County of
" *Middleſex*." This Letter was ſigned by the Lord *Grey* of *Warke*, Speaker of the Houſe of Peers, by the Earl of *Loudon* in Name of the Commiſſioners of *Scotland*, and by *William Lenthal*, Speaker of the Houſe of Commons. The King having received this Letter by the Hands of Sir *Peter Killigrew*, named on his Part *James* Duke of *Richmond*, *William* Marquis

*The two Houſes agree to a Treaty at* Uxbridge.

1645. Marquis of *Hertford*, *Thomas* Earl of *Southampton*, *Henry* Earl of *Kingſton*, *Francis* Earl of *Chicheſter*, *Arthur* Lord *Capel*, the Lord *Seymour*, the Lord *Hatton*, the Lord *Colepepper*, Sir *Edward Hyde*, Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, Sir *Edward Nicholas*, Secretary of State; Sir *Richard Lane*, Lord Chief Baron of his Court of *Exchequer*; Sir *Thomas Gardiner*, his Majeſty's Sollicitor General, Sir *Orlando Bridgeman*, Attorney of his Court of Wards; Mr. *John Aſhburnham*, Mr. *Geoffery Palmer*, and Doctor *Richard Stuart*, his Majeſty's Chief Almoner, for Matters relating to Religion, to whom, or to ten of them, the King gave full Power to treat, and conclude with the Commiſſioners of the Parliament upon all their Propoſitions, and upon ſuch as he ſhould charge his with, which contained the ſame Demands with thoſe he had made to the Parliament in the Beginning of the Year 1643.

AFTER that the ſafe Conducts were ſent on both Sides, the Commiſſioners went to *Uxbridge* the 29th of *January*. All diſintereſted Men, at the firſt Thought it was ſtrange, that the Parliament had delayed ſo long in reſolving to enter upon a Treaty with the King, and that the Commiſſion which they had given to their Commiſſioners, was not ſo ample as that which the King had given to thoſe whom he ſent on his Part: For whereas the King had given them a full Power to treat freely, and to conclude upon all the Particulars of the Propoſitions, the Parliament had reſtricted the Powers of their Commiſſioners to the Inſtructions which they received, giving them Liberty of conferring only, reſerving to themſelves the Power of concluding. That made People believe, that they did not act ſincerely, and that they did not anſwer the Deſire which the King had of pacifying the Troubles of the Kingdom, ſeeing his Majeſty had given his Commiſſioners a Power, of which they might make a wrong Uſe, by yielding many Things in favour of the Parliament, without running any Riſk on their Parts, if they had a Mind to betray the King's Cauſe, of which his Majeſty had then made them Maſters. Whereas though the Parliament's Commiſſioners had likewiſe had an abſolute Power, they could not have made an ill Uſe of it ſo freely, and with ſo much Advantage to the King.

THE Treaty was begun the 30th of *January*, when a Difficulty was ſtarted about the Time that the Conference was to laſt, which the Parliament's Commiſſioners confined to twenty Days, and would likewiſe have it obſerved as a Rule, that they ſhould treat three intire Days upon each Article of the Propoſitions; which being agreed to, they entered upon the Matter of Epiſcopacy, of which the Parliament's Commiſſioners demanded the Abolition, and the Alienation of the Lands depending upon the Biſhopricks. The King's Commiſſioners oppoſed theſe Demands, very hard indeed, and alledged, that his Majeſty could not conſent to the firſt, becauſe Epiſcopacy was of divine Inſtitution, and that at his Coronation he had ſworn always to maintain it. That his Majeſty could not agree to the Alienation of the Church-lands, which would be a heinous Sacrilege, becauſe it was forbidden both by the Laws of God and Man; and that commonly it fared no better with ſuch as ſeized Goods of that kind, than with the Aigle that carried to her Airy the Piece of Fleſh ſhe had taken from the Altar.

THE King had not taken the ſame Oath in *Scotland* at his Coronation. He had only ſworn in general to maintain the Religion of the Kingdom, of which Epiſcopacy was not thought to be an eſſential Part: And as its Re-eſtabliſh-

Re-eſtabliſhment in that Kingdom depended only upon the Laws, it could be aboliſhed again there by the Parliament, with the King's Conſent, as it happened the laſt Time his Majeſty was there. That if the King had promiſed in particular to maintain Epiſcopacy there, nothing would have obliged him to conſent to its Abolition. For both in Proſperity and Adverſity his Majeſty has always ſquared his Actions by the Principles of Honour and Conſcience, and, by an admirable Steddineſs of Mind, has never conſented to any mean Action unworthy of the Majeſty of a King. He was neither puffed up by good Succeſs, nor caſt down by bad, preſerving ſtill the ſame Evenneſs of Temper in the Priſon, and upon the Throne. 1645.

The Parliament's Commiſſioners had nothing to anſwer that had the leaſt Shadow of Reaſon, with regard to the Perjury and Sacrilege: But they inlarged with a more ſpecious Pretence upon what had been advanced, that Epiſcopacy was of divine Right, and maintained that that Propoſition could not be proved by the Word of God; that, on the contrary, a Biſhop and a Prieſt were the ſame Thing in the Scripture-Phraſe. The King's Commiſſioners anſwered to that, that all Things are not there explicitly decided, nor ſet down in expreſs Words; ſo that it almoſt always happens, that thoſe, who are prepoſſeſſed with any Opinion, keep cloſe to the literal Senſe, and from thence bring moſt ſtrong and evident Proofs, according to their Meaning, which others, who hold the contrary Opinion, nevertheleſs find very weak, and ſometimes ridiculous: For the holy Scripture, according to the Apoſtle, is not of private Interpretation, which occaſioned S. *Auguſtin* to exhort us not to hold private Truth, leſt we be deprived of the Truth, or as S. *Hilary* ſays, leſt there be as many Heads, as many Opinions in the Faith. It was likewiſe what made *Tertullian* ſay, that Diſputes about the Scripture commonly had no other Effect, but to leave the Diſputants in the Belief, that neither Side had the Advantage, and that the Victory to be expected was likewiſe very doubtful, though otherwiſe, as for his own Part, he had adored the Fulneſs of the holy Scriptures.

Moreover they added, that Epiſcopacy having been eſtabliſhed from the Times of the Apoſtles, though its Eſtabliſhment could not be found in expreſs Terms in the holy Scripture, what the Adverſaries had alledged made nothing againſt it: No more than it would in the leaſt prejudice a Monarchy that had laſted a thouſand Years, to alledge, that its fundamental Laws made no mention of its Foundation. So the Church having at all Times acknowledged a notable Difference betwixt the Biſhop and the Prieſt, there is no Ground for ſaying, that in the Beginning they were the ſame Thing, becauſe the Biſhop and the Prieſt, according to the Word of God, are ſometimes both called by the Name of Prieſt only. As if, becauſe *Annas* and *Caiaphas* in the Goſpel, are both called High Prieſts, it might be inferred from thence, that there were at that Time two High Prieſts in the languiſhing Synagogue, it being certain, that there had never regularly been but one at a Time, though the High Prieſt had his Suffragan, as the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* has his *Protoſyncellus*.

Besides, 'tis not to be wondered at, if in the Infancy of the Church, the Functions of the Biſhop and thoſe of the Prieſt have not appeared diſtinct: Seeing that the Infancy of the Church bears ſome Reſemblance with that of Man. For though the reaſonable Soul of an Infant, which is of a heavenly Origin, be of a more eminent Quality, than either the ſen-

1645. ſitive or the vegetative Soul, which have their Origin from Matter; yet it does not appear to have diſtinct Operations from thoſe of inferior Faculties, till a Maturity of Age, that the Mind finding the Organs of the Body well prepared and fit to be imployed in its moſt noble Functions, begins to make uſe of Reaſon, and to exerciſe that Power which it naturally has over the other Faculties. It may have been juſt ſo in the Infancy of the Church, when that myſtical Body, which was to fill the whole Earth, was as yet weak, and as it were contained in a few Families. That the hierarchical Operations, which the Holy Ghoſt performs by its Organs, appeared but confuſedly, till that Body had got ſome Strength, and that the Order of that ſpiritual Houſe had rendered it both glorious and formidable, like an Army drawn up in order of Battle.

LASTLY, the King's Commiſſioners offered to yield to the Demand of thoſe of the Parliament, if they could ſhew, that there ever had been a particular Church in any one Age, which had been governed any otherwiſe than by Biſhops: Which they offered the more boldly, that they were very well perſuaded, that all the holy Fathers lookt upon the Succeſſion of Biſhops to be one of the principal Marks of the true Church, and that Stone, which the proud Gates of Hell ſhould not be able to prevail againſt; and they did not believe, that that Church was a Member of the Catholick Church, which could not count its Biſhops from S. *Peter*, or from ſome of the other Apoſtles, who not having eſtabliſhed their Sees apart, had all ſate in that of S. *Peter*, as the only one, and the Center of Unity; but S. *Peter* was the firſt to whom the Lord gave the Keys of Heaven, and all the Sheep of the Flock to feed: So that if JESUS CHRIST had eſtabliſhed any other Government in his Church but the Epiſcopal, it would have gone to Ruin from its Inſtitution, and there would not have been remaining the leaſt Foot-ſtep of it in the Space of fifteen hundred Years.

AFTER having for a long time diſputed upon this Article, the King's Commiſſioners, for the Good of Peace, and for making up, in ſome manner, the Differences that were betwixt his Majeſty's Subjects on account of Epiſcopacy, and the eccleſiaſtical Ceremonies, propoſed this Medium. I. "That there ſhould be Liberty of Conſcience for all Sort of Per-
" ſons, with regard to the Ceremonies in the Religion of the Kingdom,
" and that the Ordinances, injoining the Practice thereof, ſhould be ſuſ-
" pended. II. That the Biſhops ſhould not give Orders, nor exerciſe the
" Power of epiſcopal Juriſdiction, but by the Advice and Conſent of Sy-
" nods, which ſhould be compoſed of the moſt learned and grave Mi-
" niſters that the Clergy of each Dioceſs ſhould elect from among their
" own Body. III. That the Biſhops ſhould be bound to Reſidence in their
" Dioceſſes, if the King ſhould not think fit to call them to be about his
" own Perſon, and that they ſhould be obliged to preach every *Sunday* in
" ſome of their Churches, if they were not hindered by old Age, or ſome
" other Indiſpoſition. IV. That the Ordination of Miniſters ſhould be
" performed publickly, and with Solemnity, after a ſtrict Examination of
" their Abilities, beſides inquiring into the Lives and Converſations of
" ſuch as ſhould come to deſire holy Orders, to which the Biſhops ſhould
" not advance any Perſon without the Conſent of the Synod. V. That
" no Perſon for the Time to come ſhould poſſeſs two Benefices, nor two
" Vicarſhips with Cure of Souls. VI. That in order to facilitate the
" reſtoring of Peace, there ſhould be raiſed, by Virtue of an Act of Par-
" liament, the Sum of a hundred thouſand Pounds out of the Eſtates of

" the Biſhops and Chapters without alienating the Lands. VII. That the " two Houſes of Parliament ſhould regulate the Juriſdiction for matri- " monial Cauſes, for Teſtaments or Wills, and for Tithes. Laſtly, that " the two Houſes ſhould lay down Rules as well for the Viſitations of the " Biſhops, as for the Fees of the Officers of the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, " and that they ſhould make Acts for reforming the Abuſes in the pub- " liſhing of Monitories, and all others that had crept into the Exerciſe " of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction." But the Commiſſioners of the Parliament being reſolved not to abate of their Demands, ſtill perſiſted, that Epiſcopacy and the Liturgy muſt be quite aboliſhed, and that the Preſbyterian Government, with a new Directory for divine Service be eſtabliſhed in their Room. 1645.

THEIR Propoſitions about the Militia were not leſs bold; for they required, that, for the publick Security, the Parliament ſhould name all the Officers that were to command it, and to have that Power as long as they ſhould think fit; but the King's Commiſſioners remonſtrated, that ſince it was granted, that the Security of both Parties depended upon the Nomination of the Officers that were to command the Militia, the Fears and Jealouſies being equal on both Sides, the Securities ought to be ſo likewiſe: And that the Parliament could not give a Reaſon, why they alone had a Mind to aſſume to themſelves the Power of naming thoſe Officers, ſince even the King could not reſerve it to himſelf alone. To that they anſwered, That the Parliament ſhould not exerciſe that Power till Peace be reſtored, which being done, the King may rely both upon what the Laws had provided, and upon the Affection of his People. To which was replied, That if there was as much Security to be had by the Laws, and the Affection of the People, as by the Militia, Decency required, that the King ſhould have the Choice of his Security: And if there was more Security on the one Side than on the other, that would be doing nothing; becauſe the Fears and Jealouſies would ſtill remain. After a long Diſpute upon this important Point of the Militia, which is the brighteſt Gem in the Crown, the Commiſſioners of the Parliament propoſed, that at leaſt the Militia ſhould be in their Power for the Space of ſeven Years, after which it ſhould be commanded by Orders to be given by the King and the two Houſes of Parliament in *England*, and by his Majeſty and the Parliament of *Scotland* in that Kingdom. The meaning of which Propoſition was, that the King was to have no joint Power with them during ſeven Years, and which being expired, he was to have none without them. Therefore his Majeſty's Commiſſioners rejected that Propoſition as unjuſt, and derogatory to the Honour of the King their Maſter. In order to forward the Peace, they readily conſented, that the Parliament ſhould name the half of the Officers for three Years: But that did not ſatisfy their Commiſſioners, who inſiſting poſitively upon their laſt Demand, they entered then upon the Article concerning the Ceſſation of Arms in *Ireland*.

AS to what related to the Affairs of that Kingdom, the Commiſſioners of the Parliament demanded, that the Ceſſation ſhould be annulled, and the War carried on there by the common Conſent of the two Kingdoms. The firſt Head of this Demand ſeemed very ſtrange, and the King's Commiſſioners ſaw not to what end thoſe of the Parliament preſſed it in that manner, if it was not to oblige the King to break his Word, and from thence to take occaſion to render him ſuſpected to his People, who for the future would hardly believe any Promiſe he could make them. For this

Demand

1645. Demand was made in *February*, and the Truce of *Ireland* expired in the Month of *March* following; ſo that if the King's Commiſſioners had granted the laſt Head of the Demand, to wit, that the War of *Ireland* ſhould be carried on by the Parliament, the King's breaking of the Truce could not in the leaſt have contributed to their Deſigns, it being ſo near an end, and ceaſing of itſelf before they could be in a Condition to continue the War there. There were likewiſe many who thought, that the Parliament diſcovered ſo much Zeal for continuing the War of *Ireland*, with no other Deſign, but that they might be the more able to carry on that of *England*, becauſe, under Colour of that War, they raiſed Money the more eaſily, which they afterwards imployed according as their own Affairs required it. After all, the Propoſition for carrying on that War by the common Conſent of both Kingdoms ſeemed to be of dangerous Conſequence to the Crown of *England:* Becauſe the two Nations, without doubt, having different Intereſts, might occaſion, that while the one meant nothing but the Reduction of *Ireland* under the Obedience of the Laws, the other might beſides have ſome Thoughts of conquering the Kingdom.

At laſt, the twenty Days being expired, ſome of them having been ſpent in Matters concerning Religion, and others in thoſe relating to the Militia and the War of *Ireland*, without having adjuſted any one of the Articles, the King's Commiſſioners demanded a Prolongation of the Treaty. The Commiſſioners of the Parliament refuſed it, and ſticking cloſe to their Inſtructions, broke off the Conference, in the whole Courſe of which they did not take what the King granted them as Goodneſs and Condeſcenſion in him; but always complained, and took for Acts of Injuſtice whatever his Majeſty refuſed to grant them, though never ſo unreaſonable. What yet more plainly diſcovered the little Deſire the Parliament had to accommodate the Affairs of the Kingdom, was, that their Commiſſioners, inſtead of endeavouring to find out Expedients for coming to an Agreement with the King, on the contrary, without bating the leaſt Thing of their Demands for the Good of Peace, they ſtill preſſed his Majeſty's Commiſſioners to yield to them all, without any Reſtriction whatſoever: Which was a way of negotiating as contrary to the Nature of a Treaty, as it would be to the Method of reaſoning, to form an Argument altogether made up of Concluſions.

Amongst the Propoſitions, which the Parliament had ſent to the King before entering upon the Treaty, there was one which contained the Names of ſuch as by all Means they would have to be excepted out of the general Pardon. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was one of thoſe, the other Biſhops, who had been impriſoned in the *Tower*, having been ſet at Liberty upon Bail, that Prelate could not expect ſo mild Treatment: For they had a greater Deſign upon him than upon all the reſt together, and thinking that it concerned them very much to finiſh his Trial betimes, they reſolved to diſpatch him out of the Way at any Rate. He was condemned to be beheaded by an Ordinance of Parliament, for Reaſons, which he himſelf will tell you by and by.

On the 10th of *January* the Archbiſhop was brought to the Scaffold on *Tower-hill*, and this old Prelate, who had fainted away, when he gave his Bleſſing to the Earl of *Strafford*, who, on his Way to undergo the like Sentence, had ſtopt before the Window, where the Archbiſhop was, in order to receive his Bleſſing with a profund Reverence: This Prelate, I ſay, far from being dejected under the Burden of his great Age, on the contrary,

contrary, redoubled his Courage at this laſt Moment of his Life, like the Setting-Sun coming out from under the Cloud which had deprived us of his Brightneſs for ſome time, and, with his Rays, glorioufly gilding the Horizon, which keeps him from our Sight, by this laſt Impreſſion of his Beauty, leaves us to regret his Abſence. This Prelate then ſtepping to the Edge of the Scaffold towards the People, who, upon account of the Novelty of the Spectacle, ſurrounded it in Multitudes, beckoned with his Hand, ſignifying that he wanted them to be ſilent for a little, and, with his ordinary Gravity, pronounced this laſt Speech, which every body heard with great Attention. 1645.

*The Speech of his Grace the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *ſpoken at his Death, upon the Scaffold on* Tower-hill, Jan. 10, 1644.

" This is an uncomfortable Time to preach; yet I ſhall begin with a " Text of Scripture, *Heb.* xii. 2. *Let us run with Patience the Race that is " ſet before us, looking unto Jeſus the Author and Finiſher of our Faith, " who for the Joy that was ſet before him endured the Croſs, deſpiſing the " Shame, and is ſet down at the right Hand of the Throne of God.*

" Good People I have been long on my Race, and how I have looked " unto Jeſus the Author and Finiſher of my Faith, he beſt knows. I am " now come to the end of my Race, and here I find the Croſs, a Death " of Shame: But the Shame muſt be deſpiſed, or no coming to the right " Hand of God. Jeſus deſpiſed the Shame for me, and God forbid that " I ſhould not deſpiſe the Shame for him. I am going a-pace (as you " ſee) towards the Red Sea, and my Feet are now upon the very Brink " of it: An Argument (I hope) that God is bringing me into the Land " of Promiſe: for that was the Way through which he led his People: " But before they came to it, he inſtituted a Paſſover for them. A Lamb " it was, but it muſt be *eaten with ſour Herbs*, Exod. xii. 8. I ſhall obey, " and labour to digeſt the four Herbs, as well as the Lamb. And I ſhall " remember it is the Lord's Paſſover. I ſhall not think of the Herbs, " nor be angry with the Hand that gathered them: But look up only to " him, who inſtituted that, and governs thoſe; for Men *can have no " more Power over me, than what is given them from above*, S. John, xix. 11.

" I am not in Love with this Paſſage through the Red Sea, for I have " the Weakneſs and Infirmities of Fleſh and Blood plentifully in me; " and I have prayed with my Saviour, *ut tranſiret Calix iſte*, that *this Cup " may be removed from me*, S. Luke, xxii. 42. But if not, God's Will, not " mine, be done. And I ſhall moſt willingly drink of this Cup, as deep " as he pleaſes, and enter into this Sea, yea, and paſs through it in the " Way that he ſhall lead me.

" But I would have it remembered (Good People) that when God's " Servants were in this boiſterous Sea, and *Aaron* amongſt them, the " *Egyptians* which perſecuted them, and did in a manner drive them into " that Sea, were drowned in the ſame Waters, while they were in Purſuit " of them.

" I know my God, whom I ſerve, is able to deliver me from this Sea " of Blood, as he was to deliver the three Children from the Furnace, " *Dan.* iii. And (I moſt humbly thank my Saviour for it) my Reſolu- " tion is now, as theirs was then: They would *not worſhip the Image " which the King had ſet up*, nor will I the Imaginations which the People " are ſetting up; nor will I forſake the Temple and the Truth of God, to " follow the bleating of *Jeroboam*'s Calves in *Dan* and in *Bethel*. And as

1645. " for this People, they are at this Day miſerably miſled: God of his Mer-
" cy open their Eyes, that they may ſee the right Way. For at this Day
" *the blind lead the blind*; and if they go on, *both will certainly fall into*
" *the Ditch*, S. Luke. vi. 39.

" For my ſelf, I am (and I acknowledge it in all Humility) a moſt
" grievous Sinner many Ways, by Thought, Word, and Deed: And yet I
" cannot doubt but that God hath Mercy in Store for me, a poor Peni-
" tent, as well as for other Sinners. I have now, upon this ſad Occaſion,
" ranſacked every Corner of my Heart; and yet, I thank God, I have not
" found among the many, any one Sin, which deſerves Death, by any
" known Law of this Kingdom: And yet hereby I charge nothing upon
" my Judges: For if they proceed upon Proof, by valuable Witneſſes, I,
" or any other innocent, may be juſtly condemned. And, I thank
" God, though the Weight of the Sentence lye heavy upon me, I am as
" quiet within as ever I was in my Life. And though I am not only the
" firſt Archbiſhop, but the firſt Man that ever died by an Ordinance in
" Parliament, yet ſome of my Predeceſſors have gone this Way, though
" not by this Means. For *Elphegus* was hurried away, and loſt his Head
" by the *Danes*; *Simon Sudbury*, in the Fury of *Watt Tyler* and his Fel-
" lows. Before theſe, S. *John Baptiſt* had his Head danced off by a leud
" Woman: And S. *Cyprian*, Archbiſhop of *Carthage*, ſubmitted his Head
" to a perſecuting Sword. Many Examples, great and good; and they
" teach me Patience: For I hope my Cauſe in Heaven, will look of an-
" other Dye, than the Colour that is put upon it here.

" And ſome Comfort it is to me, not only that I go the Way of theſe
" great Men in their ſeveral Generations; but alſo that my Charge, as foul
" as it is made, looks like that of the *Jews* againſt S. *Paul*, *Acts* xxv. 8.
" For he was accuſed for the Law and the Temple, *i. e.* Religion. And
" like that of S. *Stephen*, *Acts* vi. 14. for breaking the Ordinances which
" *Moſes* gave, *i. e.* Law and Religion, the holy Place and the Law, *ver.* 13.

" But you will ſay, Do I then compare my ſelf with the Integrity of
" S. *Paul* and S. *Stephen*? No, far be that from me. I only raiſe a Com-
" fort to my ſelf, that theſe great Saints and Servants of God were laid at
" in their Times as I am now. And it is memorable, that S. *Paul*, who
" helped on this Accuſation againſt S. *Stephen*, did after fall under the very
" ſame himſelf. Yea, but here is a great Clamour, that I would have
" brought in Popery: I ſhall anſwer that more fully by and by. In the
" mean time you know what the *Phariſees* laid againſt Chriſt himſelf,
" S. *John* xi. 48. *If we let him alone, all Men will believe in him:* Et ve-
" nient Romani, *and the Romans will come, and take away both our Place*
" *and Nation.* Here was a cauſeleſs Cry againſt Chriſt, that *the Romans*
" *would come.* And ſee how juſt the Judgment of God was. They cru-
" cified Chriſt for fear leſt the *Romans* ſhould come; and his Death was
" it which brought in the *Romans* upon them; God puniſhing them
" with that which they moſt feared. And I pray God this Clamour of
" *venient Romani*, of which I have given no Cauſe, help not to bring
" them in. For the Pope never had ſuch a Harveſt in *England* ſince the
" Reformation, as he hath now upon the Sects and Diviſions that are
" amongſt us. In the mean time, *by Honour and Diſhonour, by good Re-*
" *port and evil Report, as a Deceiver and yet true*, am I paſſing through
" this World, 2 *Cor.* vi. 8.

" Some

1645.

"Some Particulars alſo, I think it not amiſs to ſpeak of.

"And firſt, this I ſhall be bold to ſpeak of the King our gracious Sovereign: He hath been much traduced alſo for bringing in of Popery. But in my Conſcience (of which I ſhall give God a preſent Account) I know him to be as free from this Charge, as any Man living: And I hold him to be as ſound a Proteſtant, according to the Religion by Law eſtabliſhed, as any Man in this Kingdom; and that he will venture his Life as far, and as freely for it. And I think I do, or ſhould know both his Affection to Religion, and his Grounds for it, as fully as any Man in *England*.

"The ſecond Particular is concerning this great and populous City (which God bleſs.) Here hath been of late a Faſhion taken up to gather Hands, and then go to the great Court of the Kingdom, the Parliament, and clamour for Juſtice; as if that great and wiſe Court, before whom the Cauſes come, which are unknown to the Many, could not, or would not do Juſtice but at their Appointments; a way which may endanger many an innocent Man, and pluck his Blood upon their own Heads, and perhaps upon the City's alſo.

"And this hath been practiſed lately upon my ſelf: The Magiſtrates ſtanding ſtill, and ſuffering them openly to proceed from Pariſh to Pariſh without Check. God forgive the Setters of this, with all my Heart I beg it: But many well-meaning People are caught by it.

"In S. *Stephen*'s Caſe, when nothing elſe would ſerve, they *ſtirred up the People againſt him*, Acts vi. 12. And *Herod* went the ſame Way, when he had killed S. *James*; yet he would not venture upon S. *Peter*, till he found how the other *pleaſed the People*, Acts xii. 3.

"But take Heed of having your *Hands full of Blood*, Eſai. i. 15. For there is a Time, beſt known to himſelf, when God, above other Sins, makes Inquiſition for Blood. And when that Inquiſition is on Foot, the Pſalmiſt tells us, *Pſal.* ix. 12. *that God remembers*; but that is not all, *he remembers, and forgets not the Complaint of the Poor*, i. e. whoſe Blood is ſhed by Oppreſſion, *ver.* 9. Take Heed of this: *'Tis a fearful Thing to fall into the Hands of the living God*, Heb. x. 31. but then eſpecially, when he is *making Inquiſition for Blood*.

"And with my Prayers to avert it, I do heartily deſire this City to remember the Prophecy that is expreſſed, *Jerem.* xxvi. 15.

"The third Particular is the poor Church of *England*. It hath flouriſhed, and been a Shelter to other Neighbouring Churches, when Storms had driven upon them. But alas! Now it is in a Storm itſelf; and God only knows whether, or how it ſhall get out. And, which is worſe than a Storm from without, it is become like an Oak cleft to Shivers, with Wedges made out of its own Body. And at every Cleft Prophaneneſs and Irreligion is entering in; while, as *Proſper* * ſpeaks, *Men that introduce Prophaneneſs are cloaked over with the Name* Religionis Imaginariæ, of imaginary Religion: For we have loſt the Subſtance, and dwell too much in Opinion. And that Church, which all the Jeſuits Machinations could not ruin, is fallen into Danger by her own.

* Lib. 2. de vitæ contempt. cap. 4.

"The

1645. "THE laſt Particular (for I am not willing to be too long) is my ſelf. "I was born and baptized in the Boſom of the Church of *England* e- "ſtabliſhed by Law. In that Profeſſion I have ever ſince lived, and in "that I come now to die.

"WHAT Clamours and Slanders I have endured for labouring to "keep an Uniformity in the external Service of God, according to the "Doctrine and Diſcipline of this Church, all Men know, and I have a- "bundantly felt. Now at laſt I am accuſed of High-Treaſon in Parlia- "ment, a Crime which my Soul ever abhorred. This Treaſon was "charged to conſiſt of two Parts, *An Endeavour to ſubvert the Laws of* "*the Land:* And a like *Endeavour to overthrow the true Proteſtant Re-* "*ligion eſtabliſhed by Law.*

"BESIDES my Anſwers to the ſeveral Charges, I proteſted mine In- "nocency in both Houſes. It was ſaid, *Priſoners Proteſtations at the Bar,* "*muſt not be taken.* I muſt therefore come now to it upon my Death, "being inſtantly to give God an Account for the Truth of it.

I DO therefore here in the Preſence of God and his holy Angels take "it upon my Death, that I never endeavoured the Subverſion either "of Law or Religion. And I deſire you all to remember this Pro- "teſt of mine for my Innocency in this, and from all Treaſons what- "ſoever.

"I HAVE been accuſed likewiſe as an Enemy to Parliaments: No, I "underſtand them, and the Benefit that comes by them too well to be "ſo: But I did diſlike the Miſgovernments of ſome Parliaments many "Ways, and I had great Reaſon for it. For *Corruptio optimi eſt peſſima.* "And that being the higheſt Court, over which no other hath Juriſ- "diction, when 'tis miſinformed or miſgoverned, the Subject is left with- "out all Remedy.

"BUT I have done: I forgive all the World, all and every of thoſe "bitter Enemies, which have perſecuted me; and humbly deſire to be "forgiven of God firſt, and then of every Man. And ſo I heartily de- "ſire you to join in Prayer with me.

"*O* ETERNAL *God and merciful Father, look down upon me in Mercy,* "*in the Riches and Fulneſs of thy Mercies, look down upon me: But not till* "*thou haſt nailed my Sins to the Croſs of Chriſt, not till thou haſt bathed* "*me in the Blood of Chriſt, not till I have hid my ſelf in the Wounds of* "*Chriſt; that ſo the Puniſhment due unto my Sins may paſs over me. And* "*ſince thou art pleaſed to try me to the uttermoſt, I moſt humbly beſeech* "*thee, give me now in this great Inſtant full Patience, proportionable Com-* "*fort, and a Heart ready to die for thine Honour, the King's Happineſs,* "*and this Church's Preſervation. And my Zeal in theſe (far from Arro-* "*gancy be it ſpoken) is all the Sin (human Frailty excepted, and all the* "*Incidents thereto) which is yet known to me in this Particular, for which* "*I come now to ſuffer: I ſay in this Particular of Treaſon. But otherwiſe* "*my Sins are many and great; Lord pardon them all, and thoſe eſpecially* "*(whatever they are) which have drawn down this preſent Judgment upon* "*me. And when thou haſt given me Strength to bear it, do with me as* "*ſeems beſt in thine own Eyes,* Amen.

" And *that there may be a Stop of this Iſſue of Blood in this more than* 1645.
" *miſerable Kingdom, O Lord, I beſeech thee give Grace of Repentance to*
" *all blood-thirſty People. But if they will not repent, O Lord, confound all*
" *their Devices, defeat and fruſtrate all their Deſigns and Endeavours upon*
" *them, which are, or ſhall be contrary to the Glory of thy great Name,*
" *the Truth and Sincerity of Religion, the Eſtabliſhment of the King and*
" *his Poſterity after him in their juſt Rights and Privileges, the Honour and*
" *Conſervation of Parliaments in their juſt Power, the Preſervation of this*
" *Church in her Truth, Peace, and Patrimony, and the Settlement of this*
" *diſtracted and diſtreſſed People under their ancient Laws, and in their na-*
" *tive Liberties, and when thou haſt done all this in meer Mercy to them,*
" *O Lord, fill their Hearts with Thankfulneſs, and with religious dutiful*
" *Obedience to thee and thy Commandments all their Days. So,* Amen, Lord
" Jeſu, Amen. *And receive my Soul into thy Boſom,* Amen." He concluded with the Lord's Prayer, after which he looked Death in the Face, with ſo ſedate and chearful a Countenance, that his Greatneſs of Courage ſhook the Hard-heartedneſs of his very Enemies. Thus died *William Laud*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in the ſeventy ſecond Year of his Age.

He was nothing beholden to his Birth, and very little to Fortune; but having been guided by Virtue in all the Eccleſiaſtical Degrees, he was advanced to the Primacy of all the Kingdom. For as the Statues and Trophies, erected in Honour of our Anceſtors, belong not to us, the Glory of our own Actions being only ours: So neither ought it to be a matter of Pride, but rather of Shame and Confuſion for us to take Advantage of them, and boaſt of being deſcended of ſome illuſtrious Men, if we our ſelves do not follow their Foot-ſteps, and if we do not add ſome Steps to the Pyramid, of which they have laid the Baſis. But it is honourable for a Man to ſignalize himſelf by noble Actions, and to diſtinguiſh himſelf from the Vulgar by uncommon Atchievements, and by leading a good Life eternize his Name to Poſterity. 'Tis ſurprizing to ſee, that the two Houſes of Parliament having given Orders the 30th of *May* 1643, to ſeize all the Papers of thoſe who were Priſoners in the *Tower*, amongſt thoſe of the Archbiſhop was found a Journal of his Life, which was immediately printed; and though it was publiſhed by a ſuſpected Hand, yet there are many Things in it very much to the Advantage of the Memory and Reputation of this Prelate: Many very remarkable Things are to be found therein, which ſhew his Piety and Devotion after the Manner of his Communion; for in a Manual of Prayers which he had compoſed for particular Occaſions, there are many of them very devout upon Account of ſeveral Accidents that had happened to him, of which he kept the Anniverſary in Retirement, and by ſome Mortification. This Journal alſo contains a great Number of general Deſigns, which he had formed, and partly executed for the Ornament of Churches and Colleges, for the Foundation of Hoſpitals, for the redeeming of alienated Church Lands, and for the Maintenance of Profeſſors of the Oriental Languages, and of all Sciences: In fine, it may be obſerved through it all, that this Archbiſhop has been one of the moſt vigorous Defenders of the Eccleſiaſtical Liberty and Authority, that has been ſince the great Martyr *S. Thomas Beket*, who died and was canonized for defending the Immunities and Privileges of the Spouſe of the Son of God.

To return to *Montroſe*, while he was thus laying Waſte all *Argyle*'s Lands, the Parliament, which had met at *Edinburgh* in the Month of

1645. *May* 1644, and being adjourned to the Month of *January* following, met again in the ſame Place the 7th of the Month, and the Earl of *Lauderdale*, a moſt accompliſhed Gentleman, and of great Merit, having died ſoon after the opening of the Seſſion, they choſe the Earl of *Lindſey* for their Preſident. They expoſed to Sale, at twelve Years Purchaſe, the Goods and Eſtate of *Montroſe*, and of the other Lords and Gentlemen of his Party, which they had confiſcated, without Prejudice, however, to the Debts they had contracted before the Confiſcation. They ingaged the publick Faith for the Security of ſuch as ſhould buy them, and obliged themſelves to keep them in peaceable Poſſeſſion in Spite of all Oppoſition, promiſing beſides to puniſh as Enemies of the State ſuch as ſhould attempt to diſturb them in that Poſſeſſion. Moreover, they ordained that the Money that ſhould ariſe from thence ſhould be imployed for the publick Neceſſities. Laſtly, having made ſeveral Regulations for the Subſiſtance of their Army, and for the raiſing of new Troops againſt the Royaliſts, whom they called unnatural and rebellious Countrymen, the Parliament was adjourned to the Month of *July* following.

The General Aſſembly, which had been appointed to be held in the Month of *May*, met occaſionally the ſame Month with the Parliament. The Aſſembly of the *Engliſh* Divines at *Weſtminſter* having agreed with the Commiſſioners of *Scotland*, upon a certain Form that had been propoſed for publick Prayers, and the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, they got it to be ratified by the two Houſes of Parliament. It was on the 3d of *January* that they paſſed an Ordinance to make it be received in Place of the Liturgy, the Uſe of which was prohibited over the whole Kingdom, though the ſame two Houſes had declared in the Month of *April* 1642, that their Intention was to reſerve the Liturgy, taking out of it only the ſuperfluous and offenſive Things. The Divines having got their Work authorized, they ſent it to *Scotland*, in order to get the Approbation of the General Aſſembly, the Clergy, and Parliament of that Kingdom. Whereupon the General Aſſembly having appointed ſome Commiſſioners for receiving that Form, which they called a Directory, and which was to be in Place of the Liturgy, and having allowed every body to give their Opinion of it, it was approved by all, and they likewiſe ordained, that all the Miniſters of the Kingdom ſhould make uſe of it for the Time to come; provided, however, that what it injoined in general Terms concerning the Sitting of the Communicants at the Table, and the Diſtribution of the Bread and Wine, might not give Occaſion to any Perſon to believe, that he was at Liberty to go, or not to go to the Table, as many in *England* did, to whom the Miniſters carried the Sacrament in their Seats, or that the Miniſters were at Liberty to give it themſelves to all the Communicants, who ought to give it to one another: For in *Scotland* it was not then allowed, that the People ſhould communicate otherwiſe than ſitting at the Table, or that any ſhould receive the Bread and the Cup from the Hands of the Miniſter, but the Perſon only that was ſitting next him.

Now, this Directory did not contain ſet Forms of Prayers, but only general Rules and Directions, by which the Miniſters were to frame the Prayers and Exhortations, leaving it to them to chuſe the Words, and to make the Service either ſhort or long, as they thought fit. Indeed, they granted, that a well-framed Liturgy might ſerve as a Monument to Poſterity, who thereby would underſtand what had been the Practice of the Church in the Time of their Fore-fathers, and that the Miniſters, who had

had been lately admitted, might make Uſe of it to good Purpoſe; but they did not think, that they ought to be tied down to certain Forms of Prayers and Exhortations in the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments. Their Reaſons were: I. That theſe ſet Forms, ſo framed, were a Hinderance to the Glory that ought to be given to God: Seeing by that Means a certain Meaſure of Service was only done him, and the Prayers and Praiſes, which the faithful might offer up to him more abundantly without them, if they made a right Uſe of his Grace, were ſtinted. II. That they were contrary to the Honour that was due to Jeſus Chriſt, and rendered his Gifts uſeleſs, ſince, though he ſhould give none to his Servants, they would not make the leſs Uſe of the Liturgy. III. That they deſtroyed the Aſſiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt, leaving nothing for him to do. IV. That they hindered the People from being edified, ſince they could ſtay at home, and read the Prayer Books in private. V. That they hindered the Converſion of Souls, becauſe Prayers ſaid by Rote, and without Devotion were not able to affect a Heart that was not converted to God. VI. That they never would awaken a Soul lulled aſleep; on the contrary, that they would keep the People in a ſenſual Security, and perſuade them, that God required nothing elſe of them but to be preſent at the Service. VII. That they made the Miniſter lazy, who might confidently go from the Tavern, or ſome worſe Place, to read the Liturgy. VIII. That that Sort of Service might be performed by a Child of ſeven Years of Age, and that at that Rate a *Turk*, who could only read, might be a Miniſter. Laſtly, That the Lord himſelf would have framed a Liturgy, if he had judged it neceſſary for his People. If theſe Reaſons were good, the holy Scripture ſhould no more be read, nor even the reading of it to the People be ſuffered; ſince they equally, and in the ſame manner, ſtrike at the reading of that holy Book, as they do at the Liturgy. Nay, the Lord's Prayer, which is a ſet Form, ought not to be ſaid; and indeed, ſince this new Reformation, many Miniſters of *Scotland* have left off ſaying it at the end of their Prayers. 1645.

Then the General Aſſembly anſwered the Letters of the *Engliſh* Divines, who, not having as yet come to any Reſolution about the Uniformity of the Eccleſiaſtical Government, had repreſented to them; "That "it was the Fate of the Walls of *Jeruſalem* to advance but ſlowly:" Then they wrote to their own Commiſſioners that met with the Divines at *Weſtminſter*, incouraging them to crown the Work of the Lord; and ſignified to them the Joy that all the Members had, upon hearing by their Letters, "That the Mountain of Epiſcopacy was levelled; and that in "Place of the Liturgy, the two Houſes of Parliament had eſtabliſhed "the Directory, which appeared to them like an agreeable Dream, ſo "marvellous was that Change."

Lastly, The Aſſembly having condemned all thoſe who had ſolemnized the Feaſt of *Chriſtmas*, to do publick Penance for it, though more than twelve hundred Years ago the holy Prieſt *Sedulius*, of their own Nation, had ſuch a Regard for that Day, that he compoſed a Hymn for that holy Feaſt, which is ſtill ſung in the Catholick Church; they appointed another Aſſembly to meet in the Month of *June* the following Year, and at the ſame time cauſed a very free Remonſtrance to be drawn up, in order to be ſent to the King, as follows; "That the Clergy of *Scotland* "having publiſhed a Warning to all Ranks of People of the Kingdom con- "cerning the Judgments of God, which their Sins had drawn down up- "on them, ſince the Lord has no regard to the Qualities or Conditions

*The General Aſſembly's Remonſtrance to the King.*

1645. " of Perſons, and that ſuch Condeſcenſion ought not to be had for the " Great as to palliate their Sins, they thought they could not better teſtify " their Fidelity and Affection to his Majeſty, than in repreſenting to him, " with all due Reſpect, the dangerous Condition he had plunged himſelf " into, as well as his People. That though they ſhould be willing to " conceal it, the moſt inanimate Things would proclaim it aloud. That " the Patience of the People was ſeverely tried, in ſeeing the Blood of " their Brethren ſhed by a curſed Faction of *Iriſh* Rebels, with their Ac- " complices, under the Command of certain Men authorized by his Ma- " jeſty. That beſides that Hardſhip which he made his People ſuffer, " they could not conceal one yet much more dangerous, without being " wanting in the Fidelity, to which their Offices obliged them, which " was, that his Majeſty made himſelf guilty of all the Blood that was " ſhed of ſo many Thouſands of his moſt faithful Subjects, and ſinned " greatly in having ſuffered the Maſs and other ſuch like Idolatries both in " his own Family, and in other Places of his Kingdoms; in having au- " thorized the Publication of an Ordinance for the Prophanation of the " Lord's Day; in having ſuffered in his Court many Scandals unpuniſhed; " in having ſhut his Ears to the moſt humble and moſt juſt Requeſts of " his faithful Subjects; in having taken the Advice of thoſe who were far " from ſeeking God; in having conſented to the Ceſſation of Arms in " *Ireland*; to be ſhort, in having oppoſed the Reformation of the Church. " That for theſe Cauſes, they, the Servants of the moſt High, proſtrating " themſelves humbly, and with great Grief, before his Majeſty, took the " Boldneſs to tell him, that theſe Sins that ſtuck to his Perſon and Throne " were ſo great, that whatever his flattering Preachers might ſay to the " contrary, they would draw down the Wrath of God upon him and his " Poſterity, if he did not ſoon give a Teſtimony of an humble Repentance. " That now was the Time, or never, to reconcile himſelf with God, and " in good Earneſt to ſuffer that the Son of the Almighty may reign over " his three Kingdoms, in the Purity of his Word. That if God touched " the Heart of his Majeſty, and inſpired into it to do theſe Things, he " would find Favour at his Hands, and be loved by all his People. That, " on the contrary, if he refuſed this ſound Advice, they had cleared " their Conſciences by it, and would be innocent of the Miſeries, where- " with both the Church and State were threatened. That happen what " would, they did not doubt of the good Succeſs of the Covenant be- " twixt the two Nations, which having already had ſo many Bleſſings " from Heaven, would undoubtedly ſurmount all Manner of Difficulties " and Oppoſition; beſides, that they hoped, with the Aſſiſtance of God, " never to go from it; but, on the contrary, to ſpend all their Fortunes, " and even their Lives, if need were, for its Furtherance.

In the mean Time, *Montroſe*, not minding what was paſſing either in the General Aſſembly or Parliament, and having finiſhed the laying Waſte of *Argyle*'s Lands, directed his March towards the Head of *Lough-Neſs* *, where he ſoon had an Account that the Garriſon of *Inverneſs* had joined the Forces of the Northern Shires, and that they had taken the Field to the Number of five thouſand Men, who were marching in great Haſte to fight him. He had then but fifteen hundred Men, becauſe *Clan-Ranald*'s Men and thoſe of the Shire of *Athol*, loaded with the Spoil of *Argyle*'s Lands, had had Liberty to go home. He had freely given them that Liberty, becauſe he knew not that ſo many of the Enemy's Troops had been aſſembled: But though the Match was very unequal, yet he did not heſitate to give them Battle, being perſuaded, that, except the

* *The Lake of* Neſs.

Garriſon of *Inverneſs*, which, indeed, was compoſed of old Soldiers, inured to the Hardſhips of War, all the reſt, who were only the Militia of the Country, and raw Soldiers, would make but little Reſiſtance. 1645.

As he was making ready to go and meet them, he had an Account that *Argyle* having made up a Body of three thouſand Men, compoſed of ſuch *Highlanders* that as yet adhered to him, and of the Garriſons of the *Low Country*, was incamped at the old Caſtle of *Inverlochy*, thirty Miles from him, upon the Banks of *Lough-Aber*, from which that Country takes its Name. *Montroſe* was not ſurprized to ſee himſelf between two Armies, being accuſtomed to it; but knowing very well, that *Argyle*'s Intention was only to ingage him in a Battle with the Northern Forces, and if he found his Advantage in it, to charge him in the Rear, whenever he ſhould ſee another Army attack him in Front; he judged it was neceſſary both for the Reputation of his Arms, and the Good of his Majeſty's Service, to rid himſelf once for all of that Enemy, who was one of the principal Ring-leaders of the Covenanters, and whoſe Defeat would terrify all the reſt. For which Reaſon he reſolved to make Head againſt him; and that he might have no Account of his March, he detached Guards to be placed in the Paſſes of all the beaten Roads, and he himſelf at the Head of his Army ſcrambling over the Hills of *Lough-Aber*, which are deſert and uninhabited Places, he got within half a Mile of *Argyle*'s Camp before he was aware, where having put his advanced Guards to the Sword, two only eſcaped, who run and told *Argyle* of *Montroſe*'s Approach. Whereupon the Covenanters ſtood immediately to their Arms. *Montroſe* being advanced within Cannon-Shot, ſaw that they were drawn up in Order of Battle, making a good Appearance, and ſeemingly reſolved to give him a warm Reception: But becauſe Night was approaching, and that his Men were too much fatigued with ſo quick and hard a March, he gave Orders to halt, and in order to make ſure of them the next Morning, he ordered the Muſketeers to continue ſkirmiſhing with the Enemy by the Moonſhine: Which they did the whole Night, both Sides ſtanding to their Arms, with great Impatience waiting the Break of Day; *Argyle* ſeemed to have a Mind to be then only a Looker-on, for he withdrew from the Camp that very Evening, under Pretence of going to order Ammunition to be ſpeedily brought to his Men, and took Boat upon the Lake, there to wait the Event of the Battle.

*The Battle of* Inverlochy.

At the Break of Day, which was *Candlemas*, *Montroſe* ordered to ſound to Arms, and charged at the Head of his Troops with ſo much Courage, that the *Campbels*, who were on the right, of which Name *Argyle* is the Chief, having given their Fire, were forced to run away, which ſtruck ſuch a Terror into all the reſt of the Army, that they took to their Heels all at once. There were many of them that run to the old Caſtle of *Inverlochy*, and aſked Quarters, which was granted them; but the Runaways were purſued above ſix Miles, and near ſeven hundred of them were killed on the Spot. *Montroſe* had only three Soldiers wounded, and that by their own Comrades through Inadvertency. There was nothing but the Loſs of the brave Sir *Thomas Ogilvie*, who fighting valiantly, received ſeveral Wounds, of which he died a few Days after, which abated the Joy of this Victory, which likewiſe much diminiſhed *Argyle*'s Credit among his own Followers, to whom this Day was very fatal; becauſe it broke the Band, wherewith he kept thoſe poor *Highlanders* attached to his Intereſt.

1645. *MONTROSE* having given his Troops ſome Days to refreſh themſelves, marched towards *Lough-Neſs*, and paſſing through *Stratharrick*, *Strathairn*, and *Strathnairn*, he came to *Strath-Spey*, where having learnt that the Covenanters were drawing together at the Town of *Elgin*, in the Shire of *Murray*, he marched ſtraight on to them: But their Spies having given them Notice of his drawing near, they immediately diſbanded themſelves. However, *Montroſe* continued his March, and being come to *Elgin*, the Lord *Gordon*, who had fallen out with *Argyle*, his Uncle, came and offered to join him. He received him with open Arms, and treated him with all the Marks of Friendſhip imaginable. After *Montroſe* had ſtaid ſome Time there, and invited the Gentry of the Neighbourhood to join him; but ſeeing that it was with little Succeſs, he thought that the joining of the Lord *Gordon* would rather induce the Northern Shires to follow his Party.

In Expectation of that, he paſſed the *Spey*, and entered the Shires of *Barnff* and *Aberdeen*, where having got together what Men he could, he paſſed the River of *Dee*, and entered the Shire of *Merns* with two thouſand Foot, and two hundred Horſe. Sir *John Hurry*, who commanded there for the Covenanters, having Notice of it, marched out of *Brechen* with ſix hundred Horſe to view *Montroſe*, who being incamped in a Place full of Buſhes, drew out all his Horſe, and made three hundred of his nimbleſt Muſketeers follow them by a hollow Way. *Hurry* having at firſt ſeen only the Light Horſe, and believing, that they durſt not fight him, advanced in order to charge them: But he had no ſooner diſcovered the Muſketeers, than he wheeled about, and retreated with full Speed. *Montroſe* then taking his Advantage, purſued them ſo hard, that, ill mounted as his Cavalry were, he made ſo briſk an Attack upon the Rear-guard, where *Hurry*, like a Man of Courage, was making the Retreat himſelf, that if Night had not parted them, he had certainly defeated him.

*HURRY* having paſſed the River of *Southeſk*, retired to *Dundee* at a full Gallop, and *Montroſe* having lain that Night at *Fettercarn*, marched the next Day to *Brechen*, where having been given to underſtand, that for the future he muſt have to do with experienced Commanders, and that Major General *Bailly* having joined *Hurry*, they were ſtrong in Horſe, he betook himſelf to the high Grounds, and marching along the Hills of *Angus*, he went on towards the River of *Tay*, which he intended to paſs, in order to advance towards that of *Forth*. The Enemy having had Notice of this March, followed him with all their Forces. How ſoon they came in Sight, *Montroſe* drew up his Men, and offered them Battle: But having waited them for two Hours, and ſeeing, that they did not advance one Step ſo much as to fire a Piſtol, he continued his March, and incamped that Night at *Inverwharity*. The next Day he purſued his Way along the Hills, and went ſtraight to *Eliot*, where having got a more particular Account of the Covenanters Army, which had ſtill followed him by the Valleys below him, he reſolved to force them to fight. The more to oblige them to it, he marched down from the Hills, and offered to paſs the ſmall River of *Ile*, which was betwixt him and the Enemy, who immediately run to ſtop him. *Montroſe* ſeeing, that it was impoſſible to force his Paſſage, ſent a Drummer to offer them the Choice, either to paſs themſelves, or ſuffer him to paſs, that, like Men of Honour, they might decide their Quarrel by a pitched Battle, and thereby ſave the Country,

Country, which ſuffered very much by their Marches, and needleſs Toil. 1645.

The Covenanters having refuſed this Offer, ſaying, that they would mind their own Intereſt, he continued his March towards *Dunkel*, with a Deſign to paſs the *Tay:* But being already got near the Banks of it, his Deſign was balked by a croſs Accident, which was, that *Lewis Gordon*, who a little before had left the Covenanters, and, after the Example of his eldeſt Brother, had ſided with *Montroſe*, ſent him Word, that he had received Orders from the Marquis of *Huntley*, his Father, to return with the Men that had followed him; which occaſioned two Thirds of the Soldiers to diſband themſelves, and return home: For *Huntly* did not willingly allow his Troops to paſs the *Grampion* Hills, which were the Bounds of his Government toward the South.

*MONTROSE*, weakened by this unexpected Deſertion, could not pretend to enter the Shires of *Fife* and *Lothian*, which, without Controverſy, are the beſt and richeſt Countries of all *Scotland:* But was forced to return to the North, where he expected Succour. However, that it might not appear, that he had advanced to the Banks of the *Tay* for nothing, and to keep up the Reputation of his Arms, upon the Report that his Scouts had made him, that the Enemy having learnt that he was marching to *Dunkel*, they had advanced to the Abbey of *Scoon*, in order to paſs the River firſt, he ſent his Baggage before him, with the weakeſt and worſt armed of his Men to *Brechen* by the Hills of *Angus*, and keeping with himſelf but a hundred and fifty Horſe, and ſix hundred choice Muſketeers, he was reſolved by the Way to take *Dundee*, one of the moſt diſſaffected Towns to the King that was in the Kingdom, and the uſual Receptacle of all the Covenanters. He was aſſured that it would be eaſily taken, there not being any other Garriſon in it but the Inhabitants, who could expect no Relief from the Army, ſince it had paſſed the River fourteen Miles above the Town, and, as he believed, had entered the Shire of *Fife*. He likewiſe hoped, that after this Expedition, he might march to *Brechen*, and join the reſt of his Men with the Baggage.

With this Reſolution, he ſet out the 4th of *April* between Two and Three of the Clock in the Morning, and about Two in the Afternoon came before the Town; he ſent Lieutenant *John Gordon* to ſummon it to ſurrender. The Inhabitants, though deſtitute of a Garriſon, kept the Lieutenant, whom they ſhut up in a Dungeon, and gave no Anſwer. *Montroſe* ſeeing that, without more ado, advanced to the Barricadoes, which they had made without the Gates, divided his Men into three Bodies, in order to attack the Town at three Places, and commanded them to fall on all at once; which they did with ſo much Eagerneſs and Bravery, that the beſieged, after a very ſlender Reſiſtance, were driven away; and their Gates being beat in Pieces, the Soldiers made themſelves Maſters of the Market-place, and took Poſſeſſion of their Cannon. At the ſame time, they ſet one of the Quarters of the Town on Fire; and 'tis probable, that had not the Allurement of Pillage and Wine allayed the Reſentment of the Soldiers, this Town, which is one of the moſt conſideable of the Kingdom, had been reduced to Aſhes.

As theſe Things were thus a doing, the Guards, which *Montroſe* had left at the Avenues of the Town, came to acquaint him, that the Enemy, whom, upon a falſe Report, he believed to be on the other Side of the River,

1645. River, appeared coming with full Speed towards the Town. Their main Body being actually incamped on this Side, they had ſent over to *Fife* only a Detachment of their Troops, which they quickly recalled, in order to follow *Montroſe* in a Body, after having been informed of his March. He had ſcarce got his Men drawn out of the Town, many of which were drunk and loaded with Plunder, when the Enemy came within Muſket-Shot with three thouſand Foot, and between ſeven and eight hundred Horſe. Some adviſed *Montroſe* to ſave his own Perſon, his Ruin being inevitable if he waited the Enemy with ſo few fatigued Men, and not in a Condition to fight. Others were for ruſhing in deſperately upon their Enemies, and ſelling their Lives as dear as they could. But *Montroſe* rejecting both theſe Advices, the firſt as cowardly, and the other as raſh, commanded every Man to repair to his Colours, and wait till further Orders. Then he ordered thoſe that were moſt fatigued to file off, and keeping with himſelf only two hundred choice Muſketeers and the Horſe, he was reſolved to make the Retreat himſelf, hoping that the Night, which was drawing near, would favour it, and that the Enemy's Horſe could do them little Hurt without their Foot, which, not being ſo well inured to marching as his own, would not be able to overtake them. The Enemy imagining, that he could not eſcape at this Bout, divided their Horſe into two Brigades, in order to charge him in Flank and Rear, and, the more to incourage their Men, cried out, that whoever ſhould bring in *Montroſe*'s Head ſhould have twenty thouſand Pounds *Scots*. In the mean time *Montroſe* having ſent to tell the Van-guard to march on in good Order and ſoftly, and he keeping his Rear-guard at cloſe Order, he detached ſome Muſketeers to haraſs the Enemy. Theſe having knocked down ſome of their Scouts, the reſt advanced very ſlowly, and gave Time to *Montroſe* to get quite clear of them: So that as it was already dark, and that the Enemy purſued them no more, he retreated in good Order, without loſing a Man, till he came to the Abbey of *Aberbrothick*, where he halted, to conſult what Road to take for joining the reſt of his Men and the Baggage, which he had ſent to *Brechen*.

He conſidered, that if the Enemy ſhould hear, that he had marched towards the North, they would leave the Sea-coaſt, and croſs the Country in order to ſtop his Way. Therefore, without taking any Refreſhment, in great haſte, by the Favour of the Night, he marched through the Country betwixt the *Tay* and the River of *Southeſk*, which he paſſed three Miles above *Brechen*, and incamped near the Caſtle of *Careſton*, from thence having ſent to *Brechen* to cauſe the reſt of his Men and the Baggage to follow, he was told that upon the Alarm of his Retreat from *Dundee*, they had taken another more ſafe Road, and got to the Hills. But as the Soldiers, who had marched about ſixty Miles without eating, began to take ſome Refreſhment, *Moniroſe*'s Scouts came to tell him, that the Enemy's Horſe were advancing towards him at a great Pace, with ſome Foot. *Montroſe* being within three Miles of a Place of Safety, decamped forthwith. He could not march ſo faſt but the Enemy's Scouts exchanged ſome Piſtol Shot with his Rear-guard. However, after a light Skirmiſh, *Montroſe* reaching the Mountains, put the Enemy out of Conceit with following him further, and he marched to *Gleneſk*. This Retreat may truly be reckoned amongſt *Montroſe*'s moſt famous Actions, being no leſs glorious than the greateſt of his Battles. In effect, 'tis matter of Aſtoniſhment to conſider both his Preſence of Mind, and his Vigilance and good Conduct upon ſo unforeſeen and dangerous an Occaſion; nor is there leſs Reaſon to admire the Conſtancy and Zeal of his Soldiers, who were

three

three Days and two Nights either continually marching or fighting, without Reſt. 1645.

In the mean time, the King's Arms had not ſo good Succeſs in *England*, though for a long Time the moſt part of Things had ſucceeded to his Majeſty's Advantage. The next Day after the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*'s Death, Sir *Henry Gage*, Governor of *Oxford*, having intended to build a Fort at *Cullam-bridge*, his Deſign was baſely diſcovered, by which Means he fell into an Ambuſh, where he received a Muſket-ſhot, of which he died two Days after. He was a moſt accompliſhed Gentleman, and who had as perfect a Knowledge of the *Belles Lettres*, as Experience in military Affairs. And, indeed, he has left Monuments of his great Learning, as notable in their Kind, as the Trophies of his Valour.

To alleviate a little the Grief which this Loſs occaſioned, there arrived almoſt at the ſame time two Ships richly loaded in Ports that were under the King's Obedience. One of theſe Ships, called the *Fame of London*, was loaded with the richeſt Merchandize of the *Weſt Indies*, which amounted to above three hundred thouſand Pounds, and by Streſs of Weather, was driven in to the Port of *Dartmouth*. The other, named the *John of London*, mounted with twenty ſix Pieces of Cannon, belonging to the *Eaſt-India* Company, wherein there was ſixteen thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty ſix Pounds, thirteen Shillings and four pence in Silver, beſides a great deal of rich Merchandize, was carried in to *Briſtol* by Captain *Mucknel*, for which Service done the King at a Time, when his Majeſty was left deſtitute of all his Ships, he had the Honour to be the firſt Knight that the Prince of *Wales* made with his own Hand.

Soon after, the Port of *Weymouth*, which during this War has often changed Maſters, was ſurrendered to the King by Sir *Walter Haſtings* and Sir *Lewis Dives*. To ballance that Loſs, the Parliament, by Treachery, made themſelves Maſters of the Town of *Shrewſbury*, which was delivered up to Governor *Wemmes*.

Fortune, however, being loth to deſert the King's Party, his Arms continued victorious in other Parts. Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* defeated a Body of Horſe commanded by Colonel *Roſs* near *Melton Mowbray* in *Leiceſterſhire*, he likewiſe cauſed the Siege of the ſtrong Caſtle of *Pontfret* in *Yorkſhire* to be raiſed, where the Lord *Fairfax* was ſoundly banged. About the ſame Time, Colonel *Roger Molineux* having gone upon a Party with a Detachment of Horſe from *Newark*, carried away by Force the Committee that was raiſing Contribution in *Derbyſhire*. And about the end of *February* Sir *William* and Sir *Charles Comptons*, younger Sons of the Earl of *Northampton*, defeated a Body of Horſe near *Daventry*, and having joined their eldeſt Brother, routed another near *Althrop*, in the ſame County. But Colonel *Long*, Governor of *Wiltſhire* had not ſo good Succeſs; for having attacked *Waller* near the *Deviſes*, he charged him very briſkly with his Regiment of Horſe, but the Match being very unequal, he was taken Priſoner, with a Part of his Regiment. Colonel *Goring* ſoon after was revenged of it in that ſame Country, and on the 15th of *March*, fought with the ſame Succeſs near *Taunton* in *Somerſetſhire*.

In the mean Time, Prince *Rupert*, who was not idle, relieved the Caſtle of *Betchton* in *Cheſhire*, and defeated Colonel *Maſſy* at *Ledbury* in *Herefordſhire*. On the other hand, *Cromwell*, a moſt vigilant Man for his Party,

1645. defeated a Part of the King's Horſe near *Iſlip*, of which he took two hundred Priſoners. He likewiſe forthwith ordered the Caſtle of *Blechington* to be ſummoned, which the Governor immediately ſurrendered. That Governor was carried to *Oxford*, where, by a Sentence of a Court Martial, he was ſhot. *Cromwell* came not ſo well off at *Farington*, where the Garriſon repulſed him briſkly, with the Loſs of near two hundred Men, beſides the wounded and Priſoners, which came to a much greater Number. The Garriſon of *Scarborough* Caſtle likewiſe made a gallant Defence againſt Sir *John Meldrum*, who had beſieged it; for having made a furious Sally upon him, he was mortally wounded, and many of his Officers were killed on the Spot.

On the 7th of *May*, the King marched out of *Oxford* at the Head of his Army, and the ſame Day, Colonel *Goring* gave *Cromwell* another Bruſh near *Newbridge*. His Majeſty having advanced into *Worceſterſhire*, the Garriſon of *Hawkeſly-houſe* ſurrendered at Diſcretion. From thence having marched towards *Cheſter*, which Sir *William Bruerton* had for a long Time beſieged, upon the King's Approach he raiſed the Siege. From thence his Majeſty marched to *Leiceſter*, which he inveſted the 30th of the Month, and the next Day the Town, wherein was the Committee of the County, was taken by Storm, after which the Garriſons of the adjacent Caſtles and inconſiderable Places deſerted them. The King had no ſooner left *Oxford*, which he had well fortified and provided with all Things neceſſary for ſtanding out a Siege, than General *Fairfax* beſieged it on the 2d of *June*. But Colonel *Leg*, who was Governor of it, was ſo vigilant, and defended the Place in ſuch a Manner, that *Fairfax* very ſoon loſt Hopes of ſucceeding in his Deſign: For after having beat up ſome of his Quarters, he made a great Sally with a thouſand Men, Horſe and Foot, towards *Heddington-hill*, where having beat off the Enemy's Guards, the Muſketeers that were in that Poſt, not being ſuſtained by the Horſe, who immediately fled, were cut all in Pieces, or taken.

This vigorous Reſiſtance obliged *Fairfax* to raiſe the Siege, and march after the King, who had entered *Northamptonſhire*, where, on the 14th of *June*, was fought that fatal Battle of *Naſeby*, which his Majeſty loſt. His Foot were all cut in Pieces, and his Cannon and Baggage taken. The Enemy found there the King's own Cabinet, wherein there were ſeveral Letters from the Queen to him, and Copies of ſuch as his Majeſty had written to her, which were indiſcreetly printed at *London*, though there were many of them which contained nothing but Compliments and Proofs of the great Friendſhip that had always been betwixt their Majeſties, and as for the reſt, there was nothing in them relating to the publick Affairs of the Times.

*The Battle of* Naſeby.

The King could never retrieve the Loſs of that Day. His Troops dwindled away, and his Affairs ſtill went on in a decaying State, till the Parliament, which had ſeized upon the King's Authority, and had ſtript him of that Majeſty, which is inſeparable from crowned Heads, had triumphed over his Liberty. Three Days after the Battle, the Town of *Leiceſter* was retaken, and the Caſtles of *Pontfret* and *Scarborough* were afterwards ſurrendered to the Parliament. The Town of *Bath* ſurrendered, and the Caſtle of *Sherborne*, and the Town of *Bridgewater* were taken by Storm, and ſome Brigades of Horſe of *Goring*'s Army, who hitherto had lookt upon it as his Due, to beat the Enemy, were routed at *Langport*, where Sir *John Digby*, a moſt accompliſhed and gallant Gentleman,

man, received a Wound, of which he died very ſoon after. This bad Succeſs not having in the leaſt diſcouraged the King, he continued his March for relieving *Hereford*, which the Covenanters had beſieged for five Weeks with a Part of their Army. Upon his Majeſty's Approach they raiſed the Siege; but this Place, which had defended itſelf ſo long againſt the Parliament's Forces, at laſt in the Month of *December*, by the Power of Silver, which makes Gaps in Places, where Iron cannot penetrate, fell into their Hands. The other Part of the Covenanter's Army, commanded by Major General *Leſly*, who had kept *Carliſle* blocked up all the preceding Year, met with no Reſiſtance, which occaſioned that important Place at laſt to fall into their Hands. 1645.

*FAIRFAX* continuing his Advantages, beſieged *Briſtol*, into which Prince *Rupert* had thrown himſelf. After a Siege of three Weeks, he made himſelf Maſter of a Part of the Town by Aſſault, and the Prince, deſpairing of Relief, on the 11th of *September* ſurrendered the reſt upon Capitulation; and the ſame Month the Earl of *Lichfield*, Brother to the Duke of *Lenox* and *Richmond*, with eight hundred Horſe, unhappily ingaged a more numerous Body of an Army near *Cheſter*, where that gallant Lord was killed upon the Spot. And at the ſame Time the Caſtles of the *Devizes*, *Barkley*, *Sandal*, *Wincheſter*, *Langford*, *Bolton*, *Beſton*, *Belvoir*, and *Latham* ſurrendered to the Parliament. That of *Shelford* in *Nottinghamſhire* was carried by Storm; but Colonel *Stanhop*, who was Governor, defended it till there was not a Man of his Garriſon left alive, after which he himſelf was killed fighting upon the Breach.

But above all, the taking of *Baſing-Houſe* by Storm was deplorable, after that the Marquis of *Wincheſter*, who was Lord of it, had defended it ſo long; beſides, as it was there that the Parliament's Troops, upon ſundry Occaſions, had received many Affronts, ſo they ſhewed their Reſentment beyond what Men of Honour ought to do; for, after having made themſelves Maſters of the Houſe, they killed a great many People in cold Blood, crying out, as was every where reported; *Curſed be he that doth the Work of the Lord deceitfully.* As they were leading the old Marquis Priſoner, that good Nobleman ſaid theſe excellent Words, which are truly worthy of eternal Memory; *There are only three Things that I have always had a particular Value for: The firſt, to keep a clear Conſcience before God: The ſecond, carefully to continue loyal to my King: And the third, to preſerve my Honour among Men. I have done them all to the utmoſt of my Power, let Fortune glory of the reſt, if ſhe will.*

It was thought ſtrange, that the King's Affairs ſhould be thus ruined all at once. Many were of Opinion, that there was either ſome Weakneſs in the Council, or that what was reſolved upon there, was not vigorouſly enough put in Execution. In the one, the Eyes of *Argus* are requiſite, and for the other, the Hands of *Briareus*. Perhaps, that as private Intereſt often gets the better of that of the publick, though the laſt be ſtill the Pretence, the King's Arms were not always led to the Places whither they ought to have been carried, but only to Places wherein ſome particular Men found their Account. From the Beginning of the Troubles of *Scotland*, it was obſerved, that whatever Mildneſs there was in the Perſon of the Prince, the chief Miniſters of State were hot-headed Men, and that that Harmony, which ought to have been among its Parts, was confounded. Although there be but three Eſtates reckoned in each Kingdom, yet there are four Orders, which, like the four Elements make

1645. up the Body of the State. The People is the Earth which brings forth all, and provides for all; but thoſe who govern ought to take good Care, that, by ſtill taking from it, it don't grow barren. The Clergy, like Water, temper the Heat, if it be exceſſive in ſome Parts, and it is by the Means of that Ocean, that we have Commerce with Heaven. The Body of Juſtice is like the Air, which ought to clear the State from bad Humours, and make every Man breath with Liberty and Security in the Condition his Fortune hath placed him. The Nobility and Gentry are the Fire, the Flames of which ought to be dreaded; yet if the Vapours riſe not from the Earth, its burning is not much to be feared; for Storms are not bred within their Sphere. There is this Relation betwixt theſe Bodies, that when there is but one of them diſcontented, there's no great Fear of Danger; becauſe the Motion of the People is always ſlow, if they are not ſpurred on by the Great Men: And on the other hand, theſe are of no great Weight, and can occaſion but little Trouble, if the People be not ready and inclined to riſe. The Danger is when the Nobility and Gentry put off declaring themſelves till the Populace raiſe the Storm; to which this Fable may be applied, that *Jupiter* having diſcovered, that all the other Gods had a Mind to ſeize upon his Perſon, he took *Pallas*'s Advice, and ſent for *Briareus*, that Giant with the hundred Hands, to come quickly to his Aſſiſtance. Whereby, no doubt, is meant to ſhew, of how great Importance it is, above all Things, to Princes to ſecure the Good-Will and Love of their People.

Now, the People of *England* were the moſt happy of any that were then under the Cope of Heaven; their Plenty and Eaſe were envied by all Strangers that travelled in the Kingdom: Which was owing to the Fertility of the Country, and that the Liberty of Commerce, which is the Source from whence all the Riches of a State flow, was free to them with all Nations. But it happened to them as to the Children of *Iſrael*, who ſeeing themſelves fat, kicked againſt the Pricks. As for the People of *Scotland*, their only Aim was Religion, and they run into extreme Violences in order to recover the pretended Purity of it, which the firſt Reformers had eſtabliſhed among them, which eaſily diſpoſed them to Commotions, and to ſuffer themſelves to be led by the great Men of the Kingdom, who eſpouſed that ſame Intereſt. The Nobility and Gentry of that Kingdom were Men of greater Ability, and, according to the Judgment of the Miniſters of foreign Princes, ſhewed themſelves more cunning, witty, and reſolute than thoſe of the neighbouring Kingdom. Not but that there were there many Noblemen of eminent Parts; but, generally ſpeaking, the top Nobility were not Men of ſuch Capacity as thoſe who lived in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time; ſo that though there were many of them in the Royal Party, yet Affairs did not ſeem to be managed with that Addreſs and Vigour as they ought to have been. As for *Scotland*, there had not been ſeen for a long Time ſo many Noblemen capable both of Counſel and Execution, as at that Juncture. 'Tis true the Covenanters Arms had not great Succeſs there; but that was owing to a more remote Cauſe: For, in fine, there is a Fatality in all worldly Things, that is to ſay, that human Prudence is not Miſtreſs of them, and that the Providence of God guides them by ſecret Ways, and diſpoſes of them as he thinks fit, which being ſo, all the Fore-ſight of Men is ſhort, as well as their Strength weak againſt the Decrees of Heaven.

*MONTROSE* having ſtaid ſome Days at *Gleneſk* to refreſh his Men, ſent the Lord *Gordon* to the North with ſome Troops, in order to bring back

back thoſe, who againſt his Will had retired with his younger Brother, and keeping with himſelf only five hundred Foot and fifty Horſe, marched through the Hills of *Angus* to the Shire of *Perth*, that thereby he might oblige *Bailly* and *Hurry* to ſeparate; which ſucceeded according to his Wiſh. For the Covenanters having ordered *Hurry* to follow *Gordon* with ſix hundred Foot and two hundred Horſe, *Bailly* ſettled his head Quarters at *Perth*, as in the Heart of the Kingdom, there to conſider what he had to do. *Montroſe* had incamped about twelve Miles off, at a Village called *Crief*. *Bailly* having Notice of it, and knowing that a Part of his Troops had marched Northwards, ſet out in the Duſk of the Evening, and marched towards him in the Night-time, expecting to ſurprize him, and beat up his Quarters by the Break of Day. But *Montroſe*'s Spies having advertiſed him of his March, he immediately put his Men in Order, mounted his Horſe to go and meet the Enemy, and having found that they were at leaſt two thouſand Foot, and about five hundred Horſe, he judged that he could not without Raſhneſs ingage himſelf in a Battle, and that he would have Difficulty to retreat without Loſs. Whereupon he ordered his Foot to march towards the River of *Ern*, which falls into the *Tay* above *Perth*. The Enemy having perceived it, made their Horſe advance in order to charge him: But *Montroſe*, who was making the Retreat in Perſon with his own Horſe, received them with great Courage, and continued his March in good Order, ſtill ſkirmiſhing with the Enemy for three Hours, till his Foot having come to a narrow Part of the River betwixt two Hills, the Enemy left off purſuing him any further. 1645.

He incamped that Night upon the Banks of *Lough-Ern*, whence the River of the ſame Name takes its Riſe, as that of *Tay* from a Lough (Lake) about twenty four Miles long; and 'tis the ſame with all the Rivers of *Scotland*, which take all their Names from the Loughs from whence they Spring. The next Day he marched to *Balwidder*, where the Earl of *Aboyn* joined him, after having made his Eſcape out of *Carliſle*, which the Covenanters were then beſieging, and brought with him ſome of his Friends. From thence he advanced to *Lough-Catrinet*, where having Advice that *Hurry* was in Search of the Lord *Gordon*; and leſt that experienced Commander ſhould lay an Ambuſh for that young Lord, he reſolved to go to his Aſſiſtance, and to take his Advantage of the Separation of the Covenanters Forces, which he was not in a Condition to attack while they were joined. Upon this Reſolution he returned to *Balwidder:* From thence marching towards the Head of *Lough-Tay*, and by long Marches paſſing through the Shires of *Athol* and *Angus*, he paſſed the *Grampian* Hills through the Valley of *Glenmuick*, and entered a great Way into the Shire of *Mar*, till he came to *Cromar*, where *Gordon* joined him with a thouſand Foot, and two hundred Horſe. Having happily met with his intimate Friend, for whom he had been in great Pain, he declared, that he longed for nothing ſo much, as to ingage with *Hurry*. In order to which, he marched in all Haſte towards the River of *Spey*, and got within ſix Miles of *Hurry*, before he had the leaſt Notice of his having paſſed the *Grampian* Hills. *Hurry*, upon this Alarm, paſſed the *Spey* in all Haſte, and got to *Elgin*, *Montroſe* ſtill following him by the Track. Being come there, he learnt that *Hurry* had reached *Forreſs* in great Haſte, and he purſued him fourteen Miles with ſo much Speed, that the Night overtook *Hurry*, who with great Difficulty got to *Inverneſs*, where he had appointed the covenanted Troops of all the North Country to rendezvous, without which he durſt not venture to fight. *Montroſe* having quartered

1645. that Night upon the Lands of *Campbel* of *Calder*, returned the next Day to *Aldern*, where having incamped ſome Days, he had Advice that *Hurry* had joined the Forces of the Shires of *Murray*, *Sutherland*, and *Caithneſs*; and having drawn the old Soldiers out of the Garriſon of *Inverneſs* to divide them amongſt that raw Militia, he was turning upon him with three thouſand Foot, and four hundred Horſe. *Montroſe* thinking the Match too unequal, having in all but fifteen hundred Foot, and two hundred and fifty Horſe, had a great Mind to ſhun fighting, if he could by any means retreat: But beſides that *Hurry*, on the one Hand, had put it out of his Power to make a ſafe Retreat, *Bailly*, on the other Hand, having paſſed the *Grampian* Hills, was in all Haſte advancing towards the *Spey* with his Army ſtrong in Horſe; which made him reſolve, whatever ſhould happen, to give *Hurry* Battle, ſeeing that his Ruin was inevitable, if he ſhould wait till he had theſe two Generals to deal with.

THEREFORE betimes the next Morning, which was the 9th of *May*, ſtedfaſt in his Reſolution, he put himſelf in a Poſture to give *Hurry* a warm Reception, taking what Advantage he could of the Field of Battle. *The Battle of* Aldern. The Village of *Aldern* is ſituate upon a Height, which covers a Valley hard by, pretty narrow, which riſing gently, is bordered with little Hills. *Montroſe* drew up his Troops in this Valley, to keep them from being ſeen by the Enemy. He gave the right Wing, conſiſting of four hundred Foot, to *Macdonald*, and having drawn them up in a Place fortified with Shrubs and Ditches, he ordered them not to quit that Poſt, which could not be forced, but to ſtand their Ground whatever the Event of the Battle ſhould be. He placed the Royal Standard in that Wing, in order to oblige the Enemy to attack it with their beſt Troops, hoping that they would in vain attempt to take it by Force, in the mean time he would do the beſt he could with the left Wing, the Horſe of which he gave the Command of to the *Gordons*, and he put himſelf on the Head of his Foot. The Muſketeers which he had poſted in ſome Ditches at the Entry of the Village repreſented his main Body, though in effect he had none, nor a Body of Reſerve. The Enemy having perceived the Standard in the right Wing, did not fail to attack it briſkly both with their beſt Horſe and Foot; and at the ſame time detached ſome Muſketeers to begin the Battle with thoſe that *Montroſe* had placed at the Entry of the Village. They had the Advantage at the Beginning; for beſides that *Macdonald* having quitted his Poſt, had been put into Diſorder, *Hurry*'s Muſketeers made a better Fire than thoſe of *Montroſe*, and as ſoon as any of them were diſabled, their Places were ſupplied with freſh Men; which *Montroſe* could not do with the handful of Men he had. Therefore he reſolved to make a briſk Attack with his left Wing at once. As he was forming this Deſign, one came and whiſpered him in the Ear, that the right Wing, commanded by *Macdonald*, had been put to the Flight. Fearing then that if that bad News were ſpread amongſt his Troops, it might diſcourage them, with a wonderful Preſence of Mind he ſaid to the *Gordons*, that *Macdonald* with his Wing had cut the Enemy in Pieces, that it was not reaſonable that he alone ſhould have all the Glory of ſo noble a Victory, and that at leaſt they muſt have their Share in it. Whereupon they all charged with a ſurpriſing Eagerneſs. *Hurry*'s Horſe did not long bear the fierce Shock of the *Gordons*; for having only fired their Piſtols, they gave Ground, and left the Flank open to *Montroſe*'s Horſe. Their Foot, though deſerted by the Horſe, made a vigorous Reſiſtance; but *Montroſe* having attacked them Sword in Hand, he broke and put them all to the Flight. Having ſucceeded in that according to his Expectation,

he immediately ran to the right Wing, which had not fought with ſo good Fortune; for *Macdonald* having more Courage than Conduct, could not keep the advantagious Poſt that had been given him, being nettled at the reproachful Language which the Enemy gave him, of purpoſe to draw him out to fight. But he had no ſooner ingaged them, than the Enemy's Horſe put him into Diſorder, and obliged him to return to his Poſt very faſt. He made amends for his raſhly quitting it, by a gallant Retreat; for retiring laſt of all himſelf, he ſtill made Head againſt the Enemy's Pike-men, covering his Body with a great Target, which he carried in his left Hand, and with his broad Sword cutting off the Spears of three or four of their Pikes at a Blow. 1645.

The Enemy ſeeing *Montroſe* coming to his Aſſiſtance, and their right Wing fled, their Horſe of the left Wing preſently betook themſelves to their Heels; but the Foot, which were old beaten Soldiers fighting gallantly, died almoſt all in their Ranks. Three thouſand of the Enemy were killed on the Spot, amongſt which were Colonel *Campbel* of *Lawers*, and Sir *John* and Sir *Gideon Murrays*. *Montroſe* loſt only one private Man in the left Wing, where he fought in Perſon, and fourteen in that commanded by *Macdonald*; but there was a much greater Number wounded. Almoſt all the Enemy's Horſe fled in great Confuſion through By-ways. *Hurry*, who made the Retreat himſelf, would have had Difficulty to get off, if *Montroſe*'s Men had not been alarmed by *Gordon* of who returning from the Purſuit with *Aboyn*, by Inadvertency carried ſome Standards high, which that Earl had taken from the Enemy; for that made thoſe of his own Party ſuſpect for ſome time, that it was the Enemy returning to the Charge. Mr. *Napier*, the Lord *Napier*'s eldeſt Son, and Nephew to *Montroſe* by his Mother, ſignalized himſelf in this Battle, and, by this Proof of his Courage, diſcovered what might be expected from him in Time coming. *Montroſe*, after his uſual Manner, treated the Priſoners with great Humanity; and having allowed his Troops ſome Days to refreſh themſelves, he marched to *Elgin*, where are ſtill to be ſeen the ſad Ruins of the Cathedral Church of *Murray*, which was of an admirable Structure.

He was obliged to ſtay ſome Time there for looking after his wounded Men, which he did very carefully. From thence having paſſed the *Spey*, he marched to *Strathbogy*, where *Hurry*, who had rallied his Horſe, and joined *Bailly*, came to attack him: But having ſo few Men, and, beſides, all fatigued, to withſtand ſo great a Number of freſh Men, he halted all that Day, and decamping in the Night-time, he marched on in good Order to *Balveny*, and having croſſed *Strath-Don* and *Strath-Spey*, got to *Badenoch*, having the Enemy ſtill at his Heels: And though he was not in a Condition to fight, to which they endeavoured to provoke him, yet he had frequent Skirmiſhes with them in the Night-time, and beat back their advanced Guards to their Quarters, there being only the River between the two Camps. At laſt loſing all Hopes of being able to bring him to fight, all of a ſudden they decamped in the Night-time, and retired to *Inverneſs*.

*MONTROSE* was very glad to be rid of *Hurry* and *Bailly*; for he had an Account, that the Earl of *Lindſey* had got the Command of the Covenanters Army in Place of *Argyle*, that he had gone over to *Angus* with a new levied Army, and was incamped at the Caſtle of *Newtile*. This Lord hoping to manage the Covenanters Affairs to better Purpoſe than

1645. than *Argyle* had done, intended to aſſiſt *Bailly* and *Hurry*, if he ſaw them ſtraitened, and whatever ſhould happen, to hinder *Montroſe* from paſſing the *Forth*, there being nothing that the Covenanters dreaded more, than to have the Seat of the War in *Lothian*, and in the Neighbourhood of *Edinburgh*. But as *Lindſey*'s Men were but raw Soldiers, *Montroſe* thought it would be eaſy for him to take them napping, and put them out of Conceit with advancing further.

FOR which end, he decamped from *Badenoch*, and having marched through the Plains of *Mar*, he paſſed the *Grampian* Hills, and, by long and troubleſome Marches, came to the River of *Airly*, within ſeven Miles of the Place where *Lindſey* was, before he had the leaſt Notice of his March. But here *Montroſe* was forced to let ſlip the Opportunity of fighting him; for the Troops that followed the Lord *Gordon*, left him without ſaying a Word, and returned to *Strathbogy*, where *Aboyn* had been left ſick. This Deſertion obliged *Montroſe* to alter his Deſign, and to ſend Colonel *Nathanael Gordon* after the Deſerters, to endeavour to make them change their Reſolution: But as that could not be done in ſo ſhort a Time, and that in the mean while *Bailly* and *Hurry* having left *Inverneſs*, were come with all their Forces into the Shire of *Aberdeen*, he was forced to return to the North himſelf. So leaving the River of *Airly*, he paſſed by *Gleney* into the upper *Mar*, from whence he ſent *Macdonald* with a Party, in order to haſten the Levies that were making in the *Highlands*, and having got to *Cromar*, he ordered the Lord *Gordon* to follow his Namesſake the Colonel, and by his Authority to oblige all thoſe that had quitted the Service to return to the Army. That brave Lord was as glad upon his receiving that Order, as he had been vexed and diſpleaſed with the Defection of his Followers, and he made ſuch Haſte, that in a ſhort time he appeared upon the Head of all thoſe Troops, accompanied by his Brother *Aboyn*, who had recovered his Health.

DURING their Abſence, *Montroſe* had Advice, that *Lindſey* had joined *Bailly* at *Drum*, in order to take Advantage of the Separation of his Troops, and as he was in a Place where he could not intrench himſelf ſo well but his Camp might be eaſily broken through, he marched in all Haſte to the Caſtle of *Kargaf*, and incamped in an advantagious Poſt, at the Foot of Hills, where he thought the Covenanters would not think it fit to attack him. Although the *Gordons* had come and joined him in this Poſt, yet he could not quit it to go and meet the Enemy: for *Aboyn* not being well recovered from his Sickneſs, relapſed, which obliged him to return, and take a Detachment of Horſe to guard him to *Strathbogy*. In the mean time *Lindſey* having taken a thouſand good old Soldiers from *Bailly*, and left in their Place as many of his new-raiſed Militia, returned through *Angus*, and entering the Shire of *Athol*, which was the Country of the Kingdom that was moſt in *Montroſe*'s Intereſt, he laid it waſte. *Bailly* at the ſame time returned to the North Country, and marched towards *Bogy*, a Caſtle belonging to the Marquis of *Huntley*, ſituate upon the Mouth of the *Spey*, and the moſt ſtately of all the North of *Scotland*, with a Deſign to make himſelf Maſter of it, or to lay waſte the Lands of that Lord and his Friends in its Neighbourhood. *Montroſe* having Notice of it, though *Macdonald* had not as yet joined him, reſolved to go to the Aſſiſtance of *Huntley*'s Friends, and, by all Manner of good Offices, to oblige them to join him in that Cauſe, which was common to them both. Upon this Reſolution, he marched directly for *Bogy*, where having had Advice of *Bailly*'s March, he followed him by the Track, and after marching about two Hours,

Hours, he diſcovered his Scouts: At the ſame time he detached ſome Men that knew the Roads of the Country well, in order to take a View of him. Theſe gave an Account that *Bailly*'s Foot were drawn up in Order upon a riſing Ground about two Miles off, and that his Horſe having paſſed the *Don*, were poſted in a narrow Paſs, half-way betwixt the two Armies. 1645.

*MONTROSE* forthwith ordered the few Horſe he had, with ſome Platoons of Muſketeers, to charge *Bailly*'s Horſe, and to view the Paſs. After ſome ſlight Skirmiſhes, *Bailly*'s Horſe repaſſed the River, and put themſelves in a Poſture of oppoſing the Paſſage of the Royaliſts: Whereupon *Montroſe* advanced with all his Foot, in order to force his Way; but Night coming on, he was obliged to keep them under Arms till the Morning, when ſeeing that he could not force his Paſſage, he ſent a Trumpet to offer a pitched Battle: But *Bailly* finding himſelf in ſo advantagious a Poſt, thought fit not to accept of it. Whereupon *Montroſe* marched to *Pitlurg*, and from thence to the Caſtle of *Druminnor*, where he ſtaid two Days, in order to oblige *Bailly* to quit his Poſt, and bring him to a Battle. But *Bailly* hearing that *Macdonald* was in the *Highlands* with a Detachment of *Montroſe*'s Troops, filed off towards *Strathbogy*, where having Notice of his March, he began then to purſue him. *Montroſe* having ſpied him about Noon, halted upon a riſing Ground; but *Bailly* not having a mind to give him that Advantage, turned aſide by another Road; after which *Montroſe* continued his March to the Village of *Alford*, where he paſſed the Night under Arms, being but four Miles from *Bailly*.

The next Morning betimes, which was the 2d of *July*, he marched out of the Village with a Troop of Horſe to get Intelligence of *Bailly*, and having advanced to the Banks of the River of *Don*, he learnt that the Covenanters Army was marching to ford the River about a Mile below *Alford*, with a Deſign to attack his Rear; becauſe they thought that *Montroſe* was flying before them.

Upon this Advice, he left his Troop upon the River-ſide, and in great Haſte returned all alone, in order to take Poſſeſſion of a Hill above the Village, where he drew up his Men in Order of Battle upon the Declivity of it; ſo that the Covenanters, who were on the oppoſite Side, could hardly ſee the Front-Rank; and there being a Moraſs-Ground behind him, he was in no Danger of being attacked in the Rear by their Horſe. He had ſcarce put his Troops in Order, when the Horſe, which he had left on the River-ſide, came at a full Gallop to tell him, that the Enemy had paſſed the River, and that they were advancing towards him in Battle Order. *Montroſe* gave the Command of the right Wing to the Lord *Gordon*, to whom he joined Colonel *Nathanael Gordon*, an old experienced Officer; of the left to *Aboyn* and *Rollok*; that of the main Body to *Drummond* of *Balloch*, and *Macdonald* of *Glengary*, to whom he added Major *George Graham*, and of the Body of Reſerve, which was quite covered by the Hill, to *Napier*, his Nephew. The Covenanters being drawn up upon a low Ground full of Ditches and Pits, the two Armies ſtood ſome time ſtaring at one another; for it was neither ſafe for the one to charge up the Hill, nor for the other to attack an Army ſurrounded with Ditches and Marſhes. They were very near equal in Foot, having about two thouſand each; but *Bailly* was much ſtronger in Horſe; for he had ſix hundred, and *Montroſe* had only two hundred and fifty. However *Montroſe*, who knew that it was not fit to delay attacking raw Soldiers, who having never *The Battle of* Alford.

1645. been in Action, would certainly be frighted being briſkly attacked, ordered the right Wing to fall upon the Enemy. The left Wing of the Covenanters, which was ſtrong in Horſe, bore the Shock with great Courage, and fought a long Time without giving Ground, though *Gordon* had broken through their firſt Ranks: But Colonel *Nathanael* having ordered the Platoons of Muſketeers, that were mixed with the Horſe, to throw down their Muſkets, and with their drawn Swords to ham-ſtring the Enemy's Horſe, they readily obeyed, and put them into a Conſternation. At the ſame time *Montroſe* made the Body of Reſerve advance, which appearing thus on a ſudden, the Horſe of the Covenanters left Wing were ſo terrified, that they all fled. That of the right, which *Aboyn* had broken through, ſeeing their left Wing routed and flying, likewiſe betook themſelves to their Heels. The Foot, though deſerted by the Horſe, ſtill ſtood their Ground, without aſking Quarters, ſo that they were almoſt all cut in Pieces.

THE *Gordons* purſuing the Enemy's Horſe, were ſtopt by a fatal Shot, which killed the Marquis of *Huntley*'s eldeſt Son. Beſides that gallant and promiſing Lord, *Montroſe* loſt none but other two Officers, *Boquhilly* and *Milton*; but not one Soldier, unleſs ſome *Scots* and *Iriſh* Soldiers Boys may be reckoned ſuch, which *Montroſe*, having ſo few Horſe, had cauſed to mount upon the Baggage Horſes, in order to make the greater Appearance. Theſe were not only Spectators of the Battle, wherein their Maſters were ſo far ingaged, but they had a mind to have their Share of the Victory, and ruſhing in among the thickeſt of the Enemy, with a Courage far ſurpaſſing their Age, ſome of them were killed upon the Place. What made the Day fatal to the Victorious, was the Death of the Lord *Gordon*; and, truly, they all expreſſed a great Senſe of that Loſs, and forgetting all the Advantages of the Victory, they gave Way to Grief, every body with great Reaſon lamenting the Death of that young Lord, which happened ſo unfortunately in the Flower of his Age. In this ſo univerſal Conſternation of the whole Army, *Montroſe* appeared every where to incourage his dejected Soldiers. He himſelf was inconſolable, having loſt the deareſt Friend he had in the World: However he concealed his Grief, and having cauſed his Corps to be imbalmed, ſome time after he made it to be interred in the Cathedral Church of *Aberdeen*, the Burying-place of the Family of *Huntley*.

THAT ſame Afternoon *Montroſe* marched to the Caſtle of *Cluny*, where having reſted ſome time, he then advanced to the Banks of the River of *Dee*; and becauſe many of the *Highlanders* had gone home with the Booty they had got at the Battle of *Alford*, which was fought in their Neighbourhood, and that *Macdonald* was not as yet returned with his new Levies, *Montroſe* reſolved to incamp at *Craigſton*, which is about a Mile and a half from the River, there to wait for all his Men; but eſpecially *Aboyn*, whom he had detached for raiſing Recruits in the Earldom of *Buchan*.

IN the mean time, the Parliament, which had been adjourned to *July*, met the 8th of that Month at *Stirling*: " They immediately began to take " into Conſideration the diſtracted State of the Kingdom, of which the " Peace (ſaid they) had been diſturbed for ſome Months by a parcel of " raſcally *Iriſh* Fellows, with whom ſome unnatural *Scotſmen* had joined; " and that theſe Traitors had had great Succeſs in their criminal Deſigns, " becauſe they had not met with ſo vigorous an Oppoſition as ought to " have been made, there not having been as yet but a few weak Regi-

" ments,

" ments, which had been drawn out of the Militia, to make Head againſt 1645.
" them; whereas the Nobility and Gentry, with all their Followers, ought
" to have met and fallen upon them at once. Therefore the Parliament
" conſidering, that by the Bleſſing, which God had viſibly given to their
" Arms, and to thoſe of their Brethren in *England*, having nothing to
" fear from without the Kingdom, they were reſolved ſeriouſly to apply
" themſelves to ſuppreſs the Rebellion within."

Towards the attaining of which, they ordained, that ſeveral Troops of Horſe, and Companies of Foot be now raiſed in all the Shires: That all the Nobility and Gentry take up Arms, and bring with them the greateſt Number of Men they poſſibly could, in order to meet at the Rendezvous appointed by the Parliament, all upon Pain of Treaſon: To which they added, that the Foot ſhould have Proviſion for eight Days, and the Horſe for forty. Moreover they prohibited all Perſons of what Condition ſoever to go out of the Kingdom without a Paſs from the Committee of Parliament, upon Pain of Confiſcation of all their moveable Goods; and all Maſters of Ships to carry any Perſon beyond Sea upon the ſame Pain, without the Committee's Paſs. Then they renewed the Commiſſions given before for raiſing Money to ſubſiſt their Army, after which they adjourned themſelves to the 24th of the ſame Month of *July*.

*MONTROSE* having reſted ſome Days at *Craigſton*, during which Time the Recruiting went but ſlowly on, and unwilling to continue there any longer doing nothing, ſent to *Aboyn*, who was come to *Aberdeen*, deſiring him as ſoon as poſſible to paſs the *Dee*, and come to him at *Fordon*, a Chapel, in the Shire of *Kincardin*, famous for being the Burying-place of S. *Palladius*, who, in the Year 429 was ſent to *Scotland* by Pope *Celeſtin*, in order to oppoſe the Doctrine of *Pelagius*, which was ſpread over all that Kingdom. The proud Broacher of that learned Hereſy, as S. *Jerom* calls it, was not a *Scotſman*, as many think that holy Doctor believed him to be; but 'tis for want of having well conſidered his Words: For he diſtinguiſheth betwixt *Pluto*, who acted the Mute, and *Cerberus*, who barks. By the one he means *Pelagius*, who wrote nothing, or very little; and by the other *Celeſtinus*, who wrote a great deal, and whom he calls a *Scotſman*, that is to ſay, an *Iriſhman*, according to the manner of ſpeaking at that Time. For of old *Ireland* was called *Scotland*, and the *Scotland* of now a-days *Albany*: In former Times *Ireland* was likewiſe called *Great-Scotland*, and *Little-Britain*. As for *Pelagius* he was a *Welſhman*. S. *Proſper* calls him, *Æquoreum Britannum*, alluding either to the Iſland of *Great-Britain*, or to his Name, which, in the *Welſh* or *Low Britiſh* Language, was probably *Morgan*, that is to ſay, *Maritime*. According to the old *Engliſh* Hiſtorians, he was Abbot of that famous Abbey of *Bangor*, wherein above twelve hundred Monks lived by their own handy Work.

*ABOYN* went immediately and joined *Montroſe* at *Fordon*, but his Retinue being very ſmall, *Montroſe* ſent him back again to finiſh the Levies, and conjured him to uſe his utmoſt Diligence. In the mean while, he entered the Shire of *Angus*, where he met *Inchbraky* at the Head of the *Atholmen*, and *Macdonald* with a good Number of *Highlanders*, with whom had joined *Mackclean*, a powerful Man in the *Highlands*, with ſeven hundred Men, and *Glengary*, with as many; the Clans of *Mackgregor* and *Macknab*, with a good Number of that of the *Farquharſons*, of the Shire of *Mar*, and ſome others of *Badenoch*, all which joined *Montroſe* about the ſame time.

*MONTROSE*

1645. *MONTROSE* having received ſo conſiderable a Reinforcement, reſolved to march into the Heart of the Kingdom, as well to hinder the Levies that were making in the Shire of *Fife*, and in the Country on this Side of the *Forth*, as to break up the Parliament that was Sitting at *Perth*. What made this Undertaking very difficult, was his Weakneſs in Horſe; inſomuch that he could ſcarce venture to go down to the *Low Country*; but hoping, that the Earls of *Airly* and *Aboyn* would ſoon bring him a Body of Horſe, he paſſed the *Tay* at *Dunkel*, and having incamped in the Wood of *Methuen*, he put the Parliament at *Perth* in a terrible Fright.

THE Covenanters Foot were incamped on this Side of the River of *Erne*, and their Horſe near the Town for the Security of the Parliament. How ſoon they had diſcovered *Montroſe*'s Scouts, they galloped to the Town in a great Hurry, where they told, that *Montroſe* was cloſe at their Heels with all his Forces, with a Deſign to take it, though that was a Body of four hundred Horſe, and that *Montroſe* had not above a hundred. The next Day, the more to frighten the Town, he cauſed a hundred Muſketeers to be mounted upon Baggage-Horſes, and appeared before the Gates in very good Order. The Covenanters believing that he was much ſtronger in Horſe than he was, did not offer to ſally out upon him; but ſtood upon their Guard: Whereupon *Montroſe* marched towards *Duplin*, and made Incurſions all along the River of *Erne*, where he beat up ſome of the Enemy's Quarters, who fearing that he would paſs the *Forth*, aſſembled all their Troops, and incamped at *Newtown*, upon the Road to *Stirling*. Both Armies continued incamped for ſeveral Days, the Covenanters expecting their Recruits from *Fife*, *Lothian*, and the Weſtern Shires of the Kingdom, and *Montroſe* his from the North, which he ſent to haſten, leſt he ſhould loſe ſo fair an Opportunity of beating the Covenanters. But they at laſt having underſtood, that the Body of Horſe, which he made appear, was nothing but a Feint, they marched to attack him. They were about four thouſand Men ſtronger than he, which obliged him quickly to leave the Plain, and get to an advantagious Poſt in the Mountains, whither the Covenanters could not purſue him. For which end, he ſent away his Baggage privately, and drew up his Men in Order of Battle, ſtill making as if he had a mind to wait the Enemy, above all placing ſtrong Guards at the Avenues of the Wood of *Methuen*, till his Baggage was in a Place of Safety. All this being done, he ordered the Troops to retire in good Order, and to march cloſe, making the Retreat himſelf with the Horſe, and ſome choice Muſketeers. The Covenanters, who expected to fight, perceiving that he was retreating, advanced in Order to charge him briſkly. *Montroſe* having gained the narrow Paſſes, repulſed them without Loſs. This fine Retreat provoked the Covenanters the more, who thought that their Honour was at Stake in not purſuing the Royaliſts, and having loſt ſo fair an Opportunity of beating them, they detached three hundred of their beſt Horſe, who advanced with great Fury: *Montroſe* immediately detached twenty choice Fuſileers from amongſt the *Highlanders*, who being all good Marks-men, took their Aim ſo well, that they knocked down all thoſe that were on the Head of that Brigade. The reſt ſeeing that, without any more ado, wheeled about, and vented their Fury upon ſome poor *Iriſh* Women, who were following their Huſbands. As ſoon as they had joined their main Body, the whole Army incamped at *Methuen*. *Montroſe* having gained an advantagious Poſt, and not to be come at by the Horſe, at little *Dunkel*, he found that Place convenient

for receiving the Recruits, which *Aboyn* was bringing him from the North, and whom he was expecting with great Impatience. 1645.

In the mean time, the Parliament, which was Sitting in *Perth*, confirmed the Directory for divine Service, which the King had prohibited by his Proclamation of the 5th of *November*. Then they ſet a great Fine upon all Blaſphemers, Drunkards, and all ſuch as turned holy Things into Ridicule; becauſe, ſaid they, that having broken the Covenant in that Article, which obliges every one of them ſeriouſly to reform their Lives, they had drawn down the Judgment of God upon the Kingdom. Beſides, they ordained that all the Fines ſhould be imployed in pious Works; after which turning their Thoughts to what concerned the War, they declared, that all Deſerters from the Army, of whatever Quality or Condition they might be, ſhould be treated as Malignants; that is to ſay, as Perſons diſaffected to Religion and the State. They likewiſe ordained to be levied the fourth Part of the Rents of all the Nobility and Gentry, and of all ſuch as had Fiefs, who ſhould not appear at the Rendezvous appointed by the Parliament the 9th of *July* that ſame Year, or who had not furniſhed the Number of Horſes that had been ordered them by the ſame Parliament; and that the ſaid fourth Part of their Rents ſhould be imployed in making new Levies, and Proviſion of Arms and Ammunition. They likewiſe ordained, that all thoſe who ſhould ſide with the Rebels (for ſuch they called thoſe who followed *Montroſe*) ſhould be declared incapable of poſſeſſing any Lands, or injoying any other Sort of Eſtate of what Nature ſoever; or even to ſucceed to Dignities, though hereditary in the Families: Beſides, that all thoſe, who in any manner whatſoever had been ingaged in that Party, ſhould be proceeded againſt with the ſame Rigour, if they did not quit it before the 15th of *September* next, and if, after having appeared before the Committee of Parliament, they did not ſubmit to eccleſiaſtical Cenſures: But if they returned with that ſubmiſſive Mind before the Day preſcribed them, their Crime ſhould be pardoned. However they declared unworthy of that Pardon *James Graham*, formerly Earl of *Montroſe*, *James Ogilvie* and *James Gordon*, the one formerly Earl of *Airly*, and the other of *Aboyn*, *Mackdonald*, the *Grahams* of *Inchbraky* and *Gorthy*, Sir *William Rollok*, and Colonel *Nathanael Gordon*. At laſt the Parliament having raiſed the Value of the Money, and made many other Regulations concerning the ſubſiſting of their Troops, was adjourned to the 26th of *November* following.

*MONTROSE* was ſadly vexed, that he ſhould be obliged to part without fighting; and the ſpending of ſo much Time in making Recruits in the North likewiſe gave him a great deal of Uneaſineſs. But at laſt, after having waited a long Time at *Little Dunkel*, where every Day ſeemed as long to him as a whole Month, *Aboyn* and Colonel *Gordon* arrived with two hundred Horſe, and about twelve hundred Foot, which revived *Montroſe*, though that Number was much leſs than what he had expected, but theſe brave Gentlemen ſupplied the Number by the Greatneſs of their Courage.

The Earl of *Airly* likewiſe came there on the Head of fourſcore Gentlemen, well mounted, and moſt of them of the Name of *Ogilvie*. *Montroſe* had no ſooner got this Reinforcement, than he reſolved, without Loſs of Time, to go in queſt of the Enemy, and having advanced to *Logy-Amond*, about three Miles only from the Covenanters Camp, he quartered his Foot there; and having had Advice, that a Part of their Troops

1645. had deſerted them, about the Evening he advanced with the Horſe towards their Camp, in order to view them; but they kept ſo cloſe that he could not well be a Judge of their Number. It ſeemed to him only, that they had a Deſign to march off in the Night-time. But having again mounted his Horſe the next Morning by Break of Day to get Intelligence of them, he found, that they had decamped in the Night-time, and paſſed the Bridge of *Erne* in great Confuſion; whereupon he made all his Troops advance, and having marched after the Enemy for a long Time, he paſſed the River ſix Miles above the Bridge, and incamped that Night upon the River-ſide.

He had a great Mind to fight that Army before it ſhould be reinforced with the Troops that were raiſing in the Shire of *Fife*, which was the Shire of all the Kingdom moſt in their Intereſt. 'Tis a *Peninſule* between the Rivers of *Tay* and *Forth* extreamly populous. The Entry to it from the Weſt is by a narrow Paſſage, where the two Armies then were. *Montroſe* having drawn up his Men in Order of Battle, offered to fight the Enemy, who were ſo advantagiouſly poſted, that he could neither go to them, nor draw them out of their Camp. But at laſt, after having expected them two whole Days, without their having made the leaſt Motion, he marched his Men in Battle-Order to *Kinroſs*, with a Reſolution, if he could, to advance further into the Shire, as well to put a Stop to the Recruits that were raiſing every where for the Covenanters Army, as to oblige them to quit their Poſt, and advance to the Aſſiſtance of their Friends. Which they preſently did; but inſtead of following *Montroſe*, they took their Rout towards the *Tay*, and in great Haſte marched to the Eaſt Part of the Shire, that the new Levies might join them without running the Riſk of meeting him. But at the ſame time having ſent out ſeveral ſmall Parties, Sir *William Rollok* fell in with two hundred Men, and though he had but twelve Horſe with him, he killed ſome of them, took ſeveral Priſoners, and obliged the reſt to fly. 'Tis true they were but new raiſed Men, for the moſt part bred up to the Sea, or Commerce, and who had not been trained up in the Wars.

*ROLLOK* and Colonel *Gordon* having aſſured *Montroſe*, that the whole Shire was up in Arms, and that the Enemy had got a conſiderable Reinforcement both of Horſe and Foot, he did not think it ſafe raſhly to ingage with ſo great a Number of Men, and ſo much the leſs, that he was in a Country, where the Royal Party was extreamly hated. But, beſides, having been well informed, that the Covenanters were making Levies every where on the South of the *Forth*, he reſolved to paſs that River, thinking that the Militia of *Fife* ſeeing him once out of their Shire, would be unwilling to follow him any further, and would retire to their own Houſes; and, that on the orher Side, he might either gain over to himſelf, or at leaſt diſperſe the Troops, which the Earls of *Caſſils* and *Eglington* were raiſing in the Weſt Country, with thoſe that the Earl of *Laurek* was drawing together upon the Banks of the *Clyd*.

*The End of the Fifth BOOK.*

THE

# THE HISTORY OF THE TROUBLES OF *GREAT-BRITAIN.*

## BOOK VI.

THE River of *Forth* takes its Riſe in the Earldom of *Menteth*, near the great *Lough-Loumond*, in which there are thirty Iſlands. It glides along by the Foot of the Caſtle of *Stirling*, which is truly Royal, and one of the moſt ſtately Buildings in *Great-Britain*, where it meets the Tide, and in pleaſant Windings runs through the Carſe * of *Stirling*, which is one of the moſt fertile Valleys of the Kingdom. It has formerly been all covered with the Sea; for Anchors have been found near the Town of *Falkirk*, which is ſituate upon riſing Ground, and now four Miles from the Sea. There is a Tradition in the Country, that the Sea retired, and left this Valley dry, at the ſame time that ſome Iſlands of *Holland* were over-flowed near that of *Walkeren*, from whence one ſees a frightful Sight of Steeples of Churches, which ſtill appear above Water. At each Tide in the *Forth*, the Sea flows by the Rivulets and Canals of this Valley to *Airth*, *Salmon-net*, *Grange*, and to other Places, where the Ground is very muddy; ſo that when the Weather is fair, the low Meadows are watered gently, and likewiſe fattened: But in ſtormy Weather, or when the Wind blows from the North-Eaſt, the Sea makes terrible Havock there, breaks down the Sluices, the Banks, the Fences of Pales, and even carries away the Cattle, as it happened in the Time of that great Storm,

1645.

*A Deſcription of the River of* Forth.

* Valley.

1645. Storm, which was the Fore-runner of King *James*'s Death. The River is above ſixty Miles long, reckoning from its Source to S. *Abb*'s Head. From the Port of *Leith* to the *Fife-ſide*, 'tis ſeven Miles broad, and ſtill grows broader towards its Mouth. There are a great many Iſlands in it, the chief of which are *Garvy*, near the *Queen*'s *Ferry*, and that of S. *Colomb*, commonly called S. *Come*, where, when the Kingdom was Catholick, there was a fine Collegiate Church of Canons regular. The Abbey of *Holy-Rood Houſe* was likewiſe of that Order, and the greateſt Ornament that *Scotland* owes to that Order, was *Richard*, commonly called of S. *Victor*, who is interred in the Church of that Saint, ſituate in the Suburbs of *Paris*. The *Engliſh* having once plundered the ſaid Collegiate Church, they all periſhed in Sight of the Iſland on account of that Sacrilege. Next to this holy Iſland is that of *Keith*, over-againſt the Port of *Leith*, where there is nothing but an old Fort, half-ruined. Horſes are ſent thither to graze, and perhaps 'tis becauſe of that Cuſtom that the *French* called it the *Iſle of Horſes*, when *Monſieur d'Eſſe* took it from the *Engliſh* in the Time of *Henry* VIII. The Iſland of *May*, where there is a Light-houſe for the Conveniency of Ships entering the River in the Night-time, is towards its Mouth on the *Fife-ſide*: But what is yet more remarkable, is the ſmall Iſland of the *Baſs*, on the *Lothian-ſide*. 'Tis exactly round, and riſing to a great Height out of the Sea, there is no getting up to it but by a little Stair hewn out of the Rock: It has an excellent Spring of freſh Water in the middle, though it be all ſurrounded with ſalt Water forty Fathom deep. There is a certain Sort of Fowl, which the Inhabitants of the Country call *Solan-Geeſe*, which build their Neſts in this Iſland. None of them are found any where elſe, except in another little Iſland upon the Coaſt of *Galloway*: And it is from that probably, that they are called *Solan*, by Corruption of the Word *Inſulani*. When they return in the Spring-time, from whence no body knows, they fly about the Iſland for two or three Days before they ſit down upon it, as it were in order to view it, and diſcover the moſt proper Places for building their Neſts. Then it is delightful to ſee this Iſland, which appears to be ſurrounded with a white Cloud. They eat nothing but what they fiſh in the Sea, and they are exceeding tender and fat. 'Tis likewiſe very ſtrange that when they are out of Sight of the Sea, they loſe the Uſe of their Wings, running up and down with extream Swiftneſs in order to find out that Element. The Seamen often meet them as they return from Fiſhing, and though it be ſometimes very far from the Shore, and in thick Fogs, yet looking to their Compaſs to ſee what Courſe they are taking, they find that the foremoſt, that flies at the Head of the reſt, as the wild Geeſe do, directs his Flight as ſtraight to this Iſland, as if they ſaw it. This Ingenuity of Animals is called Inſtinct, which is a Term, among many others, that Men have invented in order to cloke their Ignorance.

NOTHING more beautiful can be ſeen than the two Coaſts of *Fife* and *Lothian*. They do not yield in Fertility to the beſt Country in *England*, and they contain a great Number of Towns and Ports, ſome whereof are capable to hold a hundred Ships ſheltered from all Winds. 'Tis on theſe two Coaſts that the Sea-Coal is chiefly dug out, though it is to be found in other Parts of theſe Shires; but very little on the North Side of the *Tay*. The Coal that is got on the Banks of the *Forth*, proves very convenient for making White Salt with Fire, which is very good to eat with Meat, or to powder Beef; but it has not Strength enough for Salting that which is deſigned to be kept, without mixing *French* Salt with it. 'Tis very ſtrange that though the Water be equally ſalt in the Places where this Salt

is

is made, yet in one Place, that which the Salt-makers call the *Broth*, ſhall be good for making Salt, and two Miles from that, it ſhall be good for nothing. 1645.

'Tis at the Town of *Dumbar*, twelve Miles below *Leith*, upon the ſame River, that the great Herring-fiſhing is. It begins the firſt of *Auguſt*, and continues about three Weeks: But in that Time there is ſuch a prodigious Quantity taken, that it is almoſt incredible. However, theſe are Herrings that are ready to ſpawn, ſo that they are nothing near ſo good, as thoſe which are taken a little before at *Dumbarton* and *Air*, in the Weſtern Sea; nor even as thoſe which the *Dutch* fiſh off the Mouth of this River, without Sight of Land however: For they are prohibited to come nearer, and beſides they pay a Tribute to the King for the Liberty of Fiſhing there. I thought that this little Digreſſion would not be diſagreeable to the Reader: But let us reſume our Hiſtory.

*MONTROSE* then having reſolved to paſs this beautiful and rich River of *Forth*, he marched from *Kinroſs*, and incamped about three Miles from *Stirling*. The next Day having ſent away his Foot before him, he followed them with the Horſe, which he kept ſtill in the Rear, ſuſpecting that the Enemy was purſuing him. Nor was he deceived in that Suſpicion; for ſome Spies that he had left behind, brought Word, that *Bailly* was advancing with a powerful Army; and ſoon after his Scouts began to appear. One of the foremoſt having been taken Priſoner, and brought to *Montroſe*, confeſſed to him frankly, that in his Opinion the Covenanters were reſolved to purſue him the whole Night, in order to bring him to a Battle as ſoon as poſſible, before the Troops of *Fife*, which by no Means would paſs the *Forth*, ſhould leave them. Whereupon *Montroſe* having incouraged his Men to continue their March, left the Town of *Stirling* on his left Hand, where there was a ſtrong Garriſon, and paſſed the River that ſame Night about four Miles above the Town. By Break of Day he was got ſix Miles on this Side of *Stirling*, where having halted, he underſtood, that the Covenanters had not paſſed the River the Night before; but that they had incamped about three Miles from *Stirling* on the other Side. Nevertheleſs *Montroſe* ſtill marching on till he came to *Kilſyth*, where he incamped, and ordered his Troops to be in a Readineſs either to fight or march as Occaſion ſhould offer. In the mean Time, the Covenanters taking a ſhorter and more eaſy Way, paſſed the River at the Bridge of *Stirling*, and incamped about three Miles from *Kilſyth*.

During the March of the two Armies, the Earl of *Lanrik* having got together a thouſand Foot, and about five hundred Horſe, was incamped twelve Miles from *Kilſyth*; and on the other Hand the Earls of *Glencarn*, *Caſſils*, and *Eglington*, were haſtening the Levies in the Weſtern Shires, which were going on the more eaſily, that that Country had not as yet felt any of the Inconveniencies that attend War. Therefore *Montroſe* reſolved to fight *Bailly*; for though he was much ſtronger than he, and that his Army conſiſted of ſix thouſand Foot, and eight hundred Horſe, *Montroſe* having only four thouſand five hundred Foot, and five hundred Horſe; yet he conſidered that the Match would be ſtill more unequal, if he ſhould wait till theſe Earls joined him with their Forces; in which caſe he would be forced, with the Danger of loſing the Reputation which he had formerly gained, to betake himſelf to the Mountains. On the other hand, the Covenanters thinking that *Montroſe* had paſſed the

1645. *Forth* more out of Fear than Deſign, their chief Aim was to deprive him of all Hopes of a Retreat. In order to compaſs that, by Break of Day, which was the 15th of *Auguſt*, having drawn up their Army, they began to march directly to the Royaliſts; which *Montroſe* having perceived, and ſenſible that the good or bad Succeſs of the King's Affairs in *Scotland* depended upon that Day, he forgot nothing that a great General could do for incouraging his Soldiers. He ordered them all, as well the Horſe as the Foot, to throw off their Doublets, and every Man turning up his Shirt-Sleeves, by that Reſolution to ſtrike Terror into the Enemy, and let them know that they were reſolved either to conquer or die. In the Field of Battle there were ſome Cottages and Gardens adjoining them, *Montroſe* drawing up his Men, poſted ſome Muſketeers there; but before he had done putting the reſt of his Men in Order of Battle, the Covenanters charged thoſe Muſketeers very ſmartly, in order to drive them out of that Poſt; but they received the Enemy without giving Ground; and after this firſt Heat was a little cooled, they fell upon them, put them to the Flight, and laid ſome of them dead upon the Spot, which ſo heartened the *Highlanders*, whereof there were about a thouſand in *Montroſe*'s advanced Guard, that without waiting the General's Orders, they run deſperately up a little Hill within Piſtol-Shot of the Covenanters, and expoſed themſelves to be cut in Pieces, if the Enemy's Horſe had ſurrounded them. But their advanced Guard waiting for that of the Rear, which was advancing but ſlowly, *Montroſe* had Time to relieve theſe raſh Men. For as the Covenanters had cauſed three Troops of Horſe, followed by two thouſand Foot, to advance, in order to attack them, he ordered the brave Earl of *Airly* to go to their Aſſiſtance with his Brigade, which he did with ſo great Courage, that after a ſharp Ingagement, his Horſe, which conſiſted for the moſt part of Gentlemen of his own Name of *Ogilvie*, routed the Enemy's Horſe, and made them fall foul upon their Foot. This Advantage continued to animate *Montroſe*'s Men ſo much, that with a great Shout they ruſhed in amongſt the Enemy, and charged them with ſo much Fury, that their Horſe having given Ground, the Foot threw down their Arms, and fled. The Victorious purſued them hotly for fourteen Miles, and made ſo great a Slaughter, that above four thouſand of them lay dead upon the Place, and all their Cannon and Baggage were taken, beſides a great Number of Priſoners; among which were Sir *William Murray* of *Blebo*, *James Balfour* of *Ferny*, Brother to the Lord *Burley*, and Lieutenant Colonels *Dice* and *Walace*. *Montroſe* loſt only ſix Men, three of which were *Ogilvies*, who paved the Way to this great Victory, which was a great Check to the Covenant, and ſtruck Terror into the Covenanters, the chief Men whereof, that were at this bloody Battle, either fled to *Stirling*, or got aboard of Ships that were lying at Anchor, nor did they think themſelves ſafe till they were in the open Sea.

*The Battle of* Kilſyth.

AFTER this Victory, the Face of Affairs began quickly to alter over all the Kingdom. The Heads of the Covenanters fled in a Hurry, ſome to *Carliſle*, others to *Berwick* and *Newcaſtle*, and even ſome, to be further off, retired to *Holland* and *Ireland*. On the other hand, the Royaliſts began then to take Courage, and to declare openly for *Montroſe*. And even many of the Covenanters forſaking their Party, came and offered their Service to him; and as the Minds of Men are naturally changeable, and always comply with the Times, they expreſſed as much Hatred againſt thoſe, whom they had ſtill followed, and had but juſt left, as Eſteem for *Montroſe*, whom before they ſo much abhorred. Some Shires likewiſe, and ſome particular Towns ſent Deputies to him, to aſſure him of their Submiſſion,

miſſion, and to offer him Men and Ammunition. At laſt ſome of the Nobility came and joined him, highly extolling the great Service he had done the King, though ſome of them did it through Diſſimulation, and in order to deceive him. 1645.

Thus did the King's Affairs go on ſo ſucceſsfully, that *Montroſe* having left behind him all the North Country in Submiſſion, and, by this laſt Defeat of the Covenanters, opened a Paſſage into the South, there were only the Earls of *Caſſils* and *Eglington*, with ſome other Lords of the Weſt Country, who were perſuading the People to riſe up in Arms; and in a tumultuary Way were raiſing Recruits for making up a new Body of an Army, with the broken Remains that had eſcaped from the Battle of *Kilſyth*. Therefore, the next Day after the Battle, *Montroſe* marched to the Banks of the *Clyde*, from whence he could conveniently diſpatch the neceſſary Orders to the South and Weſt; and at the ſame time, he entered the City of *Glaſgow*, where he was received with the Acclamations of all the Citizens, from whom he received the Oath of Fidelity; and upon Pain of Death forbid the Soldiers to commit any Inſolence there. After having ſtaid only one Day in that City, he left it, and marched to *Bothwel*, ſix Miles from thence, where he incamped: And becauſe his Camp was ſo near the City, he gave Power to the Magiſtrates to puniſh, according to the Rigour of the Laws, ſuch Soldiers as ſhould leave the Camp, and offer Violence to any Perſon whatſoever.

*MONTROSE* continued ſeveral Days incamped at *Bothwel*, where he treated with the Deputies of the Towns and Shires that had ſubmitted, and whither a great many Lords and Gentlemen came to offer him their Service. The Principal of which was the Marquis of *Dowglaſs*, Chief of that illuſtrious Family, which is ſo well known in *France*, and where the late Colonel of that Name hath by his Valour very recently revived the Memory of that of his Anceſtors. They have been Dukes of *Touraine*, and in great Eſteem with the Kings of *France*, *Charles* VI. and VII, whom they ſerved with ſo great Fidelity and Honour, that thoſe great Princes thought them worthy of being honoured with the firſt Dignities of the Kingdom. At all great Solemnities in *Scotland* the Marquis of *Dowglas* carries the Crown: And it belongs to him to lead the Van of the King's Army, whence it comes, that they have for Deviſe, *Jamais arriere*. As this Family has produced Heroes, ſo has it Heroines. For of this Family was that truly noble Lady, who at the Death of King *James* I. did an Action ſurpaſſing the uſual Fortitude and Reſolution of her Sex. As the Lords, who had conſpired againſt that excellent Prince, had been introduced into his Anti-chamber by a Traitor, who had taken away the Bar of the Door, which ſhut the Chamber, ſo that it was only ſhut with a Latch, and might have been broke open with the Stroke of a Foot: While the Conſpirators were at a Stand, whether they ſhould make Uſe of Force, or wait till ſome body ſhould go in or come out; *Walter Straiton*, a Gentleman of the King's Bed-Chamber, came out, who, upon ſeeing thoſe curſed Wretches with Daggers in their Hands, crying out, they diſpatched him: Which this Lady ſeeing, with incredible Swiftneſs ſhe run to ſhut the Door; and not finding the Bar, ſhe thruſt her Arm into the Hole in Place of it; but ſhe was immediately thrown down and her Arm broken to Pieces: At laſt the bloody Wretches ruſhing into the Chamber, the matchleſs Queen *Joan*, of the Houſe of *Somerſet*, imbraced the King ſo cloſely, that ſhe received many Wounds before they could touch the ſacred Perſon of their Sovereign.

With

1645. WITH the Marquis of *Dowglas* came the Earls of *Linlithgow*, *Anandale*, and *Hertfield*; the Lords *Seaton*, *Drummond*, *Fleming*, *Maderty*, *Carnegy*, and *Johnſton*, *Hamilton* of *Orbeſton*, *Charters* of *Hempsfield*, *Towers* of *Inverleith*, *Stuart* of *Roſyth*, and *Dalzel*, Brother to the Earl of *Carnwarth*. It was at *Bothwel* that Sir *Robert Spotſwood* delivered to *Montroſe* the King's Commiſſion from *Hereford* to be Commander in Chief, and Generaliſſimo of his Armies in *Scotland*. That Commiſſion was very ample, and gave him full Power to fortify or diſmantle whatever Places he thought fit; to raiſe Troops over all the Kingdom; and to make the Shires contribute towards their Subſiſtance; to treat with the Covenanters, and even to make Knights; in a Word, the Commiſſion gave him full Power of Vice-Roy in *Scotland*.

ALL theſe Advantages did not make him forget the Priſoners, which the Covenanters kept in the Caſtle and Priſons of *Edinburgh*, whom, before all Things, he had a mind to ſet at Liberty. For that end, he ſent *Naiper*, his Nephew, and Colonel *Nathaniel Gordon* with ſome Troops of Horſe, who halted about four Miles from the City; as well becauſe the Plague was then raging in it, as becauſe *Montroſe*'s Soldiers were extreamly incenſed againſt the Citizens, who, above all others, had contributed moſt to the Civil War. As ſoon as the News of their Approach was known in the City, the Magiſtrates ſent to them, begging, that they would have Compaſſion of the deplorable State to which they were reduced, and to take them under *Montroſe*'s Protection. *Naiper* promiſed to do them what Service lay in his Power for obtaining that Favour of him, provided they would bring him the Priſoners which they had, and ſend ſome Delegates to treat with his Uncle, who without doubt would make them feel the Effects of the King's Clemency, as other Towns had done that had implored his Pardon. The Meſſengers with great Joy returned with this Anſwer to the City, which was already trembling for fear, and in an Inſtant the Magiſtrates cauſed to be ſet at Liberty the Earl of *Crawford* and the Lord *Ogilvie*, this laſt having fallen into the Enemy's Hands as he was going to the King, and ſent them to *Montroſe* along with their Delegates. *Naiper* returned with them, and in paſſing through *Linlithgow* he releaſed his Father, the Lord *Naiper*, with his Wife, a Daughter of the Earl of *Mar*, his Brother-in-Law *Stirling* of *Keir*, a very gallant Man, and two of his Siſters, who had been all thrown into Priſon, when he eſpouſed the King's Cauſe along with *Montroſe*. When they arrived at the Camp, *Montroſe* knew not what Reception to give theſe poor Lords, to expreſs the Senſe he had of the bad Uſage they had met with, only for having been faithful to the King. He immediately gave Audience to the Delegates of the City of *Edinburgh*. The Subſtance of their Speech was; "That the "Council and People of the City ſubmitted to him; that they promiſed "Fidelity and Submiſſion to the King; and that though the Peſtilence had "almoſt diſpeopled their City, yet they ſhould not fail to contribute to-"wards the Levies which he ſhould have a mind to make elſewhere; but "that they begged of him to implore the King's Clemency in their Fa-"vour, and to repreſent to him the State in which their poor City was, "which would touch his Majeſty, and induce him to take Compaſſion of "them." He required nothing of them, except, "That they would keep "faithful to the King, and quit the Party of thoſe that were in Arms a-"gainſt his Service, as well within as without the Kingdom; that they "would deliver up the Caſtle to his Majeſty's Officers, and if they had "as yet any Priſoners in the ſaid Caſtle, or elſewhere, that, upon their "Return,

" Return, they would ſet them at Liberty." The Priſoners, indeed, were releaſed, as they had promiſed; but the Caſtle was not delivered up, nor did the City ever quit the Intereſt of the Covenanters, who ſome time after made thoſe Magiſtrates pay a great Fine, for having treated with *Montroſe*; and they ſerved ſome Country-Gentlemen in the ſame manner, only for having deſired Safe-guards and Protection of *Montroſe*, in order to be freed from Pillage. 1645.

While theſe Things were a doing at *Edinburgh*, *Montroſe* ſent *Mackdonald*, and *Drummond* of *Balloch*, a moſt daring Man, with a Detachment into the Weſtern Shires, to reduce the Militia which *Eglington* and *Caſſils* had raiſed; but they did not wait their coming, and diſappeared upon their Approach, which, however, had a better Effect: For the Towns of *Air* and *Irvine*, with many Gentlemen of thoſe Shires ſubmitted, and in a handſome Manner offered their Service to *Montroſe*, who did not expect ſo ready a Submiſſion from them.

At the ſame time, *Montroſe* began to frame his Deſigns upon the Southern Parts of the Kingdom, and ſent to the Earls of *Hume*, *Roxborough*, and *Traquaire*, who were very powerful on the Borders, to invite them to come and give Proofs of their Zeal and Affection for the King's Service, which they were in a particular Manner obliged to do. They made him Anſwer, " That they were all ready to ſerve in Perſon, and to join him " with their Friends and Vaſſals. But becauſe his Preſence would incou- " rage not only all ſuch as depended upon them, but would likewiſe ob- " lige the Militia of the Country to riſe, they begged of him to advance " towards the Borders, where they would do their utmoſt to haſten the " Levies." *Montroſe* having drawn this Anſwer from theſe Noblemen, he ſent the Marquis of *Dowglas* and the Lord *Ogilvie* into the Shires of *Annandale* and *Nithſdale*, with Orders to join the Earls of *Annandale* and *Hartfield*, and there to raiſe what Horſe they could, with which they were afterwards to march and join the aforeſaid three Earls, who had juſt now aſſured him, that they would uſe the ſame Diligence on their Part.

In a very ſhort time, *Dowglas* made conſiderable Levies, and, according to his Orders, advanced to *Galaſheels*, that he might give an Opportunity to the Noblemen on the South Borders to take the Field. They not only ſent Word to *Dowglas* but to *Montroſe* himſelf, that his Preſence was abſolutely neceſſary. *Montroſe* thinking that *Dowglas* being there was ſufficient, he did not decamp from *Bothwel* till he had received the King's Orders, who wrote to him from *Oxford*, ordering him to advance towards the *Tweed*, and to join *Roxborough* and *Traquaire*, whom he would find faithful and well affected to his Service; and that if Lieutenant General *Leſly*, who commanded the Horſe of the *Scots* Army that was in *England*, ſhould advance towards the Borders with a Deſign to paſs that River, he would cauſe a Relief of Horſe to be kept in Readineſs, which ſhould have Orders to join and obey him. Whereupon *Montroſe*, without any more ado, reſolved to go whither the King called him.

As he was making ready to decamp, the *Highlanders*, who were under the Conduct of *Mackdonald*, came to him, and deſired Liberty to go home to gather their Harveſt, ſeeing there was no Body of an Army that appeared for the Covenanters. They faithfully promiſed to return to the Army in ſix Weeks Time, and to bring with them what Recruits they

1645 could make in the *Highlands*. *Montroſe* not being able to detain them, becauſe they followed him only as Volunteers, and without receiving any Pay, gave them Leave, and with Expreſſions both obliging and full of Eſteem for their Valour, conjured them to be as good as their Word, and to continue firm in the Reſolution they had taken for the King's Service. Thus went they away loaded with Booty to the Number of three thouſand Men, under the Conduct of *Mackdonald*, whom *Montroſe* had pitched upon to be their Leader. *Mackdonald*, who had expreſſed too much Fondneſs for that Imployment, not content with taking the *Highlanders* along with him; but he likewiſe took a hundred and twenty of the beſt *Iriſhmen*, under Pretence of a Guard for his Perſon.

*MONTROSE* having decamped from *Bothwel*, marched to *Calder*, where he received another Diſpleaſure much more ſenſible, than that which *Mackdonald*'s Departure had occaſioned him: Which was, that all the North Country Troops, ſhutting their Ears to the Intreaties which he made them, to add to the ſo many Victories they had gained, the compleat Conqueſt of the whole Kingdom, on the contray repaſſed the *Forth*, and retired to their own Houſes. Thoſe who were the moſt obſtinately bent on this Retreat, would fain have had it believed, that they had done all that could be expected of them, and that if there yet remained any Thing to be done, it was reaſonable that the Southern Shires ſhould have their Share of the Fatigue. *Montroſe* would not make Uſe of his Authority, leſt it ſhould breed Diſorder in the whole Army; beſides, that he might not loſe them altogether, he was fain to pretend, that he conſented to their Departure, though it was very grievous to him. The ſame Troops, in retiring, made yet another falſe Step, which was to ſuffer the *Earl-Marſhal* of the Kingdom, and the Viſcount of *Arbuthnot*, to go upon their Parole, before they had taken Poſſeſſion of the Caſtle of *Dunoter*, belonging to the *Marſhal*, which is one of the moſt conſiderable Forts of the Kingdom. This Caſtle looks like a little Town, ſituate upon a Promontory in the Sea; all the Buildings have Vaults hewn out of the Rock, and there is no Acceſs to it but by the narrow Neck of a Rock, on Foot, and beſides, with great Difficulty. So that this Place would have been a ſafe Retreat for *Montroſe*, in Caſe of Neceſſity.

FROM *Calder* continuing his March with the ſmall Remains of his Army, he paſſed pretty near the City of *Edinburgh*, in the Shire of *Lothian*, and came to *Galaſheels*, where he found, that the moſt Part of the Troops that *Dowglas* had newly raiſed, had diſbanded themſelves, notwithſtanding all the Pains which that Lord, and others that had joined him, had taken to keep them. But to make up that Loſs, the Earl of *Traquaire* came to him, and with great Zeal and many Demonſtrations of Affection for his Perſon and the Proſperity of his Arms, offered his Service. He likewiſe ſent him his Son, the Lord *Linton*, at the Head of a fine Troop of Horſe. *Montroſe* longed now to ſee *Roxborough* and *Hume*, of whom he had had no Tidings; but as he was upon his March towards them, he had Intelligence, that Lieutenant General *Leſly*, who had advanced as far as *Berwick*, had made them Priſoners. That News ſurpriſed him, but he was yet much more aſtoniſhed, that he had not heard of *Leſly*'s having paſſed the *Tweed*: That confirmed the Miſtruſt he had always had before he left *Bothwel*; and as he found that the Effects were not anſwerable to the Promiſes which ſome Perſons had made him, he began to be afraid, that, in Place of the Relief which he had been made to expect, an Ambuſh had been laid for him. Therefore, not ſeeing that Body of Horſe

Horſe which was to have appeared upon the Borders for the King's Service, he reſolved to march into the Shires of *Anandale*, *Nithſdale*, and *Air*, there to ſtir up the Nobility and Gentry that chearfully had offered to mount a Horſe-back. For though he had no certain Account of *Leſly*, he judged, that his chief Strength was in Horſe, and for that Reaſon it was his Buſineſs to ſhun the plain Country as much as poſſible. 1645.

Having taken this Reſolution, he left *Kelſo*, and marched to *Jedburgh*, where he took up his Quarters. From thence he marched to *Selkirk*, and having lodged his Horſe in the Town, and his Foot in a Wood cloſe by, he convened the Officers of the Horſe, and recommended to them above all Things not to truſt to their Spies, becauſe they were in a diſaffected Country; but the whole Night to ſend out Parties for Intelligence, and to be the more vigilant, that he himſelf muſt write to the King, and diſpatch an Expreſs to his Majeſty before Break of Day. The Officers at that Inſtant poſted Centries on Horſe-back, and punctually followed his Orders. The Night paſſed without having diſcovered any Thing, and at the Break of Day, mounting their Horſes again, they aſſured *Montroſe*, that there was not an Enemy within ten Miles round: Soon after, however, they had Intelligence, though too late, that the Enemy had been the whole Night under Arms within leſs than four Miles of *Selkirk*. It was a Misfortune rather than any Negligence of the Officers, that kept them from ſeeing the Enemy. 'Tis now that *Montroſe*, after ſo much Proſperity, muſt go through ſome croſs Fortune, and, by one fatal Day, learn, that the Fortune of War is uncertain, and that Victory does not always attend the Valour of the Combatants, nor the Goodneſs of the Cauſe.

The ſame Day that *Montroſe* marched to *Jedburgh*, *Leſly* reviewed his Troops upon *Glades-moor*, and there held a Council of War with the chief of the Covenanters. It was therein reſolved, that *Leſly* ſhould march to the *Forth*, in order to ſtop *Montroſe*'s Way, and force him to fight before he could be relieved from the North Country. But having given Orders for that March, he received a Letter which immediately made him alter his Deſign; for he was informed, that *Montroſe* had but five hundred Foot, the moſt Part *Iriſh*, with ſome Troops of new raiſed Horſe; ſo that if he quickly imbraced the Oportunity that offered, he might eaſily ſurpriſe *Montroſe*, and cut him in Pieces. Whereupon *Leſly* wheeling to the left, followed him by the Track with four thouſand Horſe, and in the Night-time came within four Miles of him, before he had the leaſt Notice of his March.

There was a Fog that Morning, the 13th of *September*, which favoured *Leſly*'s Deſign; ſo that he began to appear about half a Mile only from *Selkirk*, when the Centries, poſted at the Avenues, gave the Alarm. *Montroſe* quickly mounted the firſt Horſe that he met, and run to the Place where the Troops had been appointed to convene that Morning, in order to march; but he found all in Confuſion: For the moſt part of the Horſe-men being but raw Soldiers, had diſperſed themſelves, ſome one Way, ſome another, to feed their Horſes; and, at the firſt Sound of the Trumpet, having taken the Alarm, they fled: About a hundred and twenty Gentlemen only inſtantly mounted their Horſes, and poſted themſelves upon the right Wing of the Foot, of which there were only five hundred, the reſt being taken up with the Baggage. What added much to the Misfortune of this fatal Day for *Montroſe*, was, that the Lord *Linton* had retired the Night before, and that the beſt Officers had gone out of

1645. *The Battle of* Philiphaugh.

the Camp, not dreaming of the Approach of the Enemy, who advancing at a full Trot, gave *Montroſe* no Time to think of what he was to do. The Enemy, incouraged with the Hopes of a certain Victory, with great Fury attacked the right Wing of the Royaliſts, who having bravely repulſed them twice, they could not be revenged of the Affront, till after they had broken the left Wing that had no Horſe to ſuſtain it. *Leſly* himſelf, at the Head of two thouſand Horſe, fell upon the right Wing, who ſeeing that they were hemmed in by the other half of his Troops, and their Ruin inevitable, if they ſhould obſtinately continue to fight, the Horſe gave Way, and almoſt all of them eſcaped; but the Foot having made a long and vigorous Reſiſtance, threw down their Arms, and aſked Quarters, which was granted them; however *Leſly* went back from his Word, and contrary to his Honour, cauſed them to be cut in Pieces.

THE Covenanters fell immediately a plundering the Baggage, and did not purſue thoſe that fled from the Field of Battle, who were about two hundred and fifty. The Colours did not fall into the Enemy's Hands; for there being but one amongſt the Foot, which an *Iriſh* Soldier, who carried it, tore off from the Staff, and putting it about him by Way of Scarf, with his drawn Sword made his Way through a Squadron of Horſe, and carried his Colours to *Montroſe*, who took him into his own Life-Guards, and allowed him always to carry that glorious Mark of his Valour and Fidelity. *William Hay*, Brother to the Earl of *Kinowl*, who carried the Standard, and who had been ſeverely wounded at the Battle of *Alford*, did the ſame; and having kept himſelf hid in *England*, till the Banks of the *Tweed* were quiet, he returned to the Kingdom, accompanied by Captain *Robert Towers*, and brought his Standard to *Montroſe* in the North.

IT was a Sight as melancholy as new to *Montroſe*, to ſee his Troops fly before their Enemies, and, indeed, this Misfortune occaſioned ſundry Impulſes in his Mind, which had like to have undone him. However having quickly come to himſelf again, and ſurmounted all the Troubles, which the firſt Motions are wont to raiſe in an afflicted Mind, and conſidered that he might ſoon repair the Loſs of that Day, the *Highlanders* and the Troops of the North Country being ſtill intire, in Places where the Covenanters durſt not ſtir, he rallied about thirty Horſe, and putting himſelf at their Head with the Marquis of *Dowglas* and Sir *John Dalzel*, he charged a Body of Horſe, who were taken up with plundering the Baggage, breaking though every where, and always knocking down ſome. But as ſome of the moſt daring began to purſue him, he turned upon them, fought them, and took one *Bruce*, a Captain of Horſe, and two Cornets Priſoners, whom he ſoon after very courteouſly ſent back.

THE Covenanters did not treat thoſe whom they had taken from him ſo kindly. Sir *John Hay*, whom the King in the Year 1637 had cauſed to be elected Provoſt of *Edinburgh*, in order to ſuppreſs the Tumults of that City, where he had great Intereſt, was put in the Caſtle of *Dumbarton*, and was not ſet at Liberty till he paid a Ranſom; but it coſt many others their Lives, being treated as guilty of High Treaſon.

*MONTROSE* having thus got out of a troubleſome Affair, marched to *Peebles*, where many of his Soldiers that had taken the ſame Road, came and joined him. The next Day he happily met with the Earls of *Crawford* and *Airly*, who had eſcaped by another Road. But though he was no more in Danger of being purſued by the Enemy, yet he made what Haſte

Haſte he could to get into the Shire of *Athol*, that having raiſed ſome Men there, he might enter into the North Country. For that end, having paſſed the *Forth* and *Erne*, he marched through the Shire of *Perth* by the Foot of the Hills, and got into that of *Athol*. From thence he ſent *Dowglas* and *Airly* into the Shire of *Angus*, and the Lord *Areſkin* into that of *Mar*, there to raiſe as many of their Friends and Vaſſals as they poſſibly could. 1645.

He likewiſe ſent Sir *John Dalzel* to the Lord *Carnegy* for the ſame Purpoſe; and he wrote to the Earl of *Aboyn* and *Mackdonald* to hold themſelves ready. In the mean time his Friends in *Athol* having given him four hundred Foot to accompany him into the North, till the Harveſt ſhould be got in, when the whole Shire ſhould riſe upon his Return, he heard a Report, that the Covenanters having treated his Soldiers, not as Priſoners of War, but like publick Robbers, were preparing to try ſome Men of Quality of his Party that had fallen into their Hands. That News grieved him exceedingly, and as he had nothing ſo much at Heart as to run all Hazards for delivering his Followers from Danger, he reſolved to follow in Perſon thoſe whom he had ſent before him, that by his Preſence he might incourage his Friends. Therefore without any more Delay, he left *Athol*, and having croſſed the *Grampian* Hills, he got into the Shire of *Mar*, in order to meet with *Aboyn*.

His Deſign was, that as ſoon as that Earl and *Mackdonald* ſhould come there, to march back, and joining the Levies which *Airly* and *Areſkin* were making, to draw what Men he could out of the Shire of *Athol*, and from thence to march directly to the *Forth*, in order to meet the Relief of Horſe which the King was ſending him from *England*, and likewiſe to intimidate the Covenanters, and, as much as was poſſible, to hinder them from proceeding criminally againſt their Priſoners of War. And indeed, the News they had of the Preparations that were making in the North, made them put a Stop to the Trials, which they were about to begin.

While theſe Things were a doing, the Marquis of *Huntly* returned home, and was reſolved to command the Forces of the North in Perſon. Many of his Friends adviſed him not to undertake any Thing without *Montroſe*'s Conſent, whom the King had declared Generaliſſimo of his Armies in *Scotland*, and which he had hitherto commanded with admirable Succeſs. But *Huntly*, notwithſtanding his Affection for the King's Service, could not be perſuaded to it, till he ſhould ſee the King's Orders, ſtill perſiſting in his Reſolution of commanding alone all ſuch as depended upon him in the North, where he was the King's Lieutenant, which he hoped to perform ſo advantagiouſly for the Good of his Service, that he made no doubt, but he would be able to give a good Account of it to his Majeſty. However, *Aboyn*, who had plighted his Faith to *Montroſe*, came and joined him at the Caſtle of *Drumminnor*, with two hundred and fifty Foot, and three hundred Horſe, well accoutred, and reſolved to follow him whitherſoever he ſhould go. Sir *Lewis Gordon*, his Brother, was likewiſe to join him with a great many more. *Montroſe* having highly commended *Aboyn*'s Fidelity, purſued his Deſign without Loſs of Time, hoping to find on the Way the Levies of his Friends all ready, and in a Fortnight, at the fartheſt, to paſs the *Forth* with a conſiderable Body of an Army, which would ſtill ſtrike Terror into the Covenanters.

1645. HOWEVER, Things did not ſucceed according to *Montroſe*'s Expectation; for the very ſecond Day of the March Sir *Lewis Gordon*, who had brought him a fine Troop of Horſe, the Command of which he had given to the Earl of *Crawford*, turned aſide, as if he intended to view the Country, leaving *Crawford*, whoſe Command, perhaps, was uneaſy to him. Soon after, *Aboyn* having received an expreſs Order from his Father to return in all Haſte, becauſe ſome Troops of the Covenanters were come into the low Parts of *Mar*, he ſought Leave of *Montroſe* to return, who anſwered him; "That the Covenanters, indeed, had ſome Troops of Horſe "near *Aberdeen*, but they durſt attempt nothing. That as ſoon as they "ſhould have the News of his March, they would draw all their Forces "to the *Low Country*, where they would ſtand in need of all their Troops. "That it would be an Advantage to *Huntly* to have the War carried into "the Enemy's Country, far from his Lands. That the Relief of Horſe, "which he expected from *England*, could not join him, if he did not paſs "the *Forth*; and laſtly, that the Priſoners of War, ſome of which were "*Huntly*'s Relations, would be cruelly put to Death, if they were not "quickly relieved." *Aboyn* oppoſed nothing to ſo many good Reaſons, but the poſitive Command of his Father, who was ill, and he deſired, that ſome Body might be ſent to inform him of the State of Affairs, and to prevail with him to allow his Troops to march to the South, where the King's Service called them. *Montroſe* approved of that Propoſal, and ſent to him *Alexander Irvine*, younger of *Drum*, *Huntly*'s Son-in-Law, with the Lord *Rae*, who was one of his intimate Friends. They both lay under Obligations to *Montroſe* for their newly recovered Liberties, and expreſſed a great deal of Gratitude on that account, particularly *Drum*, who never left him. That young Gentleman being returned with Letters from his Father-in-Law, who did not ſufficiently explain himſelf upon what was propoſed to him, *Aboyn* begged of *Montroſe* to give him Liberty for a few Days only, that he might go and endeavour to ſoften his Father's Temper, expreſſing a great deal of Grief to ſee himſelf obliged to leave him at that Juncture. *Montroſe*, not able to better himſelf, granted his Deſire, and immediately marched over the Hills of *Mar* into *Athol*, and from thence, after having been reinforced by ſome Troops, into the Shire of *Perth*. After he had been ſome Days there, *Thomas Ogilvie* of *Powry*, and Captain *Robert Niſbet*, whom the King had diſpatched to him, came by different Ways, and brought him Orders from his Majeſty to advance, if poſſible, to the Borders near *Carliſle*, where the Lord *Digby* ſhould join him with a Body of Horſe. *Montroſe*, who deſired no better, obliged them to go and impart the King's Orders to *Huntly* and *Aboyn*, to the end that they might haſten their Troops, without which it was impoſſible for him to follow his Majeſty's Orders.

IN the mean time, the Covenanters having underſtood, that *Montroſe* had been three Weeks in the Shire of *Perth*, without having News of the North Country Troops, and that *Huntly* had no Mind to join him, they went on in the Trial of the Priſoners of War, and beginning with theſe three brave Gentlemen Sir *William Rollok*, *Alexander Ogilvie*, eldeſt Son to *John Ogilvie* of *Innequharity*, and Sir *Philip Niſbet*, they were all three beheaded, and two *Iriſh* Colonels of great Worth, to wit, *O-Chaen* and *Laghlin* were hanged for having followed *Montroſe*, which the Covenanters had declared to be High Treaſon. They would have ſerved the reſt the ſame Way, if *Montroſe*, upon hearing the cruel Fate of theſe Gentlemen, had not quickly paſſed the *Forth*, and marched into the Duchy of *Lenox*

near the City of *Glaſgow*, where the Chief of the Covenanters were met. 1645.
He had only three hundred Horſe, and twelve hundred Foot; but, indeed, they were old beaten Soldiers, with whom he daily made Inroads to the very Gates of the City, though there were three thouſand Horſe for guarding it, and that Meeting of the Covenanters.

The Winter was already pretty far advanced, and it was as ſharp that Year in *Scotland*, as that of the Year before had been mild; and *Montroſe* ſaw no Appearance of *Aboyn*'s coming, nor did *Mackdonald*, who was very near the Places where he had ſtaid ſix Weeks, anſwer the Hopes that he had entertained of him, nor perform what he had promiſed. Beſides, he had heard, that *Digby* had been repulſed by Sir *John Brown*. Therefore he marched out of *Lenox* the 2d of *November*, and having croſſed the Hills of *Monteth*, all covered with Snow, he paſſed the *Erne* and the *Tay*, and entered the Shire of *Athol*, where having met *Ogilvie* of *Powry* and Captain *Niſbet*, who were returning from *Strathbogy*, and who had nothing but diſagreeable News to tell him of *Huntly*, no more than *Dalzel*, whom he had ſent after them, in order to appoint a Meeting with that Marquis, who ſtill pretended, that he had not ſeen the King's Orders.

At laſt *Montroſe*, that he might leave no Stone unturned, in order to prevail with *Huntly*, ſet out in the Month of *December*, and ſurmounting the Rigour of the Seaſon, and the Ruggedneſs of the Ways, which were nothing but Ice and Snow, he marched into the North Country. After he had quartered his Troops, he mounted a Horſe-back, and, with a very ſmall Retinue, went directly to *Strathbogy*, where being told, that *Huntly* was but juſt gone to *Bogy*, he followed him, without being diſcouraged by *Huntly*'s Backwardneſs to have an Interview with him; and the next Morning by Break of Day came to that Caſtle before *Huntly* was got up. *Montroſe* taking no Notice of what had paſſed, diſcourſed with him calmly about the State of the Kingdom, and what Methods they ſhould take for reſtoring Peace and the King's Authority. At laſt, it was concluded, that they muſt begin with the Siege of *Inverneſs*, where, indeed, the Covenanters had a ſtrong Garriſon; but ſmall Store of Proviſions and Ammunition. They agreed then betwixt themſelves, that *Huntly* ſhould beſiege it on this Side of the River, and *Montroſe* on the other Side, hoping to take it, before it could be relieved by Sea, which the Covenanters would not attempt in ſuch ſtormy Weather. *Aboyn* and *Lewis*, his Brother, expreſſed a great deal of Joy upon this Conference, as did all the reſt of that noble Family, who ſought no better than to be in Action, in order to give Proofs of their Valour and Affection to the King's Service.

*MONTROSE* very chearfully returned to his Troops, with which 1646.
he paſſed the *Spey*, and marched ſtraight towards *Inverneſs*. But while he was waiting till *Huntly* ſhould take the Field, and that the Weather ſhould be more mild, having had Advice, that the *Campbels* and their Friends were got together, to the Number of fifteen hundred Men, in the adjacent Parts of the Shire of *Argyle*; and that they threatened the Country of *Athol*, he detached *Graham* of *Inchbraky*, and *Drummond* of *Balloch* with a Party to go to its Aſſiſtance. The Enemy had already burnt an Iſland in *Lough-Torchet*, and beſieged the Caſtle of *Glenample*. But as ſoon as they heard, that ſeven hundred *Athol-men*, under the Command of *Inchbraky* and *Balloch*, were on their March, they very quickly raiſed the Siege, and retired to the Earldom of *Menteth*. The Royaliſts having purſued them, found that they had poſted themſelves near the Caſtle of *Calender*,

1646. *Calender*, with a Deſign to ſtand their Ground. For having taken Poſſeſſion of a Ford of the little River of *Teth*, they had drawn up behind the Banks of the Water, which were high, and from whence they could, under Shelter, fire upon the Royaliſts, if they ſhould offer to paſs the Ford. In the mean time, *Inchbraky* having left a hundred Men to guard the Ford, leſt the Enemy, repaſſing the River, ſhould attack him in the Rear, while he was looking out for another Ford, he advanced to the Caſtle, in order to paſs the River under Cover of the Horſe. The Enemy perceiving that, immediately made their Retreat, and the hundred Men that were watching them, began to purſue them. Theſe having ingaged them, gave *Inchbraky* Time to come up, and give them a total Defeat. Above five hundred were killed on the Place, and the reſt betaking themſelves to their Heels, could not be purſued by the Royaliſts, who that Morning, which was the 13th of *February*, had marched ten long Miles, through rugged and uneaſy Ways. This Expedition having ſucceeded according to their Wiſh, they returned to *Montroſe*.

WHILE theſe Things were a doing in the North, the Convention of Eſtates, which had met at S. *Andrews* about the end of *November* of the preceding Year, were buſy in trying for their Lives the Lord *Ogilvie*, eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Airly*, Sir *Robert Spotſwood*, *William Murray*, Brother to the Earl of *Tillibardin*, and *Andrew Guthry*, a very handſome Gentleman and an excellent Soldier, all Priſoners of War, who had been brought before them. There were ſome Preachers then, who ſtirred up the People to demand, that theſe illuſtrious Gentlemen ſhould be ſacrificed to the Ghoſts of thoſe who had died in the Defence of the Covenant, otherwiſe the Wrath of God, which was kindled againſt the Kingdom, would not be appeaſed. After they had been ſentenced to die, the Lord *Ogilvie* pretending to be ſick, got ſo much Favour as to have his Wife, his Mother and Siſters allowed to viſit him for the laſt Time in Priſon. Theſe Ladies having entered his Chamber, the Guards ſhewed them ſome Reſpect, and went out of the Room; and the young Lord taking Advantage of the Opportunity, without Loſs of Time, put on his Siſter's Gown, who was very like him. In the mean time, ſhe threw herſelf into her Brother's Bed, and put his Night-Cap upon her Head. They acted their Parts exceeding well, for after having ſeveral Times imbraced one another, in Appearance, they bid Farewel for ever to one another with abundance of Tears. The Guards having come in again with Lights to reconduct them, *Ogilvie* went out with the Company without being diſcovered: He was no ſooner got out, than he mounted a good Horſe, and with two Friends got to a Place of Safety before Break of Day. As ſoon as the News of this Eſcape was carried to the Convention of Eſtates, Rage ſo tranſported ſome of them, that they had a Mind to be revenged upon the generous Ladies; but the Earls of *Laurek* and *Lindſey* maintained, that it was an Action of natural Affection, worthy to be tranſmitted to Poſterity; ſo far were they from ſuffering them to be in the leaſt troubled on that account.

*OGILVIE*'s Eſcape made the Convention haſten the Execution of the Sentence againſt thoſe that were left. They all ſuffered Death with an admirable Reſolution, highly comforting themſelves, that it was glorious to them, and that they ſhould live for ever in the Remembrance of all good Men. *William Murray*, who was not full nineteen Years old, raiſed the People's Compaſſion; and ſtaring Death boldly in the Face;

William Murray's laſt Speech. "My Friends, ſaid he, the Family of *Tillibardin* acquires abundance of "Reputa-

" Reputation this Day, ſince a young Man, who has the Honour to be 1646.
" of their Blood, ſuffers Death chearfully for the Father of his native
" Country, who has loaded our Family with his Favours and Benefits.
" Let not my very honoured Mother, my dear Siſters, all my Relations
" and Friends be in the leaſt grieved that I have lived ſo ſhort a while,
" ſince my Life is crowned with ſo glorious a Death."

The People were above all ſtruck with Aſtoniſhment to ſee Sir *Robert Spotſwood* mount the fatal Scaffold, whom they had before ſeen preſide in the Court of Seſſions with ſo great Ability and Honour. He appeared with the ſame Gravity and Majeſty that had ever ſhined in his Countenance. He was a Man of great Virtue and excellent Learning. Envy itſelf had never found Fault with his blameleſs Life, nor could reproach him with the leaſt Thing in the Exerciſe of his Office, which he had always performed with ſo much Integrity, that he was become the perfect Model of a good Magiſtrate.

As he had begun to ſpeak to the People, a Miniſter of the Place, *Robert Blair*, knowing that the laſt Words of this great Man would make Impreſſion upon the Minds of the Spectators, cauſed the Provoſt (Mayor) of the City to put him to Silence. But Sir *Robert* well foreſeeing, that he would be ſo treated, had put in Writing what he had purpoſed to ſpeak to the People; ſo that finding himſelf interrupted, he threw amongſt the Croud his Paper, which contained the following Words.

*Sir* Robert Spotſwood's *dying Speech.*

" Ye will expect ſomething from me of the Cauſe, for which I am
" brought hither at this Time to ſuffer in this kind; which I am bound
" to do for clearing the Integrity of my own Proceedings, vindicating his
" Majeſty's juſt and pious Intentions, and withal, to vindicate you that
" are miſled in Ignorance, and made to believe that you are tied in Con-
" ſcience to ſet forward this unnatural Rebellion, maſked under the Co-
" vert and Pretext of propagating Religion, and maintaining of the pub-
" lick Liberties. You have perceived by the laſt Fact * that is gone be-
" fore, that I ſtand here adjudged to die by this pretended Parliament,
" as a Traitor to the Eſtates, and an Enemy to my native Country. This
" is a Treaſon unheard of before in this Kingdom, againſt the Eſtates, a
" Thing of late Creation, which I believe there be ſome would have e-
" rected in Oppoſition to the juſt and lawful Authority of the King, un-
" der which we and our Predeceſſors have been ſo many hundreds of
" Years governed. To come to my treaſonable Demeanour (as they e-
" ſteem it) the main one is, That I did docket † and bring down a Com-
" miſſion of Lieutenancy from his Majeſty, to the Lord Marquis of *Mon-*
" *troſe*, with a Proclamation for indicting || a Parliament by the King's Au-
" thority, wherein the ſaid Lord Marquis was to be Commiſſioner. Not to
" excuſe my ſelf upon the Neceſſity laid upon me to obey his Majeſty's
" Command in a Buſineſs of that Nature, in regard of the Charge I had
" about him, I cannot ſo far betray my own Conſcience, as to keep up
" from you my Judgment of the Thing itſelf, ſeeing it may tend to the
" juſtifying of the King's Part, and your better Information; for Lack
" whereof, I know many are intangled in this Rebellion unwittingly:
" And who knoweth, but God in his merciful Providence hath brought
" us hither, to be Inſtruments of freeing you from the manifold Deluſi-
" ons that are made uſe of to enſnare you. I ſay then, it was juſt and
" neceſſary to his Majeſty to grant ſuch Commiſſions, and by Conſequence
" an Act of Duty in me, to perform what he was pleaſed to command

* *The tearing of his Coat of Arms. A Brand of Infamy for Treaſon in* Scotland.

† *Sign, as Secretary of State.*

|| Calling.

1646. " me. It is known well enough what Contentment his Majeſty gave to
" this Kingdom at his laſt being here both in the Affairs of Church and
Return. " Policy; notwithſtanding whereof the World ſeeth what Meeting * he
" hath gotten from us. When the Rebellion burſt forth in *England*, all
" that he deſired of us, was only to ſtand neutral, and not to meddle
" between him and his Subjects there: Of which moderate Deſire of his,
" little Reckoning was made; but on the contrary, at the Requeſt of
" theſe Rebels, by the Power of their Faction amongſt us, an Army was
" raiſed and ſent to *England*, to aſſiſt them againſt our own native King.
" His Majeſty being reduced to this Extremity, what Expedient could he
" find ſo fair and eaſy, as to make uſe of the Help of ſuch of his loyal
" Subjects here, as he knew had ſuch an unparalleled Diſloyalty in Hor-
" ror and Deteſtation? Amongſt whom that matchleſs Mirrour of all
" true Worth and Nobility, the Lord Marquis of *Montroſe* having offered
" himſelf, it pleaſed his Majeſty to give him a Subaltern Commiſſion at
" firſt: Which he having executed with ſuch unheard of Succeſs, that
" his Memory ſhall be had in Honour for it in all Ages; his Majeſty for
" the better furthering of his own Service, and to countenance and in-
" courage him the more in it, gave him an abſolute One, and indepen-
" dent afterwards, which is that I delivered into his Hands by his Ma-
" jeſty's Command. Herewithal his Majeſty pitying the Miſery of this
" poor Kingdom, occaſioned by the rebellious Stubbornneſs of a few fa-
" ctious Spirits, thought fit to give Power to the ſaid Lord Marquis to
" call a Parliament in his Majeſty's Name, to try if by that Means, a
" Remedy might be found againſt the preſent Evils, and to have all his
" Subjects of this Kingdom reduced by one means or other under his O-
" bedience. In all this I ſee not what can be juſtly charged upon his Ma-
" jeſty, or upon me as his Servant, who have done nothing againſt any
" authorized Law of the Kingdom, but have ſerved him faithfully, unto
" whom by Truſt and natural Allegiance I am ſo much bound.

" WHEREAS I am declared an Enemy to my native Country, God be
" ſo propitious to me, as my Thoughts towards it have been always pub-
" lick, and tending to the Good and Honour thereof. I do profeſs, ſince
" the firſt Time I had the Honour of that noble Marquis his Acquaintance,
" I have been a Favourer of his Deſigns, knowing them to be both loyal
" and honourable: Beſide that I knew his Affection towards his Country
" to be eminent in this eſpecially, that he did ever ſhow himſelf paſſio-
" nate to vindicate the Honour of this Kingdom, which ſuffereth every
" where, by this ſtrange Combination of theirs with the Rebels of an-
" other Kingdom againſt their own Prince; wherein I concurred in Judg-
" ment with him, and thought there was no other Way to do it, but by
" ſetting up a Party of true and loyal-hearted *Scotſmen* for his Majeſty,
" whereby it might be ſeen that it is not a national Defection, but only
" ſtirred up by a Faction therein, who for their own Ends have diſho-
" noured their native Kingdom, and diſturbed the Peace thereof. In en-
" terpriſing and proſecuting of which heroical Deſign, God hath ſo fa-
" voured that noble Lord, that he hath righted our Country in the Opi-
" nion of all the World, and diſcovered where the Rottenneſs lyeth.

" THUS far I am content to be accounted a Traitor in their Opi-
" nion that have condemned me, being fully aſſured that God the righ-
" teous Judge of all, who knoweth the Uprightneſs and Integrity of my
" Intentions, will impute no Fault to me in this kind; ſince to my Know-
" ledge I have carried myſelf according to the Direction of his Word,

" and

" and the Practice of all good Chriſtians before theſe miſerable Times 1646.
" we are fallen into. My Exhortation therefore (which coming from
" one at the Point I am at, will, I hope, have ſome Weight) ſhall be
" this unto you; that you will break off your Sins by Repentance, and
" above all, free your ſelves of the Maſter Sin of Rebellion that reigneth
" in this Land: Whereunto moſt part are either forced, or drawn una-
" wares, chiefly at the Inſtigation of thoſe who ſhould direct you in the
" Way of Truth. It cannot but be a great Judgment upon a Land,
" when God's ſingular Mercies towards it are ſo little valued. He hath
" not given us a King in his Wrath, but one who for Piety, Bounty, and all
" Virtues both chriſtian and moral, may be a Pattern to all Princes beſides.
" How thankful we are to God for ſo great a Bleſſing, our Reſpect to-
" wards him manifeſteth. Yet I fear there is a greater Judgment than
" this upon it, which occaſioneth all the Miſchiefs that afflict this poor
" Land, ſuch as was ſent upon *Ahab:* God hath put a lying Spirit in the
" Mouths of moſt part of your Prophets, who, inſtead of the Doctrine
" of Salvation, labour to draw your Hearts unto the Condemnation of
" *Core.* God Almighty look upon the poor miſerable Church and King-
" dom, and relieve you out of the intolerable Servitude you lye under,
" which I do heartily wiſh for in your Behalf. So let me have the Aſ-
" ſiſtance of your Prayers, that God would be pleaſed to pardon all my
" Sins in Jeſus Chriſt, and gather my Soul with the Saints and Mar-
" tyrs that are gone to their Reſt before. So I bid the World and you
" farewel.

The Day before his Death he wrote the following Letter to *Montroſe* from the Caſtle of S. *Andrews.*

My Lord,

" I Beg you will be pleaſed to accept of this laſt Tribute of my Re-
" ſpect for your Lordſhip. I am condemned to die for being faith-
" ful to the King, and becauſe I have ſhown an inviolable Reſpect for
" your Lordſhip's Perſon: That whatever the Eſtates might pretend, I
" believe my taking Part with your Lordſhip, was the only Motive which
" made them determine my Deſtruction, and I hope by my Death I
" ſhall contribute more to his Majeſty's Service, than I could have done,
" had it pleaſed the Sovereign Providence to have prolonged my Life. I
" intreat your Lordſhip to notice one Thing I find neceſſary for the
" King's Service, which is to continue your Gentleneſs and Moderation of
" Conduct, and not to imitate the barbarous Inhumanity of our Enemies,
" who give your Lordſhip but too great Cauſe to follow their Example.
" And as a Mark that my Services have not been diſagreeable to your
" Lordſhip, I conjure you to take under your Protection my poor Orphans,
" and my Brother's afflicted Family. And when it ſhall pleaſe God to
" reſtore the King to his former Authority, remember to get them Ac-
" ceſs to his Perſon. So ſince we muſt part, as I have always lived, I
" die

*My* Lord,

*Your moſt humble and faithful Servant,*

*RO. SPOTSWOOD.*

The

1646. THE Convention of Eſtates, in this Seſſion, which was held in S. *Andrews*, and which they reckoned the fifth from the firſt Meeting of Triennial Parliaments (for that which met in the Month of *June* 1644. was accounted current ſince that Time in all the other Seſſions) ordained that every fourth Man in all the Shires ſhould be liſted and armed for the Service of the Kingdom, and that the Muſter-Maſters ſhould form them into Companies to be ready to march upon the firſt Occaſion. They likewiſe ordained, that good Garriſons ſhould be put in all the Places that were moſt expoſed to the Incurſions of the Royaliſts, as in the Town of *Inverneſs* a thouſand Foot, and two Troops of Horſe; in *Aberdeen* as many; in *Montroſe* two hundred Foot; in *Dundee* four Hundred; in *Perth* as many; in the Town and Caſtle of *Stirling* three hundred Foot, and a hundred Horſe; in *Glaſgow* eight hundred Foot, and a hundred Horſe; in *Dumbarton* two hundred Foot. Beſides theſe Garriſons they appointed an Army of ſix thouſand Foot, and ſixteen hundred Horſe, with eight hundred Dragoons to be kept in the Field, and that the Committee of Eſtates ſhould make a Fund for the Subſiſtance of theſe Troops, which ſhould be taken out of the forfeited Eſtates of ſuch as had been declared Rebels and out-lawed.

IN the ſame Seſſion it was likewiſe decreed, that, according to the Act of the Year 1641 which deprives the Non-Covenanters of their Right of Patronage, all the Benefices that were in the Preſentation of ſuch as had not ſigned the League and Covenant betwixt the two Nations, or that were excommunicated and declared Rebels, ſhould be filled up by the Preſbyteries. It was likewiſe ordained, that a Committee ſhould be appointed to take an Account of ſuch as had ſuſtained conſiderable Loſſes by the War, in order to their being indemnified. At laſt the Convention was adjourned to the Month of *November* following, after having prohibited all Sorts of Perſons to print, or cauſe to be printed any Books concerning Religion, without the Permiſſion of the General Aſſembly or their Commiſſioners; or any other upon what Subject ſoever, without Permiſſion from the ſupreme Courts or their Clerks, without Prejudice nevertheleſs to the Power of Keepers of the Regiſters of cauſing to be printed the Acts of the Convention of Eſtates.

THE melancholy News of the Cruelty exerciſed againſt *Montroſe*'s beſt Friends being brought him, though he was grieved to the very Heart, yet he could not be prevailed upon, by thoſe who had adviſed him, to uſe after the ſame Manner ſeveral Perſons of Quality that he had taken from the Covenanters. They repreſented to him with a great deal of Warmth, that at leaſt he ought to make uſe of the Law of Retaliation, and that it was unjuſt to ſuffer Men, who had ſo well deſerved of the King, of the Country, and of himſelf, to be thus murdered, contrary to plighted Faith, and the Law of Nations; while their Priſoners ſuffered no other Inconveniency but that of being Priſoners, and paſſed their Time as if they were amongſt their beſt Friends. That of Neceſſity he muſt alter his Meaſures, in order to put a Stop to the Cruelty of his Enemies, and to put Spirit into his dejected Soldiers. *Montroſe* having approved, nay even commended their juſt Reſentments, anſwered them; "That it was, "truly, reaſonable to revenge the Death of thoſe faithful Subjects; but "yet like Men of Honour and Soldiers. That to bring Enemies to Rea"ſon with the Sword, was acting with a good Grace; but to imitate "their unworthy Actions, was diſhonourable. That if they would ſeri-

"ouſly

" ouſly reflect, without Paſſion, upon what they had propoſed, they 1646.
" themſelves would not think it reaſonable, that the Priſoners which they
" had, not being acceſſary to the Crime of thoſe of their Party, ſhould
" ſuffer the Puniſhment of it. That the Promiſe they had given them
" ought to be inviolable, and that they were, by all means, bound to keep
" it. That it would be very abſurd if they themſelves ſhould do that,
" which with ſo much Reaſon they blamed in their Enemies. That
" the Time would come when God would require that Blood at their
" Hands: And that, in the mean time, though the Covenanters ſhould
" ſet a Price upon his Head, that they ſhould ſuborn Aſſaſſins; and that,
" according to their uſual Cuſtom, they ſhould, with Impunity, break
" their Faith, yet they ſhould never oblige him to contend with them
" for any Thing but the Honour and Glory of virtuous Actions."

In the mean time, *Huntley* having paſſed the *Spey*, marched with his Troops into the Shire of *Murray*, where he took ſome Caſtles: But while he was obſtinately beſieging that of *Letham*, the Covenanters threw a Supply of all Neceſſaries into *Inverneſs*, and, at the ſame time, ſent Major General *Middleton*, with ſix hundred Horſe, and eight hundred Foot, into the North. *Montroſe* having had Intelligence that he was advanced as far as *Aberdeen*, ſent Colonel *William Stuart* to *Huntley*, to put him in Mind of what had been agreed betwixt them concerning the Siege of *Inverneſs*, which would be the more eaſy that the Earl of *Seaforth* and the Lord *Rae*, with many others, were ready to take Part with them; or if he thought it fit, he ſhould march and join him, in order to fight *Middleton*, who was marching to lay waſte his Lands: But *Huntley*, who had a Mind to have the Glory of that Action to himſelf, did not quit his Poſt. *Montroſe* conſidering of what Importance the taking of *Inverneſs* was to the King's Service, reſolved to undertake it with what Troops he had.

*INVERNESS* is one of the fineſt Ports in the North of *Scotland*. The Town is ſituate upon the Mouth of the River of *Neſs*, which riſeth out of a Lake of the ſame Name, the Water whereof is ſo warm in the Height of Winter, that Snow-balls and Pieces of Ice that are thrown into it, melt immediately. *Montroſe* having taken up his Quarters, detached three Troops of Horſe to the Banks of the *Spey*, in order to obſerve *Middleton*'s Motion, if he ſhould come to relieve the Town: For though *Huntley* was between them, the Miſunderſtanding that was betwixt them, made *Montroſe* miſtruſt him, and ſtand upon his Guard. Whether *Montroſe*'s Horſe were betrayed by the Country-People, or that they had been too negligent in guarding the Fords of the River, *Middleton* paſſed it, and was got a great Way into *Murray* before they had any account of him; ſo that *Middleton* was already within Cannon-Shot of *Montroſe*'s Camp, when the three Troops of Horſe came to give him Notice of his March. But *Montroſe*, who by good Luck had heard of it from other Hands, had drawn off his Troops from before the Town, and had paſſed the *Neſs*; and perceiving that *Middleton* was very ſtrong in Horſe, he marched towards the Hills. *Middleton* followed him at the Heels, and made a vigorous Attack upon his Rear-guard, who having ſtood their Ground, received the Charge with great Courage. The Loſs was almoſt equal on both Sides. At laſt *Montroſe* having got into Places of difficult Acceſs for *Middleton*'s Horſe, he retired into the Shire of *Roſs*, and from thence marching along the Side of *Lough-Neſs*, went and incamped on the Banks of the *Spey*.

1646. In the mean while, *Huntley* took the City of *Aberdeen* from the Covenanters, where they had a Garriſon of five hundred Men. There were ſome Diſorders committed at firſt, but *Huntly* having entered the City, made all quiet, and ſaved the unhappy Citizens from the bad Uſage which they feared from their new Gueſts.

Just as *Montroſe* had reſolved to make uſe of the Authority that the King had put into his Hands, and was about to compel by Force the Militia of the North Country to take part with him, and by the Severity of his Arms to bring to Reaſon thoſe that had not yielded to his Intreaties, nor the frequent Sollicitations he had made them to come and join him; he received Letters from the King, which obliged him to be quite of another Mind, and put him under the fatal Neceſſity of laying down Arms. The cauſe proceeded from the bad Succeſs, and deplorable State of the King's Affairs in *England*, which muſt be traced a little higher.

We have already told, that after the Battle of *Naſeby*, which the King loſt the 14th of *June* 1645, his Majeſty could never recover that Loſs, and that ever ſince, it ſeemed that Fortune deſerting his Intereſt, had a Mind all of a ſudden to go over to the Parliament, and intirely ruin his Affairs in *England:* For though the Royaliſts had the Advantage in ſome ſmall Rencounters, and that the Lord *Bellaſis*, Governor of *Newark*, made frequent Incurſions with ſome Succeſs; and that though he was beſieged by the Army of the *Scots* Covenanters, and by a Body of the Parliament's Army, commanded by Major General *Pointz*, he made frequent Sallies upon the Beſiegers; and, in a Word, did all that a true Man of Honour and a great Soldier could do for the Service of his Prince: Yet the main Body of the King's Army dwindled away viſibly, and the moſt part of the Towns and Caſtles that held out for his Majeſty were all retaken in a Trice. For, beſides the Places which the Parliament's Troops had taken the preceding Year, in the Beginning of this 1646, General *Fairfax* made himſelf Maſter of *Dartmouth:* The Town of *Weſt-Cheſter*, and the Caſtles of *Belvoir* and *Corfe*, with many others, the Repetition of which would be tedious, had the ſame Fate. Soon after, *Exeter*, the Town and Caſtle of *Barnſtable*, and *Banbury* ſubmitted to the Parliament: At the ſame Time *Worceſter* and *Lichfield* were ſummoned to ſurrender; but, by the Bravery of thoſe that commanded within, they held out till the Month of *July*; and in *Auguſt* the ſtrong Caſtle of *Pendennis* likewiſe ſurrendered, by which means the Duke of *Hamilton* recovered his Liberty, and went to the King, at the Time, when his Majeſty having loſt all, was conducted to *Newcaſtle* by the Covenanters.

As Afflictions oftentimes come thick upon the Back of one another, and ſometimes proceed from Things, whence they are leaſt expected; in the midſt of all theſe Loſſes, the King likewiſe received the diſagreeable News, that the Archbiſhop of *York* had revolted; that he had cauſed his Houſe at *Penryn*, in the Principality of *Wales* to be fortified, and having put a Garriſon in it, had made a Proteſtation againſt the King's Party. This Prelate's Name was *Williams*, whom King *James* had made Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, he being then Biſhop of *Lincoln* and Dean of *Weſtminſter*; but having afterwards, for what Reaſon I know not, loſt the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Favour, King *Charles* took the Seal from him, and for all that conferred the fat Primacy of *York* upon him.

Besides ſo many unlucky Chances, what was yet more croſs for his Majeſty's Affairs, was, that the Lord *Hopton*, who had ſupported them ſo long, and with ſo much Vigour in the Weſtern Counties of the Kingdom, was at laſt obliged to yield to Force, and diſband his Army. That happened in *March*, and the ſame Month, the Lord *Aſtley* leading a Body of an Army from *Worceſterſhire* to *Oxford*, was defeated, and he himſelf made Priſoner, with the greateſt Part of his Foot. Thus, whether by the unlucky Fate of War, or be it by any other Cauſe whatſoever, the King loſt two Armies in leſs than a Fortnight. The Defeat of that of *Hopton* obliged the Prince of *Wales* to leave the Kingdom, and go to *France*, where he repaired to the Queen, his Mother, at St. *Germains* the 2d of *July*. It was in the ſame Month, that the Counteſs of *Morton*, Governeſs to Princeſs *Henrietta*, being in want of the Neceſſaries of Life, conveyed her ſecretly from *Oatlands*, and carried her likewiſe into *France* to the Queen her Mother. 1646.

In the mean time, the King ſent Meſſages daily to the Parliament, in order to perſuade them to find out Means for bringing about a Peace, and likewiſe to aſſure them that it ſhould not be his Fault if it was not quickly reſtored. In his Letter of the 23d of *March*, "He offered to diſ-"arm, and to come and reſide with them at *London*, and to aſſiſt in ac-"compliſhing ſo good a Work; provided he might have the Engage-"ment of the two Houſes of Parliament, that nothing ſhould be attempt-"ed againſt his Perſon or Honour; and that thoſe who had adhered to "him, might be at Liberty to live in their own Houſes, and to injoy "their own Eſtates, without being obliged to take any Oaths, but what "were injoyned by Law."

To theſe Demands, the Parliament anſwered; "That his Majeſty's "Return to *London* would be prejudicial both to his own and the Par-"liament's Safety, until he had firſt conſented to the Propoſitions, which "they had drawn up to be ſent him." And, leſt the King ſhould come to *London* without their own Knowledge and expreſs Conſent, they publiſhed an Ordinance; "That if the King ſhould come, or attempt to "come, within the Lines of Communication, the Committee of the Mi-"litia ſhould have Power to ſecure his Perſon, and to apprehend any who "ſhould come with him." At the ſame time, they likewiſe ordained; "That all who had ever borne Arms againſt the Parliament ſhould de-"part and go out of *London* and the Lines, before the 6th of *April* fol-"lowing, upon Pain of being proceeded againſt as Spies."

In the Beginning of *May*, General *Fairfax* inveſted the City of *Oxford* for the ſecond Time; but with more Succeſs than the firſt: For after a Siege of ſix Months it was ſurrendered upon Capitulation. Nevertheleſs, the moſt part of the Articles were broke, as well by the Impriſonment of the Governor, who was detained ſeveral Weeks, as by the diſarming of ſeveral Officers and a great many Soldiers, who were retiring to *London*, and who, contrary to the 5th Article of the Capitulation, were forbidden Entrance within the Line of Communication. *Fairfax* found in *Oxford* the Sword that was uſually carried before the King, the Great Seal, the Privy Seal, the King's Signet, the Seals of the Royal Bank, of the Exchequer, of the Court of Wards, and of the Admiralty, all which he ſent to the Parliament, who cauſed the Sword to be lockt up in his Majeſty's

1646. Majeſty's Cloſet; but as for the Seals, they were all broke in Preſence of the two Houſes met together for that Purpoſe.

As *Fairfax* was preparing for the Siege of *Oxford*, where the King had his principal Garriſon, and where he then kept his Court: Becauſe his Majeſty could no longer expect Relief from any Part, he was forced by cruel Neceſſity, either to put himſelf into the Hands of *Fairfax*, or to run the Hazard of retiring into the Army of the *Scots* Covenanters, who were beſieging *Newark:* For it was utterly impoſſible for him to be able to join *Montroſe* and *Huntley* in the North of *Scotland*. In this ſevere Neceſſity, the King believing, that he would be beſt received by thoſe of his own Nation, they having even paſſed their Words to him, he choſe to commit himſelf to them. To which end, he went privately out of *Oxford*, attended by a Gentleman, named *Aſhburnham*, and a Divine, named *Hudſon*, who was to be his Guide, and on the 24th of *April* got to the Covenanters Head Quarters before *Newark* without the leaſt unlucky Accident. His Majeſty having alighted in the Village of *Southwel*, which was within the Quarters, he cauſed *Leſly* to be acquainted with his Arrival, who, attended by ſome of the principal Officers of the Army, went immediately to wait upon him, and falling upon his Knees, holding his Sword by the Point, he offered it to his Majeſty. The News of the King's Arrival being ſpread through the Army, the *Scots* expreſſed a great deal of Joy; but the *Engliſh*, who were on the other Side of the River, were ſo much alarmed by it, that Major General *Pointz* cauſed the Bridge of Boats, which had been made for a Communication betwixt the two Armies, to be broken, and continued a Horſe-back all Night. The next Day the King ſent an Order to the Governor of the Town, whereby he ordered him to deliver it up to the Parliament's Army; which being done, the whole *Scots* Army, excepting ſome Officers, who ſtaid to ſee the Capitulation of the Garriſon punctually put in Execution, decamped, in order to attend the King to *Newcaſtle*.

The King marched always at the Head of the Army, having *Leſly* on his left Hand, and all the *Scots* Lords that were there preſent, about him. Whereſoever he paſſed the Bells were rung, and at Night Bonfires were made; and the General's Troop of Light-Horſe, and that of the College of Juſtice * mounted Guard upon his Lodging. When he came to *Durham*, the Covenanters Army was quartered in that Biſhoprick. It was there, on the 13th of *May*, that the General cauſed an Order to be publiſhed, forbidding all ſuch as had carried Arms againſt the Parliament of *England* to come near the King's Perſon, and all thoſe of his Army to have any Communication with them. And at the ſame time, the Committee of the Parliament in *Scotland*, in order to back the General's Deſign, prohibited all Sorts of Perſons to go out of the Kingdom without Leave, or to aſk any Favour, or Mark of Honour of the King, but to contribute all that in them lay to perſuade him to Peace.

* *The Body of Advocates, Writers to the Signet*, &c.

The King having two Troops of Light-Horſe for his Guard, went from *Durham* to *Newcaſtle*, where Colonel *Lumſdel*, the Governor, having lined the Streets through which his Majeſty was to paſs, with the Soldiers of the Garriſon, he came to receive him at the Gate, and offered him the Keys of the Town. The King lodged there in his own Houſe, out of which General *Leſly*'s Family had removed, and he had the Goodneſs to make an Apology for it to his Lady when ſhe was preſented to his Majeſty.

The Parliament of *England* having had an account, that the King was gone from *Oxford*, without knowing, however, to what Place he had retired, believing immediately, that he had come to *London*, they cauſed a Proclamation to be publiſhed by Sound of Trumpet, declaring; "That "if any Perſon harboured the King, or even knew where he was, either "in the City or Suburbs, and did not diſcover it to the Speakers of the "two Houſes of Parliament, or to one of them, he ſhould be puniſhed "as a Traitor to the State." 1646.

But as ſoon as they had Advice, that his Majeſty was gone to the Covenanters Army, they ordered, that the Committee and the General ſhould be deſired to conſent, that his Majeſty's Perſon might be diſpoſed of, according as the two Houſes ſhould think meet; and in the mean time, to let them know, that they thought it abſolutely neceſſary that he ſhould be ſent to the Caſtle of *Warwick*. Beſides, they demanded, that Mr. *Aſhburnham* and Mr. *Hudſon* ſhould be ſent them as Criminals, and being of the Number of thoſe they called Malignants. The Covenanters, not finding the Propoſal, with regard to the King's Perſon, reaſonable, drew up a Declaration, which they ſent to *London*, where it was printed by their Order. But the Parliament having ſeen it, were highly offended, and declared, that the Order which the Covenanters had given for printing their Declaration was null and unwarrantable; and then they ordered it to be ſuppreſſed, and the Printers of it to be impriſoned, and thoſe alſo who had ſold it. That gave Riſe to ſome Jealouſies betwixt the Covenanters and the Parliament; inſomuch that for a long Time every body believed, that it would ſet the two Nations together by the Ears. As for *Aſhburnham* and *Hudſon*, the Committee of the Covenanters Army conſulting thereupon, found it very ſtrange, that the Parliament of *England* had demanded them as Malignants, without charging them with any other Crime, but that of having accompanied the King into their Army; and the Members of the Committee unanimouſly agreed, that they were no more obliged to deliver up theſe the King's Domeſtick Servants, for having followed his Majeſty into their Army, as their Duty of courſe obliged them to do, than the Parliament of *England* would have been, to deliver up any Subject of *Scotland*, for having followed his Majeſty, if he had retired into General *Fairfax*'s Army, or to *London*. They likewiſe were of Opinion, that if they ſhould ſend back theſe two Men to the Parliament of *England*, it would be tacitly acknowledging themſelves to have committed a Fault in receiving the King, ſince it is not to be thought, that his Majeſty could come to them all alone, without being attended by any Perſon.

Indeed, they granted, that if *Aſhburnham* and *Hudſon* had before been declared Malignants and Incendiaries, for having oppoſed the Reformation of Religion, or for having contributed towards the interrupting of the good Agreement that is between the two Kingdoms, or even of that between the King and his Subjects contrary to the League ſolemnly agreed upon between the two Nations; in that Caſe, they would have been very ready to comply with the two Houſes: But laying nothing elſe to their Charge, but an Act of Duty and Obligation, they could not deliver them up without wounding their Honour, and violating all the Rules of Juſtice. After all, they thought that the Affair was of that Importance, as to require a Conference about it betwixt them and the Commiſſioners of the two Houſes; and in the mean time, they ordered it to be kept ſecret, leſt,

1646. by divulging the Demand of the two Houſes, the two Perſons in queſtion ſhould take Occaſion to make their Eſcape. Notwithſtanding that Precaution, they got private Notice of it, and fled: But the Covenanters ſent after them with ſo much Haſte, that *Hudſon* was catched, and brought back Priſoner to *Newcaſtle*. This *Hudſon* was a Miniſter by Profeſſion, but who had been very ſeverely uſed, only for having ſerved his King with great Fidelity and Affection.

THE Committee of the Army diſpatched the Lord *Balcarras* to the Parliament of *England*, in order to give them a particular Account of their Conduct upon this Occaſion, and likewiſe to aſſure them, that there was not one of the Committee that had a Hand in, or the leaſt Knowledge of *Aſhburnham*'s Eſcape. Beſides that, he delivered to them ſome Papers, wherein the Covenanters expreſſed a greal deal of Reſolution and Zeal, inviolably to obſerve the Covenant; and that there was no Perſon that could reproach them with having acted contrary to it. They alſo complained of the bad Uſage their Troops had; who not only were not paid at the Siege of *Newark* at the Rate of the *Engliſh* Soldiers, but ſince their retiring from before that Place, they had, beſides, been obliged to take Subſiſtance in their Quarters for want of Pay, which made them to be hated by the Country-People, without being able to procure them any Relief, the ſole Remedy being in the Hands of the Parliament, who ought to have ſettled Matters ſo, as to leave no Room for Complaint. They likewiſe deſired the Parliament to order the Officers of their Army to forbear giving abuſive or ſlighting Language, and as much as poſſible to ſhun all Occaſions of Quarrel, as they had very carefully done on their Part, to the end that all the World may ſee, that their Deſign was only upon the common Enemy. Then they laid before them the Care they had always taken to keep their Army from committing Diſorders, by the ſtrict Diſcipline under which they kept their Troops; and put the Parliament in Mind how ready they had always been to give them Satisfaction whenever they had made the leaſt Complaint. As when the Parliament made Application to the Covenanters, about having ſome Soldiers, who had liſted themſelves in their Army, caſhiered; becauſe they had carried Arms againſt the two Houſes: They preſently made a ſtrict Inquiry into it, and at laſt found, that it was not thoſe of whom the Parliament complained; but truly other Soldiers of the ſame Name with thoſe they had mentioned. And in like manner alſo, ſome other Soldiers having committed ſome Inſolencies, they were immediately tried in a Court-Martial, and ſhot.

IT is true, the Commiſſioners of the Parliament proteſted againſt that Procedure, and teſtified, that they did not approve, that the Officers of the ſame Regiment with the Guilty ſhould take upon them to be their Judges: But that Proteſtation was made a little too late; beſides, that the Procedure was not only according to military Diſcipline which is obſerved in *Scotland*, but likewiſe to that which is practiſed in *Germany*, and in many other Kingdoms. Laſtly, they declared in Name of all the Kingdom of *Scotland*, that as their Army had not entered *England* till after having been ſent for by both the Houſes of Parliament, and for the end which is expreſſed in the Covenant, which is the Eſtabliſhment of Truth and Peace upon ſolid Foundations; ſo they continued there with no other Deſign, and without incroaching in the leaſt upon the Government of the Kingdom of *England*. They likewiſe ſaid, that as ſoon as God ſhould be pleaſed to beſtow that Favour upon them, which they much longed for,

for, they ſhould be ready to withdraw their Army and Garriſons from that Kingdom. 1646.

But though theſe Things were not like to be ſo ſoon decided, the Parliament, fluſhed with their late Succeſſes, declared, that there was no more Occaſion for the Covenanters Army to continue longer in the Kingdom at its Charges; and in order to rid themſelves of it altogether, they raiſed a hundred thouſand Pounds for diſmiſſing it, and ingaged the publick Faith for the Payment of what more was due to it, and which amounted to a vaſt Sum. At laſt, about the end of the Year it marched out of *England*, and the Garriſons having been withdrawn from the Places which the Covenanters held there, they were delivered up to the Parliaments Commiſſioners.

Now, as the King, upon his Arrival before *Newark*, had cauſed the Place to be delivered up to the Parliament of *England*, and likewiſe given Orders for the ſurrendering of the other Places: Being at *Newcaſtle*, he diſpatched an Expreſs to *Montroſe* ordering him to lay down his Arms. *Montroſe* having received the King's Letters the laſt Day of *May*, bitterly bewailed his Majeſty's Misfortunes that had brought him into ſo great Diſtreſs, and deliberated a long Time within himſelf about what courſe he ſhould take. He conceived, that this Order came not to him from the King ſitting upon his Throne; and that if he ſhould obey it, a great Number of brave Men would be expoſed to the Perſecution of the Covenanters: On the other hand, he ſaw, that if he ſhould continue in Arms contrary to the King's Orders, he would be guilty of Diſobedience, and, perhaps, be the Cauſe of the King's not receiving all the Satisfaction he expected from the Covenanters. Theſe Conſiderations obliged him to conſult upon an Affair of ſo great Importance with the Chief of the Nobility and Gentry of the Royal Party, before he ſhould anſwer his Majeſty. For that end, he ſent to the Marquis of *Huntley* Sir *John Innes*, and Sir *John Hurry*, this laſt having joined *Montroſe* the 7th of *May* at *Duthel* upon the *Spey*, to invite the Marquis to be preſent at the Conſultation, which ſhould be held when and where he ſhould be pleaſed to appoint, and if he had a Mind that it ſhould be at his own Houſe, *Montroſe* was ready to wait upon him there.

At the ſame time, the General Aſſembly of *Scotland*, which had been adjourned to the 3d of *June*, having met at *Edinburgh*, *Robert Dowglas*, one of the Miniſters of the City, laid before them a Letter written by the King from *Newcaſtle*, to this Effect; "That having by his Letters to "the Parliament of *England*, and the Commiſſioners of *Scotland* that "were at *London*, acquainted them with the deep Senſe he had of the "pernicious Effects that had attended the unhappy Diviſion betwixt him "and his Subjects, and his Reſolution to ſatisfy the Deſires of the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, for the reſtoring of Truth and Peace, he had "alſo thought fit to acquaint too the General Aſſembly therewith. That, "beſides, he aſſured them, that he would labour to maintain the Religion "in *Scotland*, according as it was there eſtabliſhed, and to reform that "of *England* and *Ireland*. That his greateſt Paſſion was to reſtore Peace "in all the three Kingdoms. That he would in a more particular Manner acquaint the Aſſembly with his Deſigns, upon the Return of his "Meſſengers to the Parliament of *England*. That in the mean time, "he recommended his Perſon and the ruined State of his Kingdoms "to their Prayers, and expected of them, that they would act faithfully

*The King's Letter to the General Aſſembly of* Scotland.

1646. " in their Offices, and carry themſelves dutifully, as it became the Mi-
" niſters of the Goſpel."

THIS Aſſembly ordained, that *George* Earl of *Seaforth* ſhould be excommunicated, and declared to be of the Number of thoſe, whom the Faithful ought to look upon as Heathens and Publicans. Becauſe, ſaid they, that that Earl had declared himſelf to be the Author of the perfidious Declaration, made under the Name of a humble Remonſtrance, againſt the ſolemn League and Covenant between the two Nations; and that he had joined with that excommunicated Traitor *James Graham* in order to beſiege the Town of *Inverneſs*. This ſame Aſſembly ordained, that all thoſe who had ſided with the Rebels, or who had had any Hand in the publiſhing of *James Graham*'s Proclamation for the calling of a pretended Parliament, ſhould be obliged to acknowledge their Offence in all Humility, bare-headed and kneeling; firſt before the Preſbyteries; and then on a *Sunday* before the Congregation, ſtanding before the Pulpit; and till then they ſhould be deprived of the Lord's Supper: But if they refuſed to give that Satisfaction to the Church, they ſhould be proceeded againſt by Excommunication. They likewiſe ordained, that all thoſe who had made Application to the Rebels for Protection; who had received them into their Houſes; or had drunk to *James Graham*'s Health, ſhould be obliged publickly to confeſs their Fault before the Congregation, and to abſtain from the Lord's Supper; and that Eccleſiaſticks ſhould be ſuſpended from their Office, till they had acknowledged their Fault in the ſame manner with the reſt.

THEN the Aſſembly made an Act concerning the Education of the Youth that ſhould be brought up out of the Kingdom, in order to take Care, that no other Religion but that of the Reformed of their own Country might be inſtilled into their Minds; and for that end decreed, that, before the Children ſhould go out of the Kingdom, the Fathers, Mothers, or Guardians ſhould give Notice of it to the Preſbytery of their Reſidence, whoſe Certificate they ſhould take, which ſhould be addreſſed to the Conſiſtories of *France*, the Synods of *England*, and *Ireland*, or to thoſe of ſuch other Parts as they ſhould go to; and that, at their Return, they ſhould in like Manner bring back another from the Conſiſtory or Synod of the Place where they had been educated, that the ſaid Preſbytery, which had given them their Certificate in going out of the Country, may be aſſured of their good Behaviour, and Steddineſs in their Religion. This Aſſembly likewiſe ordered all the Preſbyteries of the Kingdom, to inquire within their reſpective Diſtricts, if any Children had been ſent out of the Kingdom to ſtudy in Popiſh Colleges, and to give Notice of it to the Council, or the Committee of Parliament, to the end that ſuch Children may be recalled in order to be brought up in the true Religion. The Parliament confirmed this Act the following Year, and beſides, decreed, that the Council and the Committee of Parliament might take the Children from Popiſh Fathers, Mothers, or even Guardians, and put them into the Hands of Perſons well-principled and zealous for Religion, to be by them brought up therein.

*The Aſſembly's Anſwer to the King.*

AT laſt the Aſſembly anſwered the King's Letter, but very coldly; " That the whole Aſſembly had agreed to depute ſome of their Number, " in order to confer more particularly with his Majeſty about every Thing, " than what they had done themſelves the Honour to write to him. That " they hoped his Majeſty would take that Liberty and Freedom as a Te-
" ſtimony

" ſtimony of their Fidelity and Affection. That they were reſolved ſo to 1646.
" approve themſelves before God; and that they earneſtly ſupplicated his
" divine Majeſty, to pour down his Bleſſings upon his Majeſty's ſacred
" Perſon, and more and more to touch his Heart, that he may be inabled
" to hearken to the wholeſome Advices that were given him for the E-
" ſtabliſhment of Truth and Peace." With this Letter to the King they ſent another more full and more imbittered, directed to the Parliament of *England*, containing; " That the Noiſe of the Wonders which God had
" done for that Parliament having paſſed the Seas, they ought not to
" conceal them, nor leſſen the Value of them. That as they admired
" the Power and Goodneſs of God, who was the Author of them; ſo
" they would diminiſh nothing of the Praiſe that was due to the Inſtru-
" ments he was pleaſed to make uſe of. That when God placed them
" upon the Tribunal of Juſtice, their Church as well as State were labour-
" ing under many Diſtempers, the Cure of which was the more difficult,
" that beſides being ſpread and deeply rooted in the whole Body, they
" were cheriſhed by Cuſtom, by the Laws, and by the powerful Prote-
" ction of the malignant Faction of Prelates; who choſe rather to throw
" the Kingdom into Blood and Confuſion, than to abate of their ambiti-
" ous and perfidious Deſigns againſt Religion, the Privileges of Parlia-
" ment, the Laws, and Liberties of the Kingdom. That that curſed Ge-
" neration had ſpared no Labour, in order to attain their Ends; but had
" likewiſe for a long Time endeavoured to purſue them by Arms. That,
" in all Appearance, they would have prevailed, if the Lord himſelf had
" not appeared upon the Breach; if he had not indued their Lordſhips
" (the Parliament) with much Wiſdom, Courage, and Conſtancy in the
" midſt of a Multitude of Difficulties; and if he had not bleſſed their
" Arms with ſo glorious and triumphant Succeſs, that at laſt the Ene-
" mies were overthrown on all Sides; inſomuch that none were left to
" appear againſt them. That as theſe Things were Matter of Comfort
" and Glory to them; ſo they laid a ſtrict Obligation upon their Lord-
" ſhips to be very humble before God, and to imploy the Power which
" he had put into their Hands for the Advancement of his Son's King-
" dom, and laying the Corner Stone of his Houſe. That the Delay of
" that holy Work had occaſioned much Grief to them, which daily in-
" creaſed by the Multitude of the Spirits of Error and Illuſion that had
" ariſen, and which not only ruined many Souls, but gathered Strength
" to that Degree, that if they were not timely ſuppreſſed, they could not
" be attacked hereafter with any Hopes of Succeſs. That they, the Ser-
" vants of the living God, who not only continually put up their Prayers
" to Heaven for their Lordſhips; but had alſo hazarded their Perſons for
" their Defence, humbly intreated them by the Bowels of Jeſus Chriſt to
" render the Honour and Glory which were due to his Name, by a ſpee-
" dy Eſtabliſhment of all his divine Ordinances, according to the League
" and Covenant. That while the Enemy was in the Field, and that there
" were Debates amongſt the Divines aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, they had had
" juſt Cauſe of Delay; but now that theſe Obſtacles were removed, they
" were ſo bold as in a ſhort Time to hope from their Zeal the fulfilling of
" the Covenant, which was the chief Foundation of the League which
" they had made with them, and the Source of all their Comfort in the
" midſt of ſo many Afflictions that a cruel Enemy had brought upon
" them. That there were People, who did their utmoſt to put off the
" accompliſhing of that great Work of Uniformity; and who fomented
" Jealouſies betwixt the two Nations; but that they hoped, that God
" would mock them; that he would ſpeak to them in his Wrath; and

*Their Letter to the Parliament of* England.

1646. " that, notwithſtanding their underhand Dealings, he would eſtabliſh his " King upon the holy Mountain of *Sion*, and make the two Nations hap- " py in the Injoyment of Truth and Peace. That the great God, the " Searcher of Hearts, knew that they were reſolved to ſtick inviolably " to the Covenant, and that they were perſuaded that the breaking of ſo " ſacred a Band would draw down his Judgments upon both Nations. " Laſtly, that they ſhould be very much grieved to have other Thoughts " than thoſe of the two Houſes of Parliament; that they were ſure of " the Sincerity of their own Intentions; and that they would therefore " labour inceſſantly to have all the Articles of the Covenant put in Exe- " cution, which was the only means whereby to obtain Peace, and reſtore " Proſperity to the two Kingdoms."

THE Aſſembly wrote in the ſame Terms to the City of *London*, and the Divines aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, whom they conjured to give Glory to God in making publick Profeſſion of his Truth; and let them know, that God required of them, that, according to his Word, they would declare, what were the Rights of the Crown, and the Extent of the Scepter of Jeſus Chriſt. What were the Limits betwixt him reigning in his Houſe, and the Powers which he had eſtabliſhed upon Earth. By whom, and in what manner his Houſe ought to be governed; and by what means thoſe Sectaries may be confounded, who, corrupting his Truth, ſeduced the Faithful, and made many of them ſuffer a ſad Shipwrack of Faith.

IN the mean time, *Huntley* having anſwered *Montroſe*, that he himſelf had likewiſe received the King's Orders for diſarming, and that he believed they muſt be quickly obeyed; without more ado *Montroſe* diſpatched a truſty Perſon to the King, in order to know for certain, in what Condition his Majeſty was. Whether the Arms he had taken up by his Order could be no more uſeful for his Service; and if he muſt abſolutely diſarm, how he was to behave in it, that it might be done ſafely, as well upon his own Account, as upon that of all the King's faithful Subjects, who had fought with ſo much Honour and Generoſity for the Defence of his Crown. *Montroſe*'s Meſſenger could get no other Anſwer to that juſt Demand, but that the Committee of the Parliament of *Scotland* had adjuſted ſome Articles, which Major General *Middleton* would offer to the Royaliſts. That *Middleton* had Power from the Committee to treat with them; and when they ſhould be diſarmed, to take Poſſeſſion of the Towns and Caſtles which they held in the Kingdom.

*The Articles offered to* Montroſe *by the Covenanters.*

THE Articles which *Middleton* cauſed to be publiſhed at *Dundee* the 7th of *July* were; I. " That *James Graham*, *Lewis Lindſey*, *Alexander Mack-* " *donald*, and Sir *John Hurry* could have no other Favour but the Liberty " of retiring beyond Sea, which ſhould be granted them, provided they " ſhould take Shipping in the Harbour of *Montroſe* before the Firſt of " *September* next, and oblige themſelves not to return to any of his Ma- " jeſty's Dominions without Permiſſion from the Parliament of *Scotland*. " II. That all the Gentlemen, who had been in Rebellion againſt the Par- " liament of the Kingdom, ſhould have their Lives and Fortunes ſecure " as to this Rebellion, provided they ſhould diſband and lay down their " Arms before the 20th of *July*; and upon Condition likewiſe, that all " the Chiefs of Families ſhould appear before the Committee before the " 5th of *September* next, in order to take an Oath of Fidelity to the Par- " liament; excepting, nevertheleſs, the four Perſons named in the firſt " Article, and the Eſtate of *Graham* of *Gorthy*, of which the Parliament

" had diſpoſed. III. That all Strangers ſhould have Liberty to depart the " Kingdom, but not to return without the Conſent of Parliament, upon " Pain of Death. IV. That all the Soldiers, who are Natives of the " Kingdom, ſhould be allowed to retire to their own Houſes." 1646.

These Articles put *Montroſe* out of all Patience; for he could not bear, that his People ſhould be treated with ſo much Contempt and Injuſtice; and he thought, that this Treaty looked rather like a Pardon given to Criminals, than a honourable Capitulation which ought to be given to military Men. He complained, that the Covenanters always called thoſe, who had followed him, Rebels; ſince they knew that he had done nothing in that War, but by the expreſs Orders of his Majeſty, and by that means they not only traduced his faithful Servants; but made the King himſelf paſs for the Head of the Rebellion. That the King having conſented, that thoſe who had taken up Arms for his Service, ſhould lay them down; however, with the Security of their Lives and Fortunes; the Covenanters gave ſo ſhort a Time for the Execution of the Treaty, that they made it plainly appear they had no Mind to deal honeſtly. That the Covenanters obliged ſuch as they deſigned to turn out of the Kingdom, to repair to Ports, whither they could not go, without hazarding their Lives; and from whence they could not part without Paſs-ports from the Parliaments of both Kingdoms. That they were forbid to return to *Scotland* upon Pain of Death, if it was not by Permiſſion of Parliament, without making the leaſt Mention of the King's Leave. That the Covenanters took no Notice in their Articles of the Releaſe of Priſoners, nor of the remitting of pecuniary Mulcts. That they gave full Liberty to none but Strangers and Soldiers of Fortune; but that they obliged all Chiefs of Families to appear before them, in order to impoſe ſuch Conditions upon them as they ſhould think fit. Laſtly, that they ſtript *Gorthy* of his Eſtate, not for having committed any Crime; but only becauſe, ſaid they, the Parliament had diſpoſed of it.

These Reaſons obliged *Montroſe* to ſend back to the King, to beg of his Majeſty to get added to thoſe Conditions in favour of his faithful Servants. " I. That the Sentences of Excommunication and Rebellion, which " had been pronounced againſt thoſe who had ſerved the King, ſhould " be made void; and that the Magiſtrates ſhould not proceed againſt " them by Virtue of Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures; ſince by the Laws of *Scot-* " *land* that had been made and publiſhed ſince the Reformation, an ex- " communicated Perſon is out-lawed, and his Goods confiſcated. II. That " every Man ſhould be allowed to ſtay in the Kingdom, or go out of it as " he ſhould think fit; and that ſince his Majeſty ordered him to go be- " yond Sea, the Parliaments of both Kingdoms ſhould give Paſſports for " him and his Attendants; and that the Parliament of *Scotland* ſhould " cauſe Ships to be made ready for that end. III. That all thoſe who " were kept Priſoners for having ſerved his Majeſty ſhould be ſet at Li- " berty without Ranſom, or any Fine whatever. IV. That all the Mi- " niſters who had been depoſed for their Fidelity to his Majeſty, ſhould " be reſtored to their Offices. V. That the Parliament ſhould be quickly " called for confirming theſe Articles. VI. That the Earls of *Forth* and " *Carnwarth*, the Lord *Eythen*, and all *Scotſmen* in general, who had " been in his Majeſty's Service out of the Kingdom, ſhould be compre- " hended in the Treaty." Montroſe's *additional Articles.*

The

1646. THE King not being then in a Condition to give Laws, anſwered to theſe Propoſitions according as the unhappy Circumſtances of his Affairs would allow him. " That thoſe who were under Sentence of Confiſca-
*The King's Anſwer to* Montroſe's *additional Articles.*
" tion had nothing to fear, ſince that by *Middleton*'s Articles, all Gentle-
" men were to return to the Poſſeſſion of their Eſtates, except *Gorthy*,
" and the four named in the firſt Article; and that as for thoſe who were
" excommunicated, they could not make their Peace till they had firſt
" given Satisfaction to the Church; but in the mean time the Aſſiſtance
" of the Civil Magiſtrate could not be demanded againſt them. That,
" by *Middleton*'s Articles, all Natives, except the four mentioned in the
" firſt Article, might ſtay in the Kingdom; and that as for thoſe who
" liked rather to go out of it, and for whom Ships were to be provided,
" they would have no Occaſion for any other Paſſport but *Middleton*'s.
" That *Montroſe* ought not to inſiſt upon the Releaſe of Priſoners; be-
" cauſe they had been judged and fined by the Committee of Parliament,
" a long Time before the Capitulation made by the ſame Committee;
" and ſince many others of the Nobility and Gentry, who had been in
" the ſame Condition, had paid their Fines, it was not reaſonable that
" thoſe, who had been head-ſtrong, and would not compound, ſhould be
" more favourably treated; but, however, that the King would take care
" that the Fines ſhould not be extravagant. That the depoſed Miniſters
" could not be reſtored without having given Satisfaction to the Church;
" but that in the mean time they might remain peaceably in the King-
" dom, or go out of it, if they thought fit. That there was no Occa-
" ſion to call a Parliament for confirming the Articles; becauſe the Par-
" liament had given Power to the Committee, or to whom the Com-
" mittee ſhould appoint, to treat with thoſe who had carried Arms againſt
" them. Laſtly, That as for thoſe Lords and other *Scotſmen*, which
" *Montroſe* would have to be comprehended in the Treaty, as the King
" took that Demand for a Mark of Friendſhip and Reſpect for them; ſo
" he believed that the Demand would be better received coming from
" him, and that he might aſſure himſelf, that he would be mindful of it
" in Time and Place convenient.

*MONTROSE* having received the Articles thus explained by the King, and at the ſame Time an expreſs Order to diſarm, upon Pain of Diſobedience, he called together his Soldiers, and after having communicated to them his Majeſty's Pleaſure, he told them, " That in the preſent " Conjuncture, their Obedience would contribute as much to his Service, " as their Arms, and the brave Actions they had performed before, for " maintaining his Rights and the Honour of the whole Nation, had done." He ſoftened that melancholy News with the Hopes he gave them of a Peace, and of the Rewards, which, ſome Day or other, they would get from the King, ſuch as their Valour and matchleſs Fidelity deſerved. That fatal Order redoubled their Affliction, taking it for a bad Omen, and an infallible Sign, that there was a Deſign upon the King's Authority; and that the Liberty of their native Country was about to be trampled upon, their Sentiments whereof they could not conceal from *Montroſe*. At laſt they conjured him, that ſince the King's Affairs required that he ſhould diſarm, and retire out of the Kingdom, that at leaſt he would be pleaſed to allow them to go along with him, and follow him whitherſoever he ſhould go, that they might ſhare with him in his good or bad Fortune. They ſtrove who ſhould be moſt forward in giving thoſe Proofs of Affection for their General. There were even ſome of them, who, deſpiſing the

the Eſtates and Quiet which they might have injoyed in the Kingdom, run the Hazard of loſing their Lives rather than to continue in it after him. 1646.

Thus *Montroſe*, accompanied by two Gentlemen only, having entered *Scotland*, then up in Arms for the Defence of the Covenant, having undergone Hardſhips, and run into Dangers, not to be paralleled, in order to form a Party for the King's Service; having fought ſix Battles, and carried his victorious Arms over all the Kingdom, without ever having raiſed Contribution in any Part thereof, or ſuffered any Town to be pillaged; at laſt, not minding his own Intereſt, when he was forced to put an End to the War in a Country, where Victories had been no leſs fatal to him than glorious, becauſe of the ſhedding of the Blood of his own Countrymen, whoſe Stubbornneſs and Loſs he lamented; as he had taken up Arms by the King his Maſter's Command, he likewiſe laid them down by the ſame Authority, and forthwith made himſelf ready to follow his Majeſty's Orders; which were, that he ſhould depart the Kingdom.

Now, the King, at the Perſuaſion of the Covenanters, had ordered *Montroſe* to be gone before the Beginning of *September*, and it was already the firſt of *Auguſt*; therefore he made all the haſte he could to get to the River of *Soütheſk*, the Committee having concluded, that he ſhould take Shipping at the Harbour of *Montroſe*, which is at the Mouth of that River. But having ſpent a great Part of the Month there, without the leaſt Appearance of any Ship for his Paſſage, he allowed ſome of his Friends, that he intended to take along with him, to inquire of the Covenanters, why they had not ſooner provided what was neceſſary for his retiring. Theſe could bring him no other Anſwer, but that it was given out among the Covenanters, that they had a Deſign to keep him in the Kingdom, and to imploy him, in Caſe the *Engliſh* ſhould not give the King the Satisfaction he demanded of them. However, that was only to amuſe him, and to make him give over Thoughts of retiring, that the Day appointed being elapſed, they might freely ſeize upon his Perſon. Therefore he was ſtill upon his Guard, and truly believed that the Covenanters had no Mind to keep their Word better to him than they had done to thoſe of his Party that had fallen into their Hands. At length, on the laſt Day of *Auguſt* a Ship appeared in the appointed Harbour; but as *Montroſe* offered to go aboard, the Maſter anſwered roughly, that he muſt have Time to refit the Ship, and that he had Orders from the Committee to ſteer his Courſe along the Coaſt of *England*, which was to ſay, to make him fall into the Hands of the *Engliſh*, who had Ships upon the Coaſt. Whereupon ſome of his Friends adviſed him to betake himſelf to his Arms again, and get to the Mountains; but *Montroſe* knowing that it would be imputed to the King, choſe rather to venture all, than to bring any new Trouble upon him. Having, a little before, ſent along the Coaſt to look for ſome foreign Veſſel, and one being found in the Harbour of *Stonehive*, belonging to *Norway*, he ſent thither privately ſuch of his Friends as he had reſolved to take with him, knowing well, that they could not live peaceably in the Kingdom, becauſe the Covenanters had more Malice againſt them than againſt the reſt. They put out to Sea the 5th of *September*, having run the Riſk of being murdered by the Country-People, who cut the Cable while the Ship was at Anchor, and put them in Danger of ſplitting upon the Rocks. About the Evening of the ſame Day, *Montroſe* himſelf, diſguiſed in the Habit of the Servant of *James Wood*, his moſt faithful Chaplain, ſet out with him from the Harbour of *Mon-*

1646. *troſe*, and went aboard of a Veſſel that waited for him in the Road, the Maſter of which, called *James Garden*, was a good Friend of *Wood*'s.

THE ſame Month, the Earl of *Eſſex* died ſuddenly. That Death was much talked of at *London*; and it was even thought, that he had ſome Remains of a tender Regard for the King to the laſt. 'Tis certain that when his Majeſty left *London*, he was making ready to follow him; but the Earl of *Holland* diſſuaded him from it. This laſt Earl was the firſt that repented, and went to the King at *Oxford*, where having been ill received, he returned to the Parliament; wherein he loſt all Credit with both Sides. 'Tis true there were many Reaſons for not giving him a kind Reception at Court; but it was his Part, by a ſubmiſſive Behaviour, to have induced the King to make him welcome. About the ſame time *Alexander Henderſon* died at *Edinburgh:* The Royaliſts gave out, that he died with Regret to leave the Kingdom in Rebellion againſt both God and the King, which the Covenanters ſtrongly denied. However, it is certain, that when the King retired to *York*, he expreſſed a great deal of Joy that he had carried the Prince of *Wales* with him, which was a Proof of the Affection he ſtill preſerved for the Royal Family.

SOME time after *Montroſe* had left the Kingdom, it was reported, that the King, not able to come to an Agreement with the Commiſſioners of the two Nations, had a Deſign to make his Eſcape from *Newcaſtle*, and to take Shipping for the North of *Scotland*. But though there was little Hopes that that could be done, the Parliament of *England* having Ships in the Mouth of the River of *Tyne*, and the Covenanters of *Scotland* being in Poſſeſſion of the Frontier Towns of *Berwick* and *Carliſle*; yet as Men are eaſily perſuaded, that the Things are poſſible which they paſſionately wiſh for, there were ſome of the Nobility and Gentry in the North that were impatiently expecting him, and who would have certainly received him with great Joy.

THE King was treated at *Newcaſtle* with almoſt the ſame Reſpect that is due to a King; but his Guard was that of a real Priſoner. The Company of *Monſieur Bellievre*, the *French* Ambaſſador, was a great Comfort to him, and who was at great Pains to make up Differences between his Majeſty and his Subjects; but the Wrath of Heaven againſt thoſe People was not as yet appeaſed; they had other Scourges to undergo from the Hand of God; and though his Judgments be often hid, nevertheleſs they are always juſt.

THE Covenanters Commiſſioners at *Newcaſtle* could not agree with thoſe of the Parliament of *England* in the Matter of the Militia. They had preſented Papers to the Parliament, wherein they maintained that it ought to be commanded by the King and the Parliament jointly in both Kingdoms, and that the Power of it being fundamentally in the Crown, they would not ſuffer the Crown to be deprived of it. They likewiſe declared, that as they had not flattered the King, even at the Time when his Authority was ſtrained to the higheſt Pitch it could go to; ſo now when it is reduced to the loweſt Ebb, they would make Conſcience of ſtripping him of his Rights, and of being againſt that lawful Authority which the two Nations were bound to maintain, as well by their Oath of Fidelity, as by their Covenant. They added, that as they did not deſire, that the Monarchical Government ſhould degenerate into Tyranny; ſo they had no Mind, that it ſhould be abaſed and made contemptible; but that a Medium

dium and Moderation ſhould be always obſerved, whereby their Kings may at all Times be able to protect their Subjects by Advice of Parliament, and to oppoſe their Enemies, according to the fundamental Laws of the two Kingdoms. Laſtly, they complained, that the Parliament of *England* had altered the Propoſitions which they cauſed to be preſented to the King at the Treaty of *Uxbridge*, and being ſatisfied then to demand the Command of the Militia for ſeven Years, they had a Mind now to be abſolute Maſters of it, and by that Means to ſow the Seed of a new War between the King's Succeſſors and the Poſterity of the two Nations: For it was not to be doubted, but thoſe reflecting upon the Power of the Kings their Predeceſſors, would do what in them lay to recover it to the Crown; whereas if the Militia was left in the Hands of the King and Parliament, the Peace which they were treating about with his Majeſty would be the more ſolid, by being made upon juſt Conditions. 1646.

Moreover, the Covenanters had demanded to have the following Propoſitions added to thoſe which were to be offered to the King. "I. That "the King, with the Prince, and their Succeſſors, ſhould always reſide "every third Year in the Kingdom of *Scotland*, in order, with Honour, "to perform the Duty which they owed the Subjects of that Kingdom, "and from which they could not in Conſcience be always abſent, ſince "the publick Good neceſſarily required their Reſidence ſometimes. II. "That the Half, or at leaſt the Third of the Officers belonging to the "Houſholds of their Majeſties, of the Prince, and of all their Children "ſhould be held by *Scots* Subjects; becauſe if the *Engliſh* ſhould poſſeſs "them all, it would happen in time, that one of the Nations would be"come a Stranger to the other, which would look very ill, and prove to "be of dangerous Conſequence, and would always afford new Matter of "Pique and Quarrel betwixt the two Kingdoms." But the Commiſſioners of both Nations agreed perfectly well at that Time in the Propoſition of the Covenant which was preſented to the King, and which he abſolutely refuſed. However, that ought not to have given them Jealouſy of the King's Religion: For without mentioning all the Declarations which his Majeſty had made upon that Subject, and the Proteſtation he made at the Head of his Army, which he afterwards renewed to the Parliament at *Oxford*; they were not ignorant that the King, receiving the Sacrament once in the ſame Place from the Hands of the Archbiſhop of *Armagh*, of his own Accord, without being required by any Perſon, proteſted, that he wiſhed that what he took as a Pledge of his Salvation, might be his Damnation, if he had the leaſt Deſign in his Mind to the Prejudice of the Proteſtant Religion of *England*.

The King's refuſing the Covenant, was chiefly the Cauſe of breaking off the Treaty and Negotiation. And as the Time was come that the Covenanters muſt withdraw their Army out of *England*, and deliver up the cautionary Towns, which they held there, to its Commiſſioners, as they were obliged to do by the Treaty which they had made with the Parliament in the Year 1643, they conſulted together about what concerned the King's Perſon, and reſolved, that he ſhould not go to *Scotland* with the Covenanters; but that he ſhould remain in one of his Houſes in *England*, till he ſhould agree to the Propoſitions of Peace with the Parliaments of the two Kingdoms: And becauſe the Covenanters knew that the Royaliſts of *Scotland* would very much heighten this Action, and from thence take Occaſion to make the Covenant odious, which had blinded the Judgment of ſome of their Countrymen, to make them ſo groſly want-

ing

1646. ing to their own Intereſt; and that beſides, it might bring a bad Reputation upon the Covenant, and blemiſh their own Credit in foreign Countries, they made this Declaration in the laſt Meeting of the firſt Seſſion, of their Triennial Parliaments the 16th of *January* of the following Year.

" As it had pleaſed God to unite the Kingdoms of *Scotland*, *England*, " and *Ireland* by a ſolemn League, as well for the Reformation of Reli- " gion, as for the King's Honour and their own Security; the Covenan- " ters of *Scotland* ſent an Army into *England*, where being at the Siege of " *Newark*, the King came and alighted at the *Scots* Quarters, and pro- " teſted that it was in order to give full and intire Satisfaction to the juſt " Demands of his Subjects of both Kingdoms, without the leaſt Thought " of continuing longer this unhappy War, which had been kindled in his " Dominions, and which had ſown Diviſion therein. On the contrary, " he ſhewed that his Intention was to join with the Parliaments of his " Kingdoms, and to yield to their Advice in all Things which ſhould be " propoſed for the Eſtabliſhment of Truth and Peace. Which he not " only told the Committee by Word of Mouth, but likewiſe declared the " ſame Thing ſince by ſeveral Letters which he wrote to the Committee " of Parliament in *Scotland*, and to the two Houſes of the Parliament of " *England*. Now, the Committee and the chief Officers of the Army " truſting to his Word, and not doubting but his Intentions were ſincere, " ſo much the more, that he aſſerted, that they proceeded from no other " Motive but the deep Senſe he had of the deplorable State of his King- " doms, where Blood was ſhed on all Sides, they received his Royal Per- " ſon, and repreſented to him, that the fulfilling of what he had juſt " now promiſed either Kingdom, was the only Means whereby to eſta- " bliſh Peace in them both, and to arrive at the Height of his Happineſs. " Some time after, Propoſitions of Peace were not only preſented to him " from the two Kingdoms, which begged, that his Majeſty would be " pleaſed to approve of them; but alſo the ſupreme Courts of *Scotland*, " as well Eccleſiaſtical as Civil joined thereto their moſt humble Peti- " tions, which they ſent him by ſeveral Letters, and Deputies appointed " by them for that Effect, and who repreſented to him the dangerous " Conſequences of his Majeſty's delaying, or refuſing to conſent thereto; " particularly that the Kingdom of *Scotland* would be forced to join with " that of *England*, in order to provide for the Security of both, as well " for the preſent, as for the Time to come, according to their League and " Covenant. In the mean time, though the King had not hearkened to " their Requeſts; yet the Parliament of *Scotland* being obliged by their " Treaty with that of *England*, to withdraw the Army which they had " there, ſent again to his Majeſty, in order to lay before him the ſame " Things, and added, that ſince he could not come into *Scotland* without " giving Occaſion to new Troubles, which undoubtedly would attend the " Breach of the Union between the two Nations, they were reſolved, " after having diſcharged their Duty as much as they could, with the Ad- " vice of the Parliament of *England* to diſpoſe of his Perſon. There- " fore the King, as well by his Anſwer to the Articles of Peace in the " Month of *Auguſt*, as by his Letters to the Parliaments of both King- " doms, having ſignified, that he deſired to be with that of *England*, " and that the ſaid Parliament had made it appear to the Commiſſioners " of *Scotland* at *Newcaſtle*, that the Caſtle of *Holmby*, in *Northampton- ſhire*, was, in their Opinion, the moſt proper Place to which the King " could retire, with ſuch Attendants as the two Houſes ſhould appoint. " For theſe Reaſons, the Parliament of *Scotland* conſidering, his Majeſty's

" refuſing

" refuſing to conſent to the Propoſitions of Peace which had been ſent 1646.
" him, his Deſire to be near the Parliament of *England*, and likewiſe ha-
" ving a Mind to maintain a good Underſtanding between the two King-
" doms, declared, that they were of the ſame Opinion with the Parlia-
" ment of *England* for what concerned his Majeſty's Perſon; and that
" they conſented to his being conducted to that Caſtle, or to any other of
" his Houſes near *London*, there to continue till he had given Satisfaction
" to the two Kingdoms in the Propoſitions of Peace; and in the mean
" time, that Orders ſhould be given that no Violence, Abuſe, or bad
" Treatment ſhould be offered to his ſacred Perſon. That no Alteration
" ſhould be made in the Form of Government, and that his Poſterity
" ſhould receive no Prejudice in the lawful Succeſſion of all his Crowns.
" As this Declaration expreſſed the true Intention and Reſolution of the
" Kingdom of *Scotland* according to the Concern they had in his Ma-
" jeſty's Perſon, ſo they hoped, that the Intention of the Parliament of
" *England* was the ſame, expecting that they would quickly publiſh the
" like Declaration on their Part."

The Parliament of *England* ingaged the publick Faith for the Preſervation and Security of his Majeſty's Perſon, and for labouring jointly with him and the Parliament of *Scotland* to procure a good and ſolid Peace. For which end, they ſolemnly promiſed, that all ſuch as the Kingdom of *Scotland* ſhould imploy in it, ſhould have free Acceſs to the King's Perſon. After which the *Scots* Army marched out of *England*, leaving the King with the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners.

Thus it pleaſed the King of Kings, whoſe Counſels and Judgments are Depths which the Wit of Man cannot fathom, it pleaſed him, I ſay, to humble this great Prince, and to permit his Subjects to prevail over him, their good Maſter, whoſe Yoke had been ſo eaſy, and who was indued with ſo many royal Virtues, that he ought to be reckoned amongſt the Kings who have been anointed *Bekeren*, with a Horn of Oil, to ſhew the Duration of their Reigns, ſuch as *David* and *Solomon* were; and not amongſt thoſe who have been anointed *Bepac*, with a Cruſe of Oil, as *Saul* and *Jehu*, which denoted that their Reigns ſhould not be of long Continuance. Now, the Things that have happened ſince the Confinement of this Prince, plainly ſhew, that the Scepter of Kings is like the Rod of *Moſes*, which, while he held it ſtraight in his Hand, performed great Miracles; but being thrown upon the Ground became a Serpent.

*The End of the Sixth* BOOK.

# THE HISTORY OF THE TROUBLES OF *GREAT-BRITAIN.*

## BOOK VII.

1647. THE Army of the *Scots* Covenanters being ready to march out of *Newcaſtle* and the Caſtle of *Tynemouth*, which is ſituate at the Mouth of the River of *Tyne*, General *Leſly* cauſed to be publiſhed by Sound of Trumpet, in the moſt publick Places of the Town, that if the Inhabitants had any Complaints to make againſt the Soldiers, or that if any Thing was owing them by the Officers of the Army, they were to apply themſelves to him, in order to be paid of it, and to have Satisfaction of their other Demands. He thought it was his Buſineſs to take all the Care he could, that the *Engliſh* might have no Reaſon to be diſſatisfied with his Conduct, and that he was obliged to act in ſuch a Manner, as the Covenanters of the two Nations might part good Friends. He ſucceeded in his Deſign; for ſhortly after, the Houſe of Commons, as a Proof of their being pleaſed with his Services, ſent him a Preſent, which was well worth 2000 Crowns, with a very obliging Letter, written by the Speaker of the Houſe. *Leſly* received that Preſent with a great deal of Reſpect, and told Mr. *Errington*, who delivered it to him, and was accompanied by the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of *England*, who were then reſiding at *Edinburgh* during the Sitting of the Parliament of *Scotland*, "That he would preſerve the Letter, with which the Houſe

" of Commons had honoured him, amongſt the Writings of his Family, 1647.
" and that he would always be proud of appearing in Publick with that
" honourable Mark, which the Commons of *England* had been pleaſed
" to give him of their Favour." And indeed, he went to the Parliament having that Badge hung by a Gold Chain about his Neck, where ſome Lords ſeeing him adorned with that Jewel, and telling him, that the Out-ſide of it appeared to be very fine, he preſently anſwered them, that what it incloſed within was yet much more ſo, and opening it, he let them ſee the Union of *Scotland* and *England*, which was repreſented in it, and the two Nations tied together with moſt ſtrict Bands of Brotherly Friendſhip. Theſe Bands, however, ſlackened very ſoon after, and that fine Union continued only in Picture.

On the 30th of *January*, the *Scots* Army repaſſed the *Tyne*, and that ſame Day Major General *Skippon*, a Soldier of Fortune, took Poſſeſſion of *Newcaſtle* and *Tynemouth* for the Parliament of *England*. That Army committed great Diſorders in marching through the Shire of *Northumberland*, where the Soldiers, not content with paying nothing in their Quarters, plundered many Houſes, and went home with all the Booty they could carry off. The Parliament of *England* winked at all that without making the leaſt Complaint, being content to be rid of ſuch Gueſts at any Rate.

The Rear-Guard of the Army having paſſed the *Tweed*, on the 11th of *February* the *Scots* Garriſon marched out of *Berwick*, and the next Day, the Out-works and all the new Fortifications were begun to be demoliſhed, as, in the Year 1644. had been agreed upon betwixt the Commiſſioners of both Nations. The Rendezvous of the whole Army was appointed to be at the Abbey of *Kelſo*, where ſix Regiments of Horſe were diſbanded, and ordered by General *Leſly* to return their Arms, and take an Oath; " That they ſhould commit no manner of Violence on the
" Roads they were to take in going to their own Houſes: That they
" ſhould continue faithful to the League and Covenant betwixt the two
" Kingdoms: And laſtly, that they ſhould never ingage themſelves in any
" Party againſt theſe two Crowns." The Horſe made Difficulty at firſt to take the Oath, there being many of them that had other Aims: But Lieutenant General *David Leſly* and the Miniſters, who followed the Army, at laſt perſuaded them to take the Oath. Whereupon the Soldiers were paid all that was due to them, after which they broke the Staves of the Standards, and returned their Arms, of which the Troops, that were kept in Pay, choſe the beſt. Theſe Troops were ſettled at five thouſand Foot, and fifteen Troops of Horſe, each Troop conſiſting of twenty Troopers, which the Parliament reſolved to maintain for the Security of the Kingdom, which was falling again into Troubles: For the Marquis of *Huntly* had taken up Arms again in the North of *Scotland*, and the *Mackdonalds*, Father and Son, with two thouſand Men, had got into the Mountains of *Argyleſhire*. The Army thus reduced continued its March to *Edinburgh* and *Leith*, the greateſt Part of which being ſtrongly attached to the Marquis of *Argyle*'s Intereſt, which highly diſpleaſed the Duke of *Hamilton*.

But what moſt ſurprized all honeſt Men at this Juncture, was their not ſeeing the King at the Head of the Army. It ſtruck them to the very Heart, and their inward Grief began to appear in their Countenances, when it was reported every where, that the King had ſaid at *Newcaſtle*,

1647. *caſtle, That he liked better to ſtay with thoſe who had bought him, than to return with thoſe who had ſold him.* The Royaliſts themſelves were touched with that Reproach, which ſeemed not to be altogether groundleſs. For though it was true, that the diſbanding of the Covenanters Army had been treated of, long before the Parliaments of the two Kingdoms had determined after what manner they ſhould diſpoſe of the King's Perſon: And that it was likewiſe true, That that Reſolution was taken with ſome Heat on both Sides; yet the Covenanters took their Meaſures ſo ill, when they treated about Means for paying their Army, and alſo when they received a Part of the Money appointed for that end, that though they ſeemed to have no further View than to obtain their Arrears, yet they laid themſelves open, and their Conduct gave Ground to believe, that the Affair was tranſacted between the Commiſſioners of the two Nations in ſuch a manner, as made the *Engliſh* expect, that they might diſpoſe of the King's Perſon as they ſhould think fit.

OTHERWISE it is hard to believe, that the *Scots* would have been capable of committing ſo groſs a Blunder, as that of baſely complying with the Ordinance which the Parliament of *England* had made, which was: "That all that ſhould paſs between the Commiſſioners of the two "Kingdoms, concerning the King's Perſon, ſhould have no Regard to "what had been concluded by the diſbanding of the *Scots* auxiliary Army, "which ſhould not fail to withdraw as ſoon as poſſible, upon the Con-"ditions ſtipulated between the two Nations, whatever Difficulties ſhould "be found with reſpect to the diſpoſing of the King's Perſon." To which the *Scots* Covenanters ought never to have conſented, becauſe, by that means, they put it out of their Power to do any Thing elſe but to ſubmit to ſuch Laws as the *Engliſh* ſhould be pleaſed to impoſe upon them, and were no longer able to maintain with Vigour the Intereſt, and even the Right which they had in the Preſervation of his Majeſty's Perſon.

BESIDES, they choſe an unlucky Juncture for receiving the Money which the Parliament of *England* had ſent for their Army. And when it was known, that the Covenanters, having almoſt made an End of counting that Sum of Money about the End of the Week, yet would not receive the reſt on the *Sunday*, for fear of prophaning that Day; many took occaſion to wiſh, that they had been as religious Obſervers of the Laws of Hoſpitality, as they were preciſe in the outward Obſervance of that *Holyday*, and that they had not given the King occaſion to ſay, *that he liked better to ſtay with thoſe who had bought him, than to return with thoſe who had ſo baſely ſold him.* For though they would fain have it believed, that his Majeſty did not ſay a Thing ſo much to their Diſadvantage, yet the Report that was ſpread every where, that his Majeſty did ſay it, has made ſo deep a Wound in the Covenanters Reputation, that the Scar will always appear in it. Be that as it will, his Majeſty's faithful Subjects in *Scotland* knew well, that the Action which their Countrymen had done, would reflect upon the whole Nation, and that it would much diminiſh the Reputation which by its Fidelity it had acquired among Foreigners. However, to comfort themſelves, they were hopeful, that the Friends and Allies of that Crown would be ſo juſt as to conſider at the ſame time, that beſides thoſe brave *Scotſmen* who had performed ſo many noble Actions for the King's Service, under the Conduct of the valiant *Montroſe*, there were a great many in the Meeting of Parliament, who bravely voted, "That the King's Perſon muſt not be left in the Hands

"of

" of the *Engliſh*, upon any Conſideration whatſoever;" and that the contrary Opinion was carried but by two Votes only. That as for the moſt flouriſhing Kingdoms of *Europe*, where the *Scots* are accounted Denizens, and where they likewiſe injoy ſo many noble Privileges, as the Reward of their unparalleled Fidelity, they expected from the Generoſity of their beſt Friends and moſt ancient Allies, that they would not charge the whole Nation with the baſe Action of ſome particular Men; that they would diſtinguiſh a Faction that had prevailed, from the ſound Party that had always continued faithful to their King; and that they will not forget, that there have been *Scotſmen* who have deſerved, by the Faithfulneſs of their Services, which they had done the Kings of *France*, to be made Dukes of *Touraine* and *Chatel-heraut*, as there have been others, who have had the Honour to carry the Marſhal's Staff, and the Conſtable's Sword. In fine, they hoped, that *France* would never forget the generous Action of King *James* V. who underſtanding that the Emperor *Charles* V. and King *Henry* VIII. of *England*, were making ſtrong Preparations againſt King *Francis* I. the King of *Scotland*, without being ſollicited by any Perſon, raiſed an Army of ſixteen thouſand Men, imbarked with them, and landed at *Dieppe*; where being told, that King *Francis* had marched into *Provence* at the Head of a great Number of the Nobility and Gentry, in order to repulſe the Emperor, who had entered it with a powerful Army, the brave *Scots* King, thinking that there would be an Ingagement, went Poſt in order to be there. 1647.

Though the Seaſon was very ſevere in the Beginning of *March*, and that the Troops muſt needs ſuffer very much in the North, yet the Parliament, both for eaſing the Country about *Edinburgh*, and for preventing *Huntly* from joining the *Mackdonalds*, ordered the Army to march againſt *Huntly*. The Command of it was given to Lieutenant General *Leſly*, and Major General *Middleton*, and the Rendezvous was at *Montroſe*. All the Soldiers took an Oath: "That they ſhould behave themſelves in every Thing as Men who had entered into the holy Covenant "ought to do, and that they ſhould never lay down their Arms till "Peace ſhould be reſtored in the Kingdom, unleſs they had the Leave "of their Generals:" *Leſly* marched to *Aberdeen*, where he ſkirmiſhed with *Huntly*'s Troops, and about ſixty Men were killed on each Side; but the Covenanters being ſtronger in Horſe than *Huntly*, he was forced to leave the plain Country, and betake himſelf to the Highlands. *Leſly* marched from *Aberdeen* to *Strathbogy*, where *Huntly* had left a good Garriſon, as he had done in the Caſtles of *Bogy*, *Leſmore*, *Achnadown*, and *Ruthven*. All theſe Caſtles were taken, ſome by Capitulation, others by Force. However, the Soldiers that were in them had all their Lives ſaved, except thirty ſix *Iriſhmen*, who were all hanged upon the Spot.

In the mean time, the *Mackdonalds* made great Havock in *Argyle*'s Lands, and laid Waſte all the Country through which they paſſed. That Lord had drawn that Miſchief upon himſelf. For before the Troubles, he had taken by Force *Mackdonald*, the Father, in the Weſtern Iſlands, of which *Argyle* is hereditary Sheriff, and had put him in Priſon at *Edinburgh*, where he had certainly rotted, if he had not been releaſed by *Montroſe*'s victorious Arms. But perhaps *Mackdonald* carried his Revenge too far, and that many innocent Perſons ſuffered, who had had no Hand in the Tyranny of their Maſter.

1647. In order to put a Stop to that Torrent, about the end of *April*, *Leſly* marched againſt *Mackdonald*, with four Regiments of Foot, ſix Troops of Horſe, and three of Dragoons. He made ſo much the greater haſte, that *Huntly* having croſſed the Country of *Lochabar*, had retired into the Hills of *Lowmond* upon the Skirts of *Argyle*'s Country, which obliged *Leſly* to leave *Middleton* in order to purſue him with the reſt of the Army. The chief Fort which *Mackdonald* held was *Tarbot* in *Kintire*. *Tarbot* is an important Paſs betwixt *Lough-Leven* and the Iſlands. There was a Garriſon of three hundred Men in it, but who ſtood ſo ill upon their Guard, that a Party of *Leſly*'s Horſe having ſurprized and defeated them, made themſelves Maſters of the Paſs. There were two hundred killed or taken, with eight ſmall Field-Pieces, and all their Ammunition. *Mackdonald*, who was there in Perſon, or very near the Place, eſcaped in a Boat into the Iſland of *Iſla*. Some other Parties, which *Leſly* had ſent into *Lorn*, *Glenco* and *Broadalbin*, took the Caſtles of *Kilberan* and *Duntaroy*, where he loſt a Colonel and a Major, whoſe Deaths he revenged upon two Brothers that commanded therein, who were hanged before the Gate. But *Leſly* having had Advice, that the Marquis of *Antrim* was ſending Relief from *Ireland* to *Mackdonald*, he cauſed a great Number of Boats to be got ready, and in all haſte croſſed over into *Iſla*. The Fort of the Iſland for ſome time made ſo vigorous a Defence, that *Leſly* having made an Aſſault, was repulſed with a conſiderable Loſs. At laſt he forced the Place, and took *Mackdonald*, the Father, Priſoner. The Son made his Eſcape into *Ireland*, where having joined the Royaliſts of that Kingdom, he was killed with his Sword in his Hand fighting gallantly for the Service of his Prince. The Father's Fortune was not ſo happy, for *Leſly* carried him to *Edinburgh*, where *Argyle*, his mortal Enemy, was; who having a Mind to keep him as a Victim, which he intended to ſacrifice to his Wrath, made him to be dragged to his Houſe, and cauſed him to be hanged as a common Robber.

Whilst the Covenanters were thus doing their utmoſt to ruin the Remains of the Royal Party in *Scotland*, his Majeſty having been conducted to the Caſtle of *Holmby*, by two Regiments of Horſe, appointed for his Guard, commanded by Colonel *Graves*, bore his Retirement there patiently, with the few Servants that were permitted to attend his Perſon. But his Majeſty's greateſt Converſation was with God. He faſted all the *Fridays*, and was moſtly taken up with Prayer and Reading the holy Scripture, which had become very familiar to this Prince. He was extremely grieved for being deprived of the Comfort he had been accuſtomed to have, from the preaching of that Word by his Biſhops and Chaplains in ordinary, and could not think of hearing the Preachings of *Marſhal* and *Carryl*, Puritan Miniſters, whom the Parliament of *England* had ſent to perform that Office to his Majeſty.

Before the King left *Newcaſtle*, he had ſignified to the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of *England*, the Deſire he had that ſome of his Chaplains might be ſent him, and had intreated them to write to the Parliament about it, but they refuſed to do it. After that Refuſal, the King wrote himſelf to them from *Holmby* the 17th of *February*, and, by his Letter, begged of them to allow, that at leaſt two of his Divines, whom he named to them, might ſtay with him, as well for the Direction of his Conſcience, as for informing himſelf about ſome Doubts which he had concerning the Alterations the Parliament had made in the Religion of the Kingdom,

Kingdom, and to which they required his Conſent with much Earneſtneſs. The Perſons whom the King had named to them, were the Biſhops of *London*, *Saliſbury*, and *Peterborough*, Doctor *Sheldon*, his firſt Chaplain, with ſeven or eight others, that they might chuſe the leaſt ſuſpected of them. Nevertheleſs, the Parliament made ſo little account of the King's Letter, that they returned no Anſwer to it. But his Majeſty having that Affair ſtill at Heart, on the 6th of *March* wrote them a ſecond Letter, wherein he had the Goodneſs to promiſe them, that he would ſubmit his Judgment to the Truth, as ſoon as he ſhould be able to know it with the Underſtanding which God had given him, and that he ſhould always think he could never make a greater and more conſiderable Conqueſt, than that of having given Satisfaction to the two Houſes, without wounding his Conſcience or Honour. The Parliament was no more moved by this ſecond Letter, than by the firſt. On the contrary, they ſaid, that the Perſons, whom the King deſired, could not be allowed to perform their Offices about his Majeſty, becauſe they did not approve of the Order of divine Service, and the Form of Eccleſiaſtical Government eſtabliſhed in the Kingdom. 1647.

This Hard-heartedneſs was altogether ſtrange, and unparalleled. If the King had complained that they had appointed but a very ſmall Sum for the Expences of his Houſehold, without doubt they would have alledged the publick Neceſſities. Or if the King had demanded the Command of the Militia, or the Poſſeſſion of one of his Kingdoms, he would not have thought it ſtrange, that thoſe Uſurpers had refuſed to make Reſtitution of it, for fear of acknowledging their Injuſtice, and condemning themſelves: But as for the Aſſiſtance which the King deſired of his Paſtors, that was a Favour which had never been denied the meaneſt Priſoners, and the Refuſal of which was a Cruelty that had never been practiſed upon the greateſt Criminals. For though the Laws do not allow them the Injoyment of their temporal Goods; yet Compaſſion, which ought always to accompany Religion, never deprives them of the Liberty to take as much ſpiritual Comfort as they can deſire.

His Majeſty's Affliction increaſed as the Feaſt of *Eaſter* approached, for which the King had a great deal of Devotion. As he was diſcourſing with the Commiſſioners of the Parliament that holy Week, he aſked them why the new Reformers had forbidden the keeping of that great Feaſt. For it appeared to him, that it had been inſtituted by the ſame Authority, whereby the *Jewiſh* Sabbath had been changed into *Sunday*, ſince that Change is to be found no where in the holy Scripture: Whence it neceſſarily followed, that it had been made by Authority of the Church. So that in his Opinion, thoſe who refuſed to celebrate that Feaſt ought to re-eſtabliſh the *Jewiſh* Sabbath, and reject the *Sunday*. In order to ſolve that Difficulty to the King, Sir *James Barrington*, one of the Commiſſioners, made a long Diſcourſe upon the changing of the Solemnity of the laſt Day of the Week into that of the firſt; but he did not ſatisfy the King, who continued ſtill firm in his Belief, and borrowed two hundred Pounds of the Commiſſioners, in order to be diſtributed amongſt the Poor of *Northampton* on *Maundy Thurſday*.

Notwithstanding all this Rigour, the new Reformation went on but ſlowly, and got Footing but in trifling Things, which no body oppoſed; becauſe they did not claſh with the Intereſts of any of the Parties that were in the Parliament. So the two Houſes ordered to be thrown down all

1647. all the Monuments, which they called ſuperſtitious, that is to ſay, where there appeared any Footſteps of the Religion of their Fathers, that were ſtill remaining in the two Univerſities. They cauſed all the Plate, which uſed to be put upon the Altar of the Royal Chapel of *White-hall* on great holy Days, to be melted for the Service of the State. The greateſt part of which Plate were old ſacred Veſſels, which ſtill ſhewed the Magnificence and Piety of the Kings of *England*, whereof eight have been canonized by the Church, and other eight, whom the People have always looked upon as Saints.

At the ſame time, they ordained the Aſſembly of Divines, which was ſitting at *Weſtminſter*, beſides the larger Catechiſm, to compoſe another more ſhort and eaſy for little Children and the meaner Sort of People; to examine the thirty nine Articles of their Confeſſion of Faith by the holy Scripture, and to add the Paſſages on the Margin to each Article. The Divines having ſet about the Work, very ſoon after let the Parliament know, that they had finiſhed it. Whereupon the Houſe of Commons cauſed ſix hundred Copies of that Catechiſm to be printed for the Uſe of the Parliament, and prohibited the Printing of any more Copies till further Orders. In this Catechiſm, they explained the Reſurrection in very coarſe Terms, as if the Body of Jeſus Chriſt had undergone ſome Diſſolution in the Grave. They likewiſe explained the Deſcent into Hell, by the Power which Death had over his Body while he was in the Grave, though the Proteſtant Communion of *England* has always maintained the literal Senſe of that Article; upon which the learned Biſhop *Bilſon* wrote an excellent Treatiſe againſt *Calvin*.

It was upon the 19th of *May* that the Houſe of Commons paſſed the Article concerning the *Holy Trinity*. Thoſe who underſtood the Hiſtory of *England* were very much ſurpriſed to ſee, that towards the end of the ſixteenth Century an Examination of the firſt Notions of the Chriſtian Religion ſhould be entered into, which had been ſo gloriouſly eſtabliſhed there from the earlieſt Times of the Church, when there were Biſhops of *Great-Britain* at the firſt Council of *Arles*, and at that of *Sardica*. And though in the following Centuries the Pagan *Engliſh Saxons* over-run *England*, yet S. *Auguſtin* at his Arrival in the Iſland, in the Year 596. found in the Country of *Wales* ſeven Suffragans under an Archbiſhop of *Menenia*, now S. *Davids*, and that Archbiſhop carried it ſo high, that his Succeſſors were not ſubjected to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* till the Reign of *Henry* I. which began in the Year 1101.

But here follows a very ſurpriſing Piece of Reformation, and which the Puritans had never heretofore thought of. The Parliament having had Advice that the King had touched thoſe that had the King's Evil at *Holmby*, as he had always wont to do on great Holy-days, they declared that Action ſuperſtitious: And cauſed a Proclamation to be publiſhed, forbidding all Sorts of Perſons that ſhould be troubled with that Diſeaſe to go for the future to be touched by his Majeſty. Before the Rebellion, that Action was performed with a great deal of Ceremony. The Day before the King was to touch, his Phyſicians viſited all thoſe who came to be touched, in order to ſee if their Diſtemper was the King's Evil, the next Day the King, attended by the Officers of the Crown, and the Lords of the Court, went to Chapel, where, after Sermon and the uſual Prayers, his Majeſty placed himſelf before the Altar, and the diſeaſed Kneeling, the King touched them under the Chin, and at each Time the Officiating

Biſhop

Biſhop read theſe Words of the Goſpel, *They ſhall lay their Hands upon them, and they ſhall be cured.* Then every one of them had a white Ribbon, run through an *Angel*, which is worth about ten Shillings, put about their Necks, which they were to wear till they were cured. The Kings of *England* have always practiſed this Ceremony from *Edward* the Confeſſor, who reigned above two hundred Years before *Edward* III. who was the firſt that quartered the Arms of *France* with thoſe of *England.* 1647.

At laſt the Parliament having prohibited Comedies, and ordered the Theatres to be pulled down, they aboliſhed all Holy-days; the obſerving of which ſeemed to them to be ſuperſtitious. And becauſe the Apprentices, who are frequently the Authors of great Diſorders in *London*, had preſented two Petitions for having ſome Days of Recreation appointed in Place of the Holy-days which had been taken away: The Parliament ordained, that the ſecond *Tueſday* of each Month ſhould be a Day of Recreation, as well for the Apprentices and Servants, as for the Scholars over all the Kingdom; and that their Maſters ſhould not oblige them to attend their ordinary Buſineſs that Day.

There was no Diviſion in the two Houſes upon theſe Matters, which were not brought into Precedent; but as for the Covenant it went not down ſo glib with them. All the Members of the Houſe of Commons had not as yet ſigned it; but ſuch as had not were ordered to do it againſt the Firſt of *February:* Whereupon ſixteen of them ſigned it immediately; and the reſt were ſummoned to ſign it before the Tenth of *March*, otherwiſe to be expelled the Houſe. However, though the Orders of the two Houſes were many Times repeated, they were not complied with, as contrary both to Honour and Conſcience. The Laws of the Kingdom were againſt it, and the Covenant directly deſtroyed the Oath of Supremacy, which all the Members of the Houſe had taken. Beſides, they could not be ignorant that the Doctrine and Diſcipline of *Scotland* overturned the Principles of the Religion of *England*, where they were altogether unknown.

That 10th of *March* was appointed for a Day of Faſting and Humiliation, becauſe of the Multitude of Blaſphemies, Errors, and damnable Hereſies that were ſpread in the Kingdom. The Miniſters were injoyned to publiſh the Order for it in their Pulpits. It was, "That the Lords "and Commons of the two Houſes of Parliament being entered into a "holy League and Covenant for the Reformation of Religion, as well in "Worſhip as Diſcipline; and being ſenſible of the extraordinary Aſſiſt-"ance of Heaven in that pious Deſign, had a moſt deep Senſe of the "deplorable Condition of the State, becauſe God was diſhonoured by the "Blaſphemies and abominable Hereſies which Seducers had ſpread every "where. That thoſe Impoſtors aimed at nothing elſe but the Contempt "of the Miniſtry of the Goſpel, the Ordinances of Jeſus Chriſt, and the "Subverſion of the Faith of God's Elect. For theſe Reaſons, they had "ordained, that the 10th of *March* ſhould be obſerved over all the King-"dom as a Day of ſolemn Humiliation, for imploring the Aſſiſtance of "God in the Reſolution they had taken, to cut off all that was contrary "to ſound Doctrine." Very ſoon after they ordained, that none ſhould preſume to preach, without having taken Orders, upon Pain of a Month's Impriſonment, for the firſt Treſpaſs of the Ordinance. All this was chiefly levelled againſt the Independents. For though there were ſeveral other Sects, as we have ſaid elſewhere, there was only

1647 this, beſides that of the Puritans or Preſbyterians, which was then uppermoſt, that made a conſiderable Body, and afterwards lorded it over the reſt. But the Independent Party kept cloſe and ſnug as yet, and let all thoſe Things paſs, knowing well that the Parliament was going to be taken up with other Affairs, which would make them indifferent whether theſe Ordinances were obſerved or not, and oblige them at leaſt to abate of that Rigour.

THEY believed that the King would never conſent to ſign the Covenant; and the coming of new Commiſſioners from *Scotland*, who were to join with thoſe of *England*, in order to make a new Attempt to prevail with the King, gave them no Uneaſineſs. For they were well perſuaded, that theſe laſt could not alledge ſtronger Reaſons than the former had done, who had not made his Majeſty yield in the leaſt at *Newcaſtle*. 'Tis true, that the Parliaments of the two Kingdoms ſeemed to have a ſtrong Deſire that the Thing might ſucceed according as they had agreed upon together. That of *Scotland*, before it broke up, on the 27th of *March*, ſent to *London* the Earl of *Lauderdale*, with Orders to join with the Earl of *Lothian*, *Mackdougol* of *Garthland*, Sir *Charles Areſkin*, Mr. *Barkley* and Mr. *Kennedy*, their Commiſſioners to the Parliament of *England*; and jointly with the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners to endeavour to perſuade the King to accept the Propoſitions for Peace. But theſe Propoſitions would not admit of ſuch a judicious Anſwer as the Ambaſſador of *Pincernum* gave to the Senate of *Rome*. The Senate having told the Ambaſſador, that they were at a Loſs what Conditions of Peace to offer them, being ſuſpected of ſome Revolt, he anſwered, *That if the Senate offered good Conditions, the Peace would be perpetual; if it propoſed bad Conditions, the Peace would not be laſting.*

THE Parliament likewiſe ordered them to uſe all Means poſſible for keeping up the Friendſhip and good Intelligence between the two Kingdoms; and having given a civil Anſwer to the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of *England*, with reſpect to the *Scots* Troops that were in *Ireland*, which the two Houſes had a mind to imploy no more; and as to the Fort of *Belfaſt* in the ſame Kingdom, which was taken the Year after by Colonel *Monk* from *Monro*, the Meeting was adjourned to the ſixth of *March* 1648.

THE King on his Part having no ſtronger Deſire, than to eſtabliſh a firm and ſolid Peace in the two Kingdoms, prevented their Diligence; and having by him a Copy of the Propoſitions which had been preſented to him at *Newcaſtle*, after having often conſidered them in his Retirement, he let them know his Opinion of them, by a long Letter which he wrote them with his own Hand the 12th of *May*, to this Effect, "That having "a very ſtrong Deſire to go to *London*, he offered, as ſoon as he ſhould "be there, with great Affection to join with the Parliament in every "Thing that might forward the Quiet of his two Kingdoms; and therefore he hoped that for their Part they would have no leſs Tenderneſs "for what concerned his Honour. That he would approve and confirm "the Meeting of Divines at *Weſtminſter*, the Preſbyterian Government, "and the Directory for three Years, which was the Time the two "Houſes had deſired; with this Condition, however, that he might make "uſe of the Liturgy in his own Family, and that twenty Divines, whom "his Majeſty ſhould name, ſhould be admitted into the Meeting, in order to confer freely with the other Divines, about the Form of Eccleſi-

*The King's Letter to the Parliament of* England, *and the Commiſſioners of* Scotland, *in anſwer to the Propoſitions of Peace.*

"aſtical

" aſtical Government that was to be eſtabliſhed in their Communion, 1647.
" after the three Years ſhould be expired. That he could not as yet ſign
" the Covenant, but that he perſiſted in the Demand which he had al-
" ready made, of being aſſiſted by ſome of his Chaplains, that he might
" inform himſelf more about it. That as he had always been careful
" to prevent all the Deſigns and ſecret Practices that the Papiſts may have
" had for diſturbing the Quiet of the State, he was ready to conſent to
" ſuch Bills as the two Houſes ſhould be pleaſed to draw up for that
" end. That he moſt readily conſented, that the *Lord's Day* be holily
" obſerved; and that all Novelties, which were introduced into Religion,
" be ſuppreſſed. That he ſhould aſſent to the Bills, which ſhould be
" preſented for the raiſing of ſuch Sums of Money as ſhould be neceſ-
" ſary for paying the publick Debts, provided that his own were com-
" prehended therein. That he would reſign to the two Houſes his Power
" over the Militia of the Kingdom, and the Command of the Fleet for
" ten Years, to be put during that Time into the Hands of ſuch Perſons
" as they ſhould think fit to chuſe, provided that the ten Years being ex-
" pired, that Power ſhould return to the Crown. That as to what con-
" cerned *Ireland*, he would give them all the Satisfaction they could de-
" ſire. That he would confirm all that had been paſſed under the Great
" Seal, which the Parliament had cauſed to be made, provided it were
" not made uſe of to make void what had paſſed under his, which in
" Honour and Juſtice he thought himſelf obliged inviolably to main-
" tain; and provided alſo that the Diſpoſal of that Seal ſhould hereafter
" depend upon his Majeſty. Laſtly, that he ſhould freely confirm the
" Privileges of the City of *London*, and ſhould do all that in him lay to
" gratify the Members of the two Houſes of Parliament."

Having thus made Anſwer to the Propoſitions of the Parliament, the King, in the Sequel of his Letter, likewiſe made two Propoſitions to them. The firſt, " That they ſhould receive him at *Weſtminſter* with all
" the Honour and Reſpect due to their Sovereign; that he might in a ſo-
" lemn Manner put an end to, and ratify all the Articles with the two
" Houſes, and that the Peace ſo much longed for by all good Men, might
" be proclaimed with Gladneſs over all the Kingdom; whither his Ma-
" jeſty obliged himſelf to call back the Prince of *Wales*, and be anſwer-
" able for his Obedience. 2. That in order to teſtify the Sincerity of
" their Affection towards his Perſon, they ſhould conſent to a general In-
" demnity, it being hard he ſhould deſert the Intereſts of ſo many Men
" of Quality who had been ingaged in his Party, without blemiſhing his
" his Reputation, and diſcrediting him for ever. Beſides, that he lookt
" upon an Act of Oblivion to be the ſtrongeſt Band of Peace; and let
" them ſee, that at all Times foreign Princes, and even his Predeceſſors
" had taken that prudent Courſe, and always cauſed a general Pardon to
" be proclaimed after Civil Wars, leſt the Diſcontent of many Families,
" which would otherwiſe be ruined, ſhould furniſh Matter for a new
" Combuſtion, and be the Seed of freſh Troubles."

This Letter, which was directed to the two Houſes of Parliament, and to the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, reſiding at *Londou*, was read the 19th of *May*. The next Day the Houſe of Lords having taken it into Conſideration, ordained, That in order to pleaſe the King, who ſo much deſired to be near *London*, his Majeſty ſhould be brought to his Houſe of *Oatlands*, upon the *Thames* in the County of *Surrey*, eighteen Miles above *London*, as ſoon as it could be got ready for his Reception;

to

1647. to which the Houſe of Commons agreed. There was Reaſon to believe that Matters were then in a fair Way, and that the Reconciliation between the King and the two Houſes being upon ſo good a Footing, the Thing could not but ſucceed according to the Wiſhes of all honeſt Men, who ſhould ſee his Majeſty return to the Parliament, and ſettle Peace again in his Kingdoms. But God having ordered it otherwiſe, the Face of Affairs very quickly altered, but in ſuch a Manner, that the Parliament had no longer the Command, nor was it in their Power to diſpoſe of the King's Perſon. The Army turned their Arms againſt thoſe who had raiſed them, and humbled that rich and powerful City, which had contributed the moſt Money for their Subſiſtance.

ALL was then peaceable in *England*. The Towns and even the Counties had ſubmitted to the Parliament; ſo that it was Time for them to think of means for eaſing the People, and giving them a breathing-time after ſo great Hardſhips, until, by the Concluſion of the Treaty that was on Foot with the King, and which was far advanced, every Body might injoy the Peace and Quiet which had been ſo much longed for. Beſides, the Puritans, or Preſbyterians, who were then the moſt powerful in the Parliament, had privately paſſed their Word to the Covenanters of *Scotland*, when the King's Perſon was delivered to them, to diſband the Army, and then to bring his Majeſty to the Parliament with Safety and Honour. The two Houſes began firſt to take a Courſe about the Garriſons, of which there was a great Number in all the Counties, and reſolved to break a great Part of them, and to keep none but thoſe that were in the Sea-Ports, or in Places of Importance, in order to keep the Counties in Awe. It was likewiſe ordained, that the Governors of Caſtles, who had not above two hundred Men in their Garriſons, ſhould have only the Pay of Captains of Foot.

AFTERWARDS the Parliament applied themſelves to what concerned the Army, and deſigned to ſend two thouſand Foot and two thouſand Horſe over to *Ireland*, and to diſband all the reſt of the Troops, both Horſe and Foot, except ſuch as they judged neceſſary for the Defence of the Kingdom. The Army was then in Quarters in the County of *Eſſex*, and ſo over-burthened the People, that that County was obliged to petition the Houſe of Commons to be eaſed. That Petition repreſented,

*The County of Eſſex's Petition to the Houſe of Commons.*

" That the Houſe was not ignorant with how much Zeal the Nobility " and Gentry, as alſo the People of the County had amongſt the firſt " ſided with the Parliament, when they took up Arms, for maintaining " the Liberty and Religion of the Kingdom; that they had not only " raiſed a good Part of the firſt Army, which was levied for that Quarrel, " but that they had likewiſe ſent to the Field, and for a long time ſub- " ſiſted two Bodies of an Army at their own Expences, one of thoſe Bo- " dies commanded by the Lord *Gray* of *Wark*, the other by the Earl of " *Mancheſter*, for the Service of the Parliament. They added, that not " content with defending the County, and keeping it in Obedience, they " had likewiſe from Time to Time ſent auxiliary Troops of their Militia " into other Counties, and run whitherſoever the publick Affairs had " called them. Inſomuch that they might ſay, that they had been the " chief Inſtruments of all the Victories, which the Parliament had gained " over the common Enemy. Nevertheleſs, without having regard to ſo " great Services, the whole Army had been quartered in their County, " which was like to be quite ruined by the Subſiſtance which it was " forced to give the Soldiers, whereby the People were become the

" Slaves

" Slaves of thoſe, whom they had entertained for the Defence of their 1647.
" Liberty. Therefore they begged of the Houſe to conſider, firſt: That
" it was a Thing of dangerous Conſequence, to ſuffer the Army to be
" quartered ſo near the Place where the Parliament was Sitting; becauſe
" it made Proviſions dear, and which begun to fall ſhort; inſomuch that
" they had Reaſon to be afraid, that there was ſome Deſign to have the
" Army at laſt become Maſters of the Deliberations of the two Houſes
" of Parliament. And that they were the more confirmed in that Opi-
" nion, when they conſidered, that this Army had advanced into their
" Country at the Time when the whole Kingdom was informed of the
" Reſolution which the two Houſes had taken of diſbanding it, and of
" eſtabliſhing the Eccleſiaſtical Government, according to the ſolemn
" League and Covenant between the two Nations. That they knew very
" well, that the Army did not reliſh that Deſign, it being made up of
" Men, who had other Sentiments than that of Piety, and who, on the
" contrary, laboured every where to ſeduce the People, and to inſtill in
" the Minds of the Ignorant their pernicious Opinions, which tended to
" the intire Subverſion of all Government, both Civil and Eccleſiaſtick.
" They likewiſe begged of the Houſe to free their Country from that
" Burden which they were not able to bear, and to apply themſelves ſe-
" rioufly to conſider the deplorable State of the Kingdom of *Ireland*,
" the Reduction of which was ſo neceſſary to the Security and Quiet of
" this of *England*.

This Petition being read in the Houſe the 11th of *March*, thoſe who had brought it, being in great Numbers at the Door, were ordered to come in, where the Speaker thanked them for their Affection to the Parliament, and told them, " That the Houſe would conſider of means for
" eaſing their County, with all the others of the Kingdom, and that the
" Army having been always faithful to the Parliament, they had no Rea-
" ſon to miſtruſt it: On the contrary, that the Parliament being ſatisfied
" with its Conduct, had left it to the General to quarter the Army in the
" Places which he ſhould judge moſt convenient, conſidering the pub-
" lick Good, and the Eaſe of the whole Kingdom." This Petition plainly ſhewed that the Officers of the Army had diſcovered themſelves a little to their Landlords, and had dropt ſome Words, which had not fallen to the Ground. Theſe Words had certainly made ſome Impreſſion upon the Minds of the Members of the Houſe, as well as upon thoſe of the Petitioners; but thoſe concealed it, in order to put it out of the Thoughts of theſe, and made as if they did not in the leaſt miſtruſt the Army, leſt Matters ſhould be brought to an open Rupture.

The Parliament, very ſoon after, received two other Petitions much more ſurpriſing than the firſt; but they were preſented only by ſome Vagabonds. The firſt contained a kind of a rough Draught of the Democracy that was deſigned to be eſtabliſhed, which the Army, now uppermoſt, was eagerly purſuing. By the other Juſtice was required to be done upon ſome Members of the Houſe, who, as the Petitioners alledged, had betrayed their Truſt. The Houſe having declared, that the laſt had broke in upon the Privileges of all the Members, who could not be accuſed of any Thing they do in the Houſe, but by the Houſe itſelf; and having voted that both the two were ſcandalous and ſeditious, they were ordered to be burnt by the Hand of the Hangman before the *Exchange* of *London*, and in the *Palace-yard* of *Weſtminſter*, which was preſently put in Execution.

1647. THESE Petitions were openly diſowned by the City of *London*, which deputed ſome Aldermen and Common-Council-Men from *Guild-hall* to the two Houſes, to aſſure them of their Reſpects, and of the Affection which the Magiſtrates and all the Companies of the City had for the Parliament. "That they were all more and more confirmed in the Reſolution which "they had taken, wholly to adhere to their Intereſt, and that next to "God, they depended upon the Wiſdom of their Conduct, upon which "they grounded the Hopes of their own and their Country's Proſperity. "Then they begged of the Parliament to believe, that they made this "Proteſtation with a great deal of Sincerity, as well for defeating the "vain Hopes of the Malignants, their declared Enemies, as for ſtopping "the Mouths of thoſe Slanderers that had preſented Petitions to the "Houſe, which they intreated the Houſe would be pleaſed to ſuppreſs, "and to do their utmoſt in getting the Authors of them diſcovered: "Laſtly they deſired, both for the Security of the Parliament and City, "that they would be pleaſed to impower their Common-Council, to "chuſe yearly the Colonels of the City-Militia, and that the Army might "be removed, and quickly diſbanded. For ſince at the ſame time that "it came near the City, many diſaffected People had preſented ſeditious "Petitions to them; the Parliament was too clear-ſighted, not to dread "the dangerous Conſequences, which this troubleſome Juncture might "produce, if a ſpeedy Courſe be not taken for preventing the many Miſ-"chiefs, with which they were threatened. They added, that there was "the more Reaſon to fear ſome Misfortune, that not only the Neceſſa-"ries of Life were not plenty in the City of *London*, but, on the con-"trary, that all Things were terribly dear; beſides, that there was no-"thing to be heard but Complaints and Murmurs on that account, a-"mongſt the poor and ſick, of which there were already great Num-"bers, and were daily increaſing."

THE Deputies, who during the Reading of the Petition had ſtood at the Door of the Houſe, having entered, the Speaker told them; "That "the Houſe had ordered him to aſſure them, that it was then wholly "taken up with finding out the moſt ready and eaſy Means for com-"plying with the Demands of the City, which were alſo the Wiſhes of "the whole Kingdom. That the Members of the Houſe had ſpoken "with grateful Acknowledgements of the ſincere and cordial Affection, "which the City had expreſſed for the Parliament; all the Members of "which had commanded him to return them their moſt hearty Thanks. "That they were ſo much the more ſenſible of it, that the City had "made that ſo obliging Proteſtation, at a Time which heightened the Va-"lue of it: Becauſe the Enemies both of the City and Parliament had "framed vaſt Deſigns, upon the Miſunderſtanding, which they imagined "to be between the Houſe and the City, which, by the ſo ſolemn Aſſu-"rances it had juſt now given, would make the vain Hopes, with which "their Enemies fed themſelves, vaniſh."

THE ſame Aſſurances having been carried to the Houſe of Lords, the Speaker of that Houſe likewiſe complimented the Deputies of the City, and thanked them in the Name of all the Lords then preſent, for the Demonſtration they had given them of their Fidelity and Affection, of which they had never doubted. However, they added, that the City could never have done it at a more ſeaſonable Time for the Good of the State; and that nothing could have given them more Pleaſure, than the Proofs they

they had juſt now received of the Sincerity and Prudence of the Magiſtrates of the City, in whom they had an intire Confidence. That as for the Regulation of their Militia, the Lords would let the Commons know their Mind thereupon, as ſoon as poſſible; and that they were endeavouring jointly with them to find out Means for diſbanding the Army. The Reaſon of their receiving the Deputies with ſo much Civility, and beſtowing ſo many fine Compliments upon them, was, that the Lords as well as the Commons ſtood in need both of themſelves and their Purſes. 1647.

The two Houſes complied immediately with the Demand of the City concerning the Militia, and conſidered then in good Earneſt, by what Means they might at laſt make the whole Kingdom quiet; which made them think of diſbanding the Army. However, the Parliament knew very well, that they were undertaking a very tickliſh and difficult Affair. They likewiſe had ſome Suſpicion, that that Sovereign Power, which they had uſurped, would not be long in their Hands, which they did not think ſtrong enough to ſupport the Weight of it; but that it would fall into the Hands of thoſe who had the Command of the Troops. And that having ſhaken off one Yoke that was ſo eaſy to them, they muſt very ſoon bend their Shoulders under another, that would be much more uneaſy and inſupportable. Which would be ſo much the more grievous to them, becauſe thoſe very Men, into whoſe Hands they had put Arms for preſerving their Privileges, would become the inſolent Maſters of the moſt valuable Thing they had, which was their Liberty. That in ſhort, thoſe whom they had raiſed up for bringing down the Authority of their Prince, would give them Laws, after having made themſelves Maſters.

It behoved them, before all Things, to borrow two hundred thouſand Pounds, upon the publick Faith from the City of *London*. And becauſe then that Faith required particular Securities, the Parliament, in order to raiſe that Sum, was forced to mortgage almoſt all the ſure Funds that were left. Theſe Funds conſiſted chiefly of the Biſhops Revenues, and partly of Confiſcations, with the great Exciſe. Beſides which, the City obtained, that theſe Funds ſhould continue mortgaged for the Payment of an old Debt, which amounted to fifty Subſidies; and obliged the Parliament to add to the Sum that they had demanded, thirty thouſand Pounds, which was to be kept for the Relief of many Citizens, very zealous for their Party, who had become indigent. And becauſe the City ſaw, that a great Part of the immenſe Sums, which they had already advanced, had ſtuck to the Fingers through which they had paſſed, ſince the Parliament was always poor, how plenty ſoever Money had been; they got the Parliament to allow, that the City ſhould appoint two Treaſurers of their own Body, who ſhould receive the Money, and likewiſe lay it out exactly, for the Uſes to which the Parliament had deſtinated it. That Condeſcenſion plainly diſcovered the Neceſſity to which the Parliament was reduced, and likewiſe the Confidence they had in the City.

It was truly Matter of Aſtoniſhment whence that Neceſſity proceeded, conſidering the vaſt Sums that had been raiſed under the Pretence of the publick Affairs. For beſides that the Parliament had for a long Time diſpoſed of all the Revenues of the Royal Family, and thoſe of the Prince of *Wales*, of the Biſhops, and thoſe of the Chapters, and that they ought to have had ſome conſiderable Savings, as well of the Taxes that had been laid upon the Counties for ſubſiſting their Armies, as of the voluntary Contributions, and of the Confiſcations: Beſides theſe, they had had

Recourſe

1647. Recourſe to extraordinary Ways and Means, having made a Capitation over all the Kingdom, and obliged all the Families in *London* to retrench a Meal every Week, and to pay the Value of it to the Parliament. So that it was eaſy to prove, that by all theſe Methods the Parliament had diſpoſed of more than thirty nine Millions of Pounds ſince the Beginning of the War. That ſhewed plainly, that the publick Neceſſity could not proceed but from a prodigious ſquandering away of the Revenues; and that ſome private Perſons had inriched themſelves extraordinarily at the Expences of the Publick. Beſides, it was very evident, that two hundred and eighty three thouſand, three hundred and thirty three Pounds, ſix Shillings, and eight Pence had been diſtributed amongſt the Members of the two Houſes, as well to make amends for their Loſſes, as in Conſideration of their Services, beſides what had been purloined by thoſe who had the Management of the publick Money. For it may eaſily be believed, that theſe People did not forget themſelves; and that there was no Device but what they made uſe of in order to have a large Share of the Revenues, ſince they went ſo far as to buy old Penſions, that had been almoſt forgot, of which they paid themſelves the Arrears.

'Tis true there had been a Chamber of Accounts eſtabliſhed; but it was only for Form-ſake, for the Commiſſioners that were named by thoſe Members, were more obliged than the others to be accountable themſelves, which made the Thing to be the more ſuſpected. And without doubt, had they meant honeſtly, the Members of the Houſe of Commons would not have made Intereſt to be Commiſſioners of the Land-Tax, and Collectors of the Subſidies, which were not at all honourable Imployments, nor even Affairs with which they ought to have meddled, nor for which they had been choſen Members of Parliament: On the contrary, they ought to have deſpiſed ſuch Imployments, and left them to other People; who not having the Character, nor injoying the ſame Privileges with the Members of the two Houſes of Parliament, would have behaved themſelves as Men, who were to be accountable for their Adminiſtration, there being nothing that could exempt them from it. For the ſame Reaſon, the People, who ſaw, that after ſo prodigious Expences, there ſtill remained great Debts, the Burthen of which would infallibly light upon them, at leaſt would have had the Satisfaction, to ſee a general State of all that had been received, and of all that had been laid out of the publick Money, as is commonly practiſed in the *Low Countries*, and as the very ſame Parliament had cauſed to be done in the Year 1642.

The People ſaw plainly then the Fault they had committed, in giving Way to the Inclinations of thoſe ſeditious Men, who had made themſelves Maſters of all the Deliberations of Parliament; who had carried Things to an open Rupture between the King and the two Houſes, notwithſtanding all that the King had done to pleaſe them; and who at laſt would have a War at any Rate, in order to ſatisfy their Ambition, and to have an Opportunity to fiſh in troubled Waters; and in ſhort under Pretence of protecting and defending the Liberties of the People, to ſwallow up all their Subſtance, and what they had reaped by a profound Peace. They began then, I ſay, to feel, that the leaſt Burthen laid upon them by the Parliament, was more heavy to them than all that their Kings had ever made them bear. In ſhort, that their too great Eaſe, and the Plenty they had of every Thing, had made them inſolent, and that the Exceſs of their Happineſs had ſo blinded them, that for a ſmall Contribution

tribution for maintaining Guard-Ships, they had mutinied at the ſame Time that thoſe, who had ſpurred them on to be ſo ſtrenuouſly againſt it, and not to ſuffer their Liberties to be in the leaſt infringed, treated them like Slaves, and made themſelves abſolute Maſters of their Eſtates, Perſons, and Liberty. In a Word, the poor People, who are always under the Yoke of the Great, and the Prey of the Parties that are formed in the State, ſaw clearly then, but too late, that the Remedies that Men are for making uſe of for Evils of that Nature, are always worſe than the Evil, how great ſoever it may be imagined. 1647.

After the Parliament had treated with the City of *London* about that great Loan, they determined to raiſe, beſides that, fifty thouſand Pounds *per* Month, for ſubſiſting the Troops they had reſolved to continue; as well for the Reduction of *Ireland*, as for the Defence of *England:* And ordered that the Regiments deſigned for *Ireland*, ſhould be commanded by Major General *Skippon*, in the Quality of Field Marſhal, and that thoſe Regiments ſhould have greater Pay, than the Troops that were to be kept up in *England* under the Command of General *Fairfax*. As for theſe, upon whom the Parliament kept a more ſtrict Eye, they made theſe Regulations: That the Troops and Garriſons, which ſhould be continued in *England*, ſhould not be commanded by any Member of the Houſe of Commons: That there ſhould be no higher Officers than Colonels, under General *Fairfax:* That all the Officers ſhould ſign the Covenant: That the Officers, who had carried Arms againſt the Parliament, could have no Imployment in the Garriſons, nor in the Troops kept up: That all the Officers, who ſhould have Command therein, ſhould comply with the Eccleſiaſtical Government eſtabliſhed by the Parliament: That no Officer, who was of a ſcandalous Life, ſhould be received: Laſtly, That all the Officers ſhould be named by the two Houſes of Parliament.

The Parliament, however, was labouring in vain; for they did not conſider, that they commanded no longer magiſterially; that nothing was left them but fruitleſs Deſires; and that the Power was abſolutely in the Hands of their new Maſters, who were in Poſſeſſion of all the ſtrong Towns and Forts of the Kingdom. But, before I go farther, I muſt explain the Cauſes and Motives of ſo much Diſorder. There were two Factions in the Parliament. The Puritans, who, for having eſtabliſhed the Preſbyterian Government, in Place of the Epiſcopal, took Pleaſure in being called Preſbyterians, as we ſhall hereafter call them. The other Faction was that of the Independents, who are neither for Preſbyterian nor Epiſcopal Government, and who cannot ſo much as ſuffer, that the Miniſters ſhould believe, that the Preaching of the Goſpel is tied to the Miniſtry. For theſe good People ſay, that amongſt all the ſpiritual Gifts, which the Faithful ought to wiſh for, that of Prophecying, that is to ſay, Preaching, ought to be the chief, even according to the Opinion of S. *Paul*; and that *Moſes*, very far from being of *Joſhua*'s Mind, who did not like that *Eldad* and *Medad* ſhould prophecy, on the contrary wiſhed that all the People were Prophets. But though there was a mortal Hatred between the Preſbyterians and Independents, and that they very much contemned one another, yet in the main, they were Brethren, and Children of the ſame Father, though he hath not owned the youngeſt. For thoſe, who have laid down for a Principle, that the whole Church can err in the Deciſions of Faith, eſtabliſh no Rule for them but the holy Scripture, taken in the Senſe, and ſubmitted to the private Judgment of every Man: Thoſe, I ſay, cannot diſown the Independents, who preciſely follow theſe

1647. Principles, which, in my Opinion, they improve better, than their elder Brethren have done. And it is not to be wondered at, if there has been a Rupture betwixt them, becauſe it was juſt that Schiſm ſhould be puniſhed by Schiſm itſelf, and that thoſe who had divided the Body of Jeſus Chriſt ſhould alſo be divided themſelves.

THE Preſbyterians were more numerous in the two Houſes than the Independents, ſo they carried by a Majority whatever was put to the Vote. However, when the private Intereſt of one of the two Factions was not at Stake, Matters went on ſmoothly enough, and they gratified and ſeconded one another in the Demands, when the Buſineſs in Hand was only to divide the Spoil, or to oblige the Heads of the Factions, who, that they might not diſcover the Myſtery, appeared to be united, and to have no different Intereſts. The Preſbyterians had the City of *London* more on their Side, having lodged all their ready Money there, as a Token of their Confidence. Beſides, they had the Covenanters of *Scotland*, with whom they kept a ſtrict Correſpondence. But the Independents, who had the Army for them, did not doubt, if they could keep it ſtanding, but they would be abſolute Maſters, and in a Condition to eſtabliſh that pretended Liberty of Conſcience, which ſtrikes at the Foundation of Religion, and puts all that concerns the divine Service into a terrible Confuſion.

IN order to make themſelves Maſters of the Army, they managed the Minds of the Parliament ſo artfully, that the Earl of *Eſſex*, who was their Generaliſſimo, and Sir *William Waller*, who commanded a Body of an Army by himſelf, were obliged to reſign their Commiſſions. The Independents took Advantage of the Misfortune which happened to *Eſſex* at *Leſtithiel*, in the County of *Cornwal*, and of that, which *Waller* had near the *Devizes*, in the County of *Wilts*, of which we have already ſpoken. At the ſame Time they imployed Sir *Arthur Haſlerig* to ſet them at Variance, and that Knight ſerved his Party ſo well, that *Waller* and *Eſſex* accuſed one another; ſo that they at laſt fell into the Snare which their common Enemies had laid for them. The Earl of *Mancheſter*, who commanded the Troops in the aſſociated Counties, received the ſame Uſage. *Cromwell*, his Lieutenant, accuſed him boldly before the Parliament. *Mancheſter* recriminating, impeached *Cromwell* of Treaſon, and as it was doubtful which of the two would be worſted, *Mancheſter* was broke.

SIR *Thomas Fairfax*, a handſome Man, and a good Soldier, was preſently choſen Generaliſſimo. *Cromwell*, who could do with him what he pleaſed, got himſelf made his Lieutenant General; ſo that *Fairfax* owing his Fortune to the Independents, and *Cromwell*, who was Head of the Party, having the intire Management of his General, the Army was altogether in their Intereſts, and now acknowledged no other Maſters but them.

SUCH was the State of Affairs, when the Parliament ordered the Commiſſioners appointed for the Affairs of *Ireland*, to ſend to General *Fairfax*, and the General Officers of the Army, to let them know the Orders of the two Houſes. The Meſſengers that were truſted with them, having, on the 20th of *March*, gone to *Saffron-Walden*, ſo called becauſe of the Plenty of Saffron that grows there, and which is as good as the beſt that is brought from *Portugal*, and where the General's Quarters

then

then were; immediately acquainted *Fairfax* with the Occaſion of their coming, and deſired him to call the Officers of the Army together to let them know it. The Meeting was held the next Day after Sermon, in the ſame Place; where the Meſſengers repreſented to them, "That "the Parliament had reſolved to purſue the War in *Ireland*, with the "*Engliſh* Troops only, and to recall the *Scots* Army that was in that "Kingdom, as it had been agreed between the Commiſſioners of the "two Nations: That that Army would leave *Ireland* a Month after ha- "ving received the Parliament's Orders; and that it was to be paid four- "teen Days Pay, and to have the neceſſary Security for what ſhould "be owing it: That the Parliament had likewiſe reſolved to ſend eight "thouſand Foot and two thouſand Horſe of the Army into *Ireland*; and "that they had ordered ſixty thouſand Pounds *per* Month for paying "the Troops there and in *England*." 1647.

*The Parliament's Orders to the Officers of the Army about the War of* Ireland.

The Officers having talked together about theſe Propoſitions, anſwered: "That they could not immediately either ingage themſelves or the "Troops under their Command, in the Service of *Ireland*: However, "they declared, that whatever their Reſolution might be, they ſhould "always be ready, every one in his Station, to forward that Service "with all their Might: But they deſired to be ſatisfied in four Queries, "which they thought they were obliged to make before they could give "a poſitive Anſwer to what ſeemed to be deſired of them. I. Under "whoſe Command in chief they were to go to *Ireland*. II. That what "particular Regiments, Troops, or Companies were to be continued in "*England* might be declared, that none might pretend to refuſe the Ser- "vice of *Ireland*, in Hopes of being continued in the Service in *En*- "*gland*. III. What Aſſurance would be given for the Subſiſtance of the "Troops that ſhould go to *Ireland*. IV. How they were to be paid off "the Arrears due to them, and indemnified for all that had paſſed in "the War of *England*:" The Officers charged the Meſſengers to deli- ver theſe Queries to the Committee appointed for the Affairs of *Ireland*, and to intreat the Committee to lay them before the Parliament, and as ſoon as poſſible to let them have the Anſwer, expreſſing ſtill a great deal of Zeal for the Parliament's Service.

*The Officers Anſwer.*

While theſe Propoſitions were under Debate, ſome private Men of the Army having drawn up a Petition to be preſented to the Parliament, with the General's Approbation, had got it to be ſigned by a conſider- able Number of the topping Men of the Army. The Subſtance of the Petition was, "That the Officers and Soldiers of the Army, after having "liſted themſelves under the Parliament's Generals for bringing the King- "dom under their Obedience, had ſerved them faithfully: That though "for Want of Pay, and other bad Uſage, which they had met with, they "had had Reaſon to be diſcouraged, yet they had never queſtioned the "Juſtice of their Commands, nor diſobeyed their Orders, and much leſs "troubled the two Houſes with their Petitions: That they had never "expreſſed the leaſt Diſcontent, from which their Enemies had been able "to reap any Advantage, nor had they retarded the Progreſs of Affairs; "but that, on the contrary, in Place of going into Quarters at the end "of the Campaign, they had chearfully kept in the Field in the middle "of Winter, and with great Zeal imbraced all Occaſions that offered, "to ſhew that they acted like honeſt Men: That now that the King "was diſarmed, that their Brethren the *Scots* were returned ſatisfied to "their Country, and that Peace was reſtored in the State, they made bold

*The Petition of the Army deſigned to be preſented to the Parliament.*

"to

1647. " to repreſent to his Excellency what they thought with Juſtice they " might deſire, hoping that he would communicate it to the Parliament, " and they expected it ſo much the more, that the two Houſes, by a " great many ſolemn Declarations, had promiſed to protect thoſe who " had ventured all for their Service. What they demanded was, that " they would be pleaſed to give the Army, before it be diſbanded, an " Indemnity for all Hoſtilities committed, either in the War, or on ac- " count of the War, and that they obtain the King's Conſent to it. That " the Accounts of the Army be examined before all Things, and that " no Company of it be broke till after it has received full Satisfaction, " becauſe they muſt loſe a great deal of Time, and be at great Expences; " if, after having been diſbanded, they muſt be obliged to wait the An- " ſwers of Petitions to the Parliament: That thoſe who had liſted volun- " tarily in the Parliament's Service, may not be forced to ſerve out of " the Kingdom; nor thoſe who had ſerved in the Horſe, be obliged to " take Service in the Foot: That the maimed, and thoſe who had ſuf- " fered any conſiderable Loſs by the War be recompenſed, and that a " Subſiſtance be provided for the Widows and Children of thoſe that " have been killed in it: That in the mean time, till the Army be diſ- " banded, ſome conſiderable Sum of Money be ſent to it, in order to re- " lieve the Counties, from whence all its Subſiſtance has been drawn.

THE General having had Notice of this Petition, and with how much Eagerneſs its Contrivers were labouring to have it ſigned by all the Army, uſed his utmoſt Endeavours to have it ſuppreſſed: But the Commiſſioners of the Parliament having had ſome Inkling of it before they left the Army, and given an Account thereof at their Return, and told, that they had found the Troops very little inclined for the Service of *Ireland*; the two Houſes, after having had a Conference together, cauſed this Declaration to be publiſhed: " That they could not conceal how much they " were troubled, to hear that a Deſign was framing in the Army, to pre- " ſent a Petition by ſome diſſaffected Perſons, who, by impoſing Condi- " tions upon the Parliament, ſeemed to have a Mind to give Laws to " them, and who ſowing Diviſion amongſt the Soldiers, rendered the " Care they took for the Relief of *Ireland* of no Uſe: That they had " a grateful Acknowledgement of the good Service that had been done " them, as well by thoſe who had diſcovered it, as by all the reſt who " had refuſed to ſign it: That as for thoſe who had ſuffered themſelves " to be impoſed upon, if they ſhould withdraw from that Faction, and " return to their Duty, the Parliament ſhould not be unmindful of the " Services they have heretofore done, but ſhould make them ſenſible of " the Eſteem they had for them, and that this Overſight had leſſened " nothing of the good Opinion they had always had of their Fidelity: " And that for thoſe who ſhould be obſtinately reſolved to ſupport this " Petition, which tended to Sedition, the Parliament would proceed a- " gainſt them, as Diſturbers of the publick Tranquillity."

AT the ſame time, they wrote to the General, intreating him to cauſe the Petition to be ſuppreſſed, and to ſend to them the Colonels *Hammond* and *Lilburn*, with the Lieutenant Colonels *Hammond*, *Pride*, and *Grimes*, to the end that the Parliament being more particularly informed of the Cauſes of the Army's Undutifulneſs, they might apply the neceſſary Remedies, and then ſend back theſe Officers with their Orders. The General had already prevented the Deſire of the Parliament, as to the ſuppreſſing of the Petition, and in all haſte diſpatched the Officers whom the

the Parliament had required. At the ſame time; he anſwered the Letter which he had received from the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons: 1647.
" That having communicated it to the Officers of the Army, they had
" expreſſed a great deal of Concern; that the Sincerity of their Inten-
" tions had been ſo ill interpreted; having declared very ingennouſly, that
" they had no other Thought, but to repreſent to him, their General, the
" Inconveniencies that would infallibly happen, if the Army ſhould be
" diſbanded before taking Care of their ſo juſt Demands. And where-
" as they knew that the Houſe was full of Buſineſs, their Petition tend-
" ed to nothing elſe, but to beg of the General to propoſe to the Houſe
" what of it he ſhould think reaſonable, with all Submiſſion to what he
" ſhould judge proper to propoſe, and to whatever it ſhould pleaſe the
" Houſe to grant of their Demands."

The Officers, whom the Parliament had ſent for, being come to *London*, appeared in the Lobby of the Houſe of Commons. After that they had been called in, the Speaker turning towards Lieutenant Colonel *Pride*, told him, " That the Houſe had been informed, that he had read a ſeditiſ-
" ous Petition at the Head of Colonel *Harley*'s Regiment, and that even
" ſome had been ſo inſolent, that they had threatened ſuch of the Army
" as ſhould refuſe to ſign it." That Officer anſwered very calmly, that he had never had any Hand in that Affair. The reſt having given the ſame Anſwer, the Houſe ordered them to return to their Commands, and to do what in them lay to ſuppreſs that Petition, and ſtifle the Diſorders that might happen in the Army. But though this Indulgence and good Reception given to theſe Officers ought to have been taken in good Part, yet the Army took it ill that the Parliament called ſo freely for the Officers, and that they obliged them to anſwer at the Bar, which ſhortly after was laid to their Charge as a Crime. The Commons having had a Conference with the Lords about the Matter, it was propoſed to ſend for Major General *Skippon*, to come and reſide in the Army, which was immediately agreed to; and a Power was alſo ſent him to leave ſuch a Perſon as he ſhould think fit, to command in *Newcaſtle* in his Abſence. The two Houſes likewiſe reſolved, to ſend other Commiſſioners to the Army, to make more advantagious Propoſitions to them, than the firſt had been, that the Troops, which they deſigned for *Ireland*, might by that means be incouraged to undertake that Service. The two Houſes having this Affair much at Heart, in all haſte deputed the Earl of *Warwick*, the Lord *Dacres*, Sir *William Waller*, and Sir *John Clotworthy*, with Major General *Maſſy*, whom the Parliament had appointed to ſerve as Lieutenant General in *Ireland* under *Skippon*, who was to command there in chief. They were ordered to propoſe to the Troops, that the Foot that ſhould ſerve in *Ireland* ſhould be furniſhed with Clothes beſides their Pay: That the Officers ſhould have Security for all that was owing them, and that for the Time to come, the Lands of the Rebels of *Ireland* ſhould be aſſigned them for their Payment.

The Commiſſioners arrived in the Army the 13th of *April*. The next Day about two hundred Officers went to the General in the Church of *Walden*, where the Earl of *Warwick*'s Secretary having read the Orders of the two Houſes, that Lord, with a great deal of Zeal, exhorted the Officers to comply with them; and then the General for his Part omitted nothing that could oblige them to accept of the Propoſitions that had been made them. The Officers having appointed Colonel *Lambert* to be their Spokeſman, he ſaid: That the Officers deſired to know, what Sa-

1647. tisfaction the Parliament had given to their Demands, concerning the Arrears of Pay that was due to them; the Subſiſtance of the Troops deſigned for *Ireland*, and the Names of thoſe that were to command them. The Commiſſioners anſwered, that the Parliament, by their laſt Orders, had taken Care of all, except the Indemnity, of which an ample Declaration would be publiſhed by Order of Parliament as ſoon as poſſible: And in the mean time, they had forbidden the Judges in *Weſtminſter-hall*, and all the other Officers of Juſtice to make or receive any Information againſt the Soldiery, on account of any Thing that had paſſed *tempore & loco belli*. The Choice of *Skippon* for commanding in Chief, diſpleaſed no body. He had gained a great Reputation in the Army, and was well liked by all the Soldiers. But though the Officers approved of that Choice, yet they cryed out, *Let us have our Generals* Fairfax *and* Cromwell *to conduct us into* Ireland, *and we will all follow them.* Theſe Words plainly diſcovered to the Commiſſioners the Inclinations of the Army, inſomuch that they cauſed immediately to be publiſhed through all the Quarters: That thoſe, who were willing to accept of the Conditions which the two Houſes had propoſed to the Troops that were deſigned for *Ireland*, were immediately to come to them at their Lodgings, ſince they were reſolved to depart the next Day. That had ſome Effect, and very ſoon after about five thouſand of the Foot, and ſome Troops of Horſe, came to liſt under the Command of 267 Officers, all Preſbyterians, who, very ſoon after, were broke by the Independents, who put other Soldiers in their Place.

THERE were but few Companies, and yet fewer Regiments, that came: There were ſome Officers that diſcouraged the Troops, and raiſed a Mutiny in the Army. The Parliament being adviſed of it, cauſed five of them to be ſummoned by the Sergeant at Arms, to come and be anſwerable for their Actions. At the ſame time, they ordained their Orders, for the Command in *Ireland*, to be intimated to Major General *Skippon*, who was come to *London*. He received them with an affected Humility, without having Regard, either to his Age, or his Weakneſs, which might have excuſed him from going: And having come to the Houſe of Commons, in order to return Thanks, he got a Preſent of a thouſand Pounds, and took his Seat as Member for *Barnſtable*, in *Devonſhire*.

IN the mean time, General *Fairfax*, who had been troubled with the Stone, came to *London*, to go under a Courſe of Phyſick. He was followed by a Juſtification of the Army's Petition, which was preſented to the Houſe of Commons the 30th of *April*, and was drawn up in very ſubmiſſive Terms. The Purport whereof was, " That the Officers of the " Army having heard with Grief, that the Honourable Houſe of Com- " mons had been offended becauſe of a moſt humble Petition which " they had made bold to preſent to them, they looked upon themſelves " to be the moſt unhappy of all Men, in having diſpleaſed them. And " their Misfortune was ſo much the more grievous, that, though their " Intentions were moſt upright, they were accounted mutinous, diſaffect- " ed, and who laboured to ſow Diviſion in the Army. 'Tis true that they " did not think they had broke in upon the Reſpect they owed the two " Houſes of Parliament, nor impoſed Conditions upon them, when they " preſented the Petition to them; becauſe it was the common Practice, " and the Privilege of the People. Neither did they think, that the " Condition of a Soldier was incompatible with that of a Subject; nor, " in ſhort, that they ought to loſe their Liberty, in helping to obtain

*A Juſtification of the Army's Petition.*

" that

" that of their Fellow-Subjects. But though theſe Conſiderations were 1647.
" ſufficient enough, for juſtifying their Conduct, they were reſolved not
" to be wanting to the Rules of Decency, nor did they preſume to
" cauſe their Petition to be preſented otherwiſe, than by the Conſent and
" Mediation of their General. As for the reſt, that their Petition con-
" tained nothing that could claſh with the Authority of Parliament.
" That as to what concerned the Indemnity of the Army, they had not
" demanded it, but becauſe of ſo frequent perſonal Citations to appear
" at the Aſſizes, and Warrants that were given out againſt Soldiers who
" were in the Service, contrary to the expreſs Prohibition made by the
" Parliament. That ſince they were thus dealt with while the Parlia-
" ment was ſitting, they had great Reaſon to fear that Matters would
" be carried farther when it ſhould be broke up. If they had deſired
" that the King's Conſent might be obtained, it was not with Deſign to
" leſſen the Authority of Parliament, ſeeing the two Houſes themſelves
" did not mean to leſſen it, when they propoſed to get his Majeſty to
" conſent to the Propoſitions of Peace; and that they did not take it in
" ill Part that the City of *London* had wiſhed for the ſame Thing. So
" not knowing how the Officers of Juſtice might ſubmit to their Orders
" hereafter, they hoped that the Parliament would not find Fault with
" the prudent Caution they had taken for their Security in Time com-
" ing. As for their Pay, it was their own Neceſſity, and particularly
" that of the Soldiers which obliged them to mention it: They likewiſe
" thought, that the Parliament would not have taken it ill, to be put in
" Mind of paying thoſe, who had left their Families, their Means, their
" Imployments, and the Quiet of a ſweet and comfortable Life, which
" they were injoying, to throw themſelves into the Dangers of War,
" where they had earned that Pay with much Toil, and the Loſs of the
" pureſt of their Blood. Laſtly, as to the Reduction of *Ireland*, that
" they had never failed to expreſs their Zeal for that Service; but they
" moſt humbly begged the Houſe to conſider, if it be reaſonable, that
" thoſe who had voluntarily ſerved the Parliament, and brought the
" Kingdom under their Power, ought, after having undergone ſo many
" Hardſhips, to be forced to go out of their native Country, the Intereſt
" of which had been ſo dear to them." They concluded with this double Requeſt which they made to the Houſe, " That in Time to come
" they might be allowed to apply by Petitions for all Things that may
" concern them, as being Soldiers, as well as Members of the State. And
" that ſome Reparation may likewiſe be made them, in ſuch manner as
" the Houſe ſhould judge reaſonable."

This Paper, ſigned by a great Number of Officers, having been read, it was a long Time debated, what Courſe ſhould be taken for preventing Tumults in the Army, and likewiſe haſtening the diſbanding of it; the Queſtion was even put, whether it would not be expedient to ſend the whole Army into *Ireland*. At laſt, after the Matter had been a long Time debated, it was reſolved, that it ſhould be diſbanded, in the Manner agreed upon by the two Houſes, and that Major General *Skippon*, Lieutenant General *Cromwell*, Commiſſary General *Ireton*, and Colonel *Fleetwood* ſhould go to acquaint the Army, that there was a very conſiderable Sum of Money, which was ready to be diſtributed amongſt the Officers and Soldiers: That their Accounts ſhould be examined; and that a Bill for their Indemnity ſhould be paſſed.

1647. WHILE they were debating what Courſe was to be taken, *Cromwell*, who was ſitting in the Houſe of Commons, as ſoon as the Motion for diſbanding the Army was made, roſe up, and ſaid, that he proteſted before God Almighty, in whoſe Preſence he was ſpeaking (theſe are the Words he made Uſe of) that he knew the Army would obey, and that they would lay down their Arms at the Door of the Houſe, as ſoon as they ſhould be ordered. This Proteſtation contributed much towards making the Thing to be reſolved upon. But the Event made it appear, that *Cromwell* thereby aimed at nothing elſe but ſtill more to take off the Army from the Preſbyterian Party, and more ſtrictly to link it with that of the Independents. For notwithſtanding what *Cromwell* ſaid, he knew very well, that the Army would not hear of being diſbanded; and that the moſt part of the Soldiers had a mortal Hatred againſt thoſe who would oblige them to return to their Imployments. He was paſſionately bent on having the Army ſubſiſted, and thought he had Intereſt enough in the Parliament to oblige them to continue it as their Pretorian Guard. But having perceived, that they had reſolved the contrary, as he had always pretended to be intirely ſubmiſſive to them, even to conſent to ſign the Covenant in Compliance with them, he durſt not then diſcover his Thoughts, for fear of giving them ſome Jealouſy of the Army, where he had many Enemies, who were perſuaded, that, provided he found his own private Intereſt in the Parliament, he would not much mind theirs.

THE Parliament had ſettled three thouſand Pounds of yearly Revenue upon him for his Services, out of the Marquis of *Worceſter*'s Eſtate; and upon *Fairfax* five thouſand Pounds out of other Eſtates. Beſides, they gave *Fairfax* all the Offices and Governments, which his Father had when they heard of his Death. So they were both very much bound to receive their Orders with Reſpect. But the Soldiers having conceived ſome Jealouſy of *Cromwell*, and diſliking that the Officers had made Propoſitions for the common Intereſt of all the Army, without having conſulted them, they bethought themſelves of chuſing *Agitators* in each Regiment of Foot, and each Troop of Horſe. They picked out for that Office Men of the moſt factious and mutinous Spirits of the whole Army; and having intruſted them with all their Concerns, they promiſed to be guided by their Advice. Theſe Furies forthwith took two miſchievous Reſolutions; the firſt, that they would not be diſbanded, and the ſecond, to ſeize upon the King's Perſon.

IN the mean time, *Fairfax* being told, that beſides the Officers of the Army, whom the Houſe of Commons had cauſed to be ſummoned, and whom the Houſe, however, would not ſee, when they came, there were a great many more in *London*, he cauſed to be publiſhed by Sound of Trumpet, through all the City, an Order to all the Officers of the Army, to repair to their Poſts in twenty four Hours, upon Pain of being puniſhed according to the martial Laws. They found no Fault with this Order; but a Report that was at the ſame Time ſpread through the City, that the Officers of the Army had written to the King, and had promiſed to ſet the Crown upon his Head again, provoked them moſt of all.

THEY ſhew'd their Reſentment of it, when the Commiſſioners of the Parliament came to the Army, and declar'd the Orders of the two Houſes concerning

concerning their Pay and Indemnity. For the Commiſſioners having added, that they had it in Charge to quiet and remedy all the Diſtempers that were in the Army, ſome anſwer'd, that they deſir'd to know what was meant by the Word *Diſtempers*. That if it meant Grievances, the Army had juſt Cauſe of Complaint. That their Petition was declar'd Criminal, and to render it odious to all the Kingdom, Copies of a Letter, pretended to have been written to the King, were ſpread every where, which was an inſupportable Calumny, and of which they expected, from the Juſtice of the Parliament, that Reparation would be made them. They likewiſe took it very ill, that it was induſtriouſly reported, that there were four thouſand Cavaliers among them, though it was moſt certain, that in all the Army, which conſiſted of twenty one thouſand Men, there was but one ſingle Officer, that had ever ſerv'd the King, whom the two Houſes had made a Colonel unknown to the Army. Theſe Things were repreſented with great Warmth, and the Commiſſioners received no other Anſwer that Day, but that it was neceſſary to communicate the Affair to the Soldiers, and that there was no Occaſion to be ſo raſh as ſome Officers had been, who had taken upon themſelves to ſpeak for their Regiments, without having conſulted them. 1647.

At the next Meeting, which was on the 15th of *May*, *Skippon* made a Speech to the Army, and as he had great Intereſt with it, he made uſe thereof with much Zeal for having the Parliament obey'd. But it was to no Purpoſe. The Agitators having withdrawn by themſelves, drew up a Writing, which contain'd all the Grievances of the Army, and preſented it to *Skippon*, intreating him to let the Parliament ſee it. Theſe Grievances were, "That their moſt humble Petition was look'd upon as Mutiny. *The Grievances of the Army.*
"That inſtead of puniſhing thoſe who were fomenting Diviſion between the
"Army and Parliament, on the contrary, they were encourag'd to conti-
"nue the ſame Practices. That ſome Officers, who were excellent Men,
"had been ſummon'd, as if they had been Criminals: And that among
"others Enſign *Nicholas* was kept Priſoner at *London*: That, before ha-
"ving provided wherewithal to pay what was due to the Army, it had
"been reſolved to diſband it. That at the diſbanding, all that was or-
"der'd to be advanc'd to the Soldiers, was only ſix Weeks Pay, which was
"not ſufficient to defray the Charges of the moſt Part of them to their
"own Houſes. That the Bill for the Indemnity was not as yet paſſed. That
"the Soldiers who were deſirous to return to their former Imployments,
"were afraid of being forc'd to ſerve out of the Kingdom: That the Ma-
"ſters of many of thoſe who were Apprentices, refus'd to allow them the
"Time they had ſerv'd the Parliament: That nothing had been ſet-
"tled for the Relief of the maim'd, nor of the Widows and Orphans of
"Soldiers that had died and been killed: That many Libels, full of Ca-
"lumnies, had been publiſh'd againſt them: Laſtly, that what Requeſts
"ſoever they had made, to inable them to be no longer burdenſome to
"the Counties, wherein they were quarter'd, yet they were forc'd to take
"their Subſiſtance from them.

The Parliament having had Advice that the Army was not ſatisfy'd with the Propoſitions which their Commiſſioners had made to it at the firſt Conference, even before theſe Grievances had been brought to them, ordain'd ten Weeks Pay of what was due to the Soldiers that ſhould go to *Ireland*, to be advanc'd to them for the preſent, and two Months of it to be given to thoſe that ſhould be diſbanded. They likewiſe reſolved to pay what was due to the Soldiers, with Money ariſing from the Exciſe, and

1647. what ſhould be found due to the Officers ſhould be taken out of the Eſtates of Delinquents. At laſt, the two Houſes paſs'd the Bill for the Indemnity of the Army; the Sum of which was, " That the Lords and " Commons aſſembled at *Weſtminſter* having been inform'd, that ſome Of- " ficers and Soldiers of their Army had been moleſted, and put to Charges " on Account of what had paſs'd during the War, they moſt expreſsly for- " bid all Judges Ordinary of the Kingdom to take any more Cognizance " thereof, or to make any further Inquiry thereinto, or receive any Accu- " ſation againſt the Soldiery, for Actions which they may have commit- " ted, by Authority, and for the Service of the Parliament. And becauſe " it was to be preſum'd, that many amongſt them could not defend them- " ſelves againſt ſuch Proſecutions, the Parliament ſhould appoint Commiſ- " ſioners of their own Body, in Order to hear the Complaints of thoſe who " ſhould be troubled by the Officers of Juſtice, and to fine them in all the " Damages and Coſts of thoſe who ſhould be thus unlawfully ſued; pro- " vided, nevertheleſs, that neither Officer nor Soldier might pretend Exemp- " tion, by Virtue of this Bill, from being accountable to the Committee, for " all that they may have receiv'd or taken for the Service of the Parlia- " ment." And becauſe the General's Preſence was abſolutely neceſſary in the Army, they intreated him to return to it, if his Health could allow him (which he obey'd) and to ſend up to them any two of the Commiſſioners, except *Skippon*, whoſe ſpecial Buſineſs there was to ingage the Troops for the Relief of *Ireland*. Therefore *Cromwell* and *Fleetwood* were pitch'd upon to go and wait upon the Parliament with the Grievances of the Army.

*The Ordinance of Indemnity.*

THEY could not fall into better Hands, than thoſe who had made and fomented them. For *Cromwell* had no ſooner arriv'd in the Army, than he privately inſinuated himſelf into the Favour of the Agitators, who had more Authority there, than the Council of War, where already he and his Son-in-Law bore the Sway. He carefully minded all the Inclinations of the Army, though they often chang'd. He likewiſe ſtill eſpous'd their Intereſt, with a great deal of Zeal; and in effect alter'd his Mind and Sentiments, as ſoon as he found it his Intereſt to ſhift Sides, accommodating himſelf always to the Bent and Inclination of the Army, avoiding by all means that no diviſion ſhould be bred in it, and by a wonderful Addreſs, there was no part that he did not act, in Order to have it at his Command.

As ſoon as theſe Grievances were read in the two Houſes, they ordain'd, that the Accounts of the Army ſhould be immediately ſettled; and that for the Arrears that ſhould not be paid in ready Money to the Soldiers upon being diſbanded, they ſhould have Securities, with which they ſhould have all Reaſon to be contented: That the Time which Apprentices had ſerv'd the Parliament in the Army ſhould not retard their Freedom: That the Soldiers, who had voluntarily ſerv'd the Parliament, could not be forc'd to ſerve out of the Kingdom. And that the maim'd Soldiers, Widows, and Orphans ſhould be taken care of, according to Queen *Elizabeth*'s Regulation, which ordains, that each Pariſh ſhould appoint a Fund for the Maintainance of its own. The Parliament did not meddle with the other Heads of the Grievances; but having ſent back the Commiſſioners with theſe Orders, for ſatisfying the Army, they reſolv'd that the diſbanding of it ſhould be begun the firſt Day of *June*, and beſides, deputed from the Houſe of Lords the Earl of *Warwick* and the Lord *de la Ware*, with ſome Members of the Houſe of Commons, to aſſiſt the General in that Work.

They

They were enjoyn'd to be at the Head of each Regiment when it ſhould be diſbanded, to thank the Soldiers on the Part of the Parliament for their faithful Service, and to ſee them paid the two Months Pay out of that Money which the Parliament ſent to the Army for that purpoſe. 1647.

The Army expreſs'd a great deal of Joy upon the Return of *Fairfax*, who, in order to be nearer the Parliament, and the more eaſily to receive their Orders, decamp'd from *Walden*, and, on the 25th of *May*, fix'd the Head Quarters at *Bury St. Edmond's*, in the County of *Suffolk*. Before *Henry* VIII's Schiſm, the Body of S. *Edmond* the Martyr, whom the *Danes* cruelly maſſacred, was in that Place. And King *Canutus*, in order to expiate the Sacrilege of his Father *Sueve*, who had pillag'd that Church, caus'd it to be rebuilt, and having made a noble Monaſtery to be erected there, he offer'd up his Crown to the holy Martyr. The General wrote from thence to all the Regiments, and told them, that the Houſe of Commons had receiv'd their Grievances, and that they were deliberating upon Means to ſatisfy them. In the mean time, he forbid the Soldiers to hold any Meetings without their Officers, and charg'd the Officers to take care to keep the Soldiers to their Duty. But the laſt Orders of the Parliament having been publiſh'd in the Army, they were ſo ill receiv'd, that the Soldiers expreſs'd their Diſcontent aloud, with Words of Contempt. For which Reaſon, the General thought fit to call together all the Officers at *Bury*. The Council of War was held the 29th of *May* in the ſame Place, where the General having caus'd the Orders of the two Houſes to be read, for the diſbanding of the Army, the Army anſwer'd, "That they could not be "diſbanded upon theſe Conditions: That eight Weeks Pay was not by "much near what was due to the Soldiers: That nothing was done for "their Vindication; and that having been declar'd Enemies to the State, "for having ſupported their Petition, they might be dealt with as ſuch, "unleſs that Declaration were recall'd.

At the ſame Time a Petition was read, which had been preſented to the General in the Name of the private Soldiers of the Army, "deſiring a general Rendezvous of all the Army; and having repreſented "to his Excellency, how much they were aſtoniſhed, to hear that Orders "had been ſent for the diſbanding of the Army, before all their Grievances were redreſs'd, and themſelves reſtor'd to the Reputation, of which "they had been robb'd, they moſt humbly begg'd his Excellency to think "of that: Otherwiſe, that they would be forc'd, in order to avoid their "own Ruin, to do Things, which they hop'd his Excellency, by his wonted "Prudence, would prevent." The Soldiers, who ſign'd this Petition in great Numbers, call'd themſelves the Agitators of the Army, and making uſe of threatning Expreſſions, began to diſcover their Hatred againſt the Parliament, and charge them with Ingratitude.

The Council of War having conſider'd the Petition, reſolv'd to bring all the Quarters of the Army nearer to the Head Quarters, and having regard to the preſent Juncture, thought it fit, that the Officers ſhould comply with the Soldiers, and conſent to what they demanded, thereby to prevent the Diſorders that might happen. Commiſſary General *Ireton* urg'd the Reaſons for ſo doing, and with the Conſent of many of the Colonels, propoſed to the General, to repreſent to the Parliament the Condition of the Army, and that they would be pleas'd to look over the Grievances again, and more maturely to deliberate upon the diſbanding of the Army, before an Affair of ſo great Conſequence be put in Execution.

The

1647. THE General ſent an Account of the Reſult of the Council of War to the two Houſes, and in the Letters which he wrote to the two Speakers, ſaid, it was a Grief to him that there ſhould be a Miſunderſtanding between the Parliament and the Army. Theſe Letters being read, the Parliament order'd the Money ſent to diſband the Army to be recall'd, and alſo all the Commiſſioners to return forthwith to *London*. *Cromwell* had left *London* privately, for fear of being arreſted, if it had been diſcovered that it was he and *Ireton* that fomented the Mutiny, and who had put in the Heads of the Soldiers, that beſides the Condition of Soldier, they were likewiſe Commoners, and that in that Quality they had a Right to propoſe, beſides what concern'd their Pay, every Thing that they judg'd might regard the Good and Advantage of the State. He took care not to leave the Army any more, nor to give them the leaſt Jealouſy, having aſſociated himſelf, as he had done, with the Society of Saints. But becauſe the Parliament had paſſed a Vote, for cutting off all Hopes that the Members might have conceiv'd of commanding the Troops; and as there was not as yet an open Rupture between the two Houſes, *Cromwell*, who was a Member of the Houſe of Commons, and who affected to be moſt obſequious, got the General to write to the Parliament, deſiring that they would be pleas'd to allow him to remain ſtill with the Army; by which means ſecuring himſelf from the Vote, though the Commiſſions of General Officers were expir'd, and that the General had no Power to renew them.

AFTER that the Commiſſioners were return'd to the Parliament, *Skippon* repreſented to the Houſe of Commons how the Army ſtood affected, and the Danger there was of the breaking out of the Rebellion into which they had already fall'n. Whereupon the Houſe with the Concurrence of the Lords, in order to give more Satisfaction to the Army, ordain'd, that the Aſſignments, which the Officers ſhould get for their Arrears, ſhould be as good to them as Attachments; and that by Virtue of ſuch Aſſignments they might ſue thoſe at Law, upon whom they were aſſign'd, for getting Payment. That the Priſoners ſhould be ſatisfyed firſt of all. That thoſe who could not attend till the Accounts of the Army were ſettled, might leave Atteſtations of their Service with the Committee of Accounts; and that the Houſe ſhould take care that their Abſence ſhould not prejudice them in the leaſt. That the common Soldiers ſhould have all their Arrears, deducting for free Quarters: That the Non-Commiſſion'd Officers ſhould by us'd in the ſame Manner: That the commiſſion'd Officers ſhould have three Months Arrears: That the Declaration publiſh'd againſt the Army on the 30th of *March*, ſhould be raz'd out of the Journals of both Houſes. That a more ample Indemnity of the Army ſhould be made, and an Act of Oblivion drawn up.

ALL theſe Ordinances were in a Manner extorted, and it was thought, that what oblig'd the Parliament to mention a general Pardon, was, that ſome private Men of the Army had caus'd *David Jenkins*, one of the *Welch* Judges, who was then Priſoner in the Tower of *London*, to be conſulted about the Act of Indemnity. The Queſtion was whether that Act could ſecure military Men from the Pains impos'd by the Laws. To which *Jenkins* anſwer'd, That, by the Laws of the Kingdom, to make War againſt the King; to attempt upon his Life, or upon the Queen's, and his eldeſt Son's; to counterfeit his Great Seal, or his Coin, were all Crimes of High Treaſon, and ſo expreſly declar'd ſuch by the Laws, that no Body can be ignorant of it; that according to Sir *Edward Cook*, whoſe Inſtitutions were

publiſhed

published by Authority of the Houſe of Commons, all the Judges of *England* had decided upon the Statute of the 25th Year of *Edward* III's Reign, that to impriſon the King, in order to force him to Conſent to what ſhould be demanded of him, was High Treaſon; that to alter the Laws, ſeize the King's Ports, his Forts, and Magazines, was alſo Treaſon. Now, in all theſe Laws the Word *King* ſignifies the Perſon of the Prince: For it was in his Perſon that he could die, or be impriſoned, and have Wife and Children. 1647.

It was likewiſe manifeſt by the Laws, that the Privileges of Parliament did not exempt its Members from the Puniſhment which the Crimes of Felony and Treaſon deſerv'd; and that the Light of Nature teacheth, that thoſe who cannot protect themſelves, can much leſs make Laws for protecting others from it. That Power, by the Laws, was wholly in the Perſon of the Prince, who alone could pardon theſe Crimes. Upon theſe Principles, *Jenkins* concluded, that the Army had juſt Reaſon to fear the Rigour of the Laws: And whereas the Ordinance, for their Indemnity, was, that the Officers of Juſtice ſhould not ſue the Soldiers at Law, for any Action they had done by the Authority, and for the Service of the Parliament, it neceſſarily follow'd, that they had no Indemnity at all, and that the Ordinance was Illuſory.

His Reaſons were, 1. That all the Judges had ſworn to adminiſter Juſtice according to the Laws; ſo, without being perjur'd, they could not go by this Ordinance, foraſmuch as the Ordinances of the two Houſes of Parliament were not Laws. 2. That Criminals were always try'd by Juries, which were made up of Men taken out of the Neighbourhood of the Place where the Crime had been committed. And when they had ſworn to declare the Truth touching the Matter in Queſtion, the Laws made them Judges of it. That being the Caſe, the Soldiers had their Parties for their Judges. That in ſhort, it was not to be thought, that the Juries would break their Oaths to ſave thoſe, who, they might pretend, had pillag'd and robb'd them. 3. That if it happen'd that the Judges ſhould reckon, that the taking of other People's Horſes or Cloaths were Actions which could not have been done by the Authority, and for the good of the Parliament's Service, the Soldiers would certainly be condemn'd to die for ſuch Actions: And though it ſhould happen, that the Judges ſhould be of another Mind, the Juries, without doubt, would give their Verdict according to the Inclination of all the People, that all Actions of that Nature are contrary to the good of the Parliament's Service. Now, as it appears, by all kinds of Laws, that the two Houſes no more made up the Body of the State, than a Body without a Head makes a Man; becauſe the State is a Body made up of the King, who is the Head, and of the two Houſes, who are the Members; therefore the Actions done by the Authority, and for the Service of the two Houſes, would not be interpreted by the Judges to be Actions done by the Authority, and for Service of the State.

*Jenkins* added, that the Addition which had been made to the Ordinance gave no further Security to the Army; becauſe the two Houſes had granted, that their Ordinances were not binding upon any Perſon, but during their Sitting. So the Act of Oblivion, which they had promis'd, could not ſerve but for a Time, whereas that which the Army demanded ought to be for ever. So likewiſe the Pardon, which the two Houſes offer'd, was rather a Suſpenſion of the Execution of the Law, than a true Pardon. That the Members of the two Houſes could not be ignorant that

1647. by the Laws and Cuſtoms at all times obſerv'd in the Kingdom, there never had been any Perſon whatſoever, who had any right, or who had ever pretended to have Power to give a full Diſcharge of a Crime, or a Pardon, but the King alone. Therefore the Opinion of this Judge was, that the Army could not have any Security, unleſs the two Houſes ſhould accept the Offer which the King had made, to conſent to an Oblivion of all that had paſs'd during the War, and to the Payment of the publick Debts. Becauſe, by that means, the Soldiers would have a Law of the Kingdom, which could not be call'd in Queſtion, both for their Arrears, which are publick Debts, and for their general Indemnity.

DURING this Conteſt between the Army and the Parliament, a Body of five hundred Horſe, commanded by a Cornet, named *Joyce*, arrived at *Holmby* the 3*d* of *June* about the Evening; who having ſaid, that he muſt ſpeak to the King, the Guards told him, that his Majeſty was retir'd, and deſir'd him to delay the Buſineſs he had with him, till the next Morning. But the Cornet, by all means, having a Mind to ſpeak with him at that very Inſtant, and the Guards not being in a Condition to oppoſe him, he was conducted to the Place where the King was. Aſſoon as he was come near his Majeſty, he told him in the Name of the Body which he headed, "that the Army had ſent them to fetch him from *Holmby*." The King anſwered him, "that it was too late to ſpeak of an Affair of that impor-"tance, and that the next Morning he would ſpeak to them." The King having appear'd early in the Morning upon the Balcony, the whole Detachment of Horſe ſaluted him with all the Reſpect imaginable, and all the Time bare-headed. His Majeſty having aſk'd, "by what Authority they "came, if it was not from Sir *Thomas Fairfax?* They anſwer'd, "That "they were come there from the whole Army. Then the King deſir'd to ſee their Commiſſion, *Joyce* pointing at the Horſe which he had brought with him, anſwer'd, "Here it is, Sir. The King ſmiling, ſaid, "that it "was a very fine one, and deſired to know what their Intention was in "Caſe that he ſhould refuſe to go with them, and if they deſigned to make "uſe of force." They anſwer'd, "that they hop'd his Majeſty would "not refuſe, and that whatever ſhould happen they had Orders to carry "him away." At laſt the King told them, "that he was ready to go, "provided they would promiſe not to offer Violence to his Perſon: That "his Trunks and Papers ſhould be ſecure: That ſome of his Domeſticks "ſhould be allowed to ſerve him, and that nothing ſhould be required "of him that was againſt his Conſcience." They ſatisfied his Majeſty as to all theſe Demands, ſpeaking always with a great Deal of Affection, and, amongſt other things, ſaid, "that ſince they peculiarly profeſſed not to "force Conſciences, it could never enter into their Minds to force his Ma-"jeſty's." Theſe Articles being agreed to, every thing was made ready for the King's Departure as ſoon as poſſible. The Commiſſioners of the Parliament, and the Ordinary Guards, that were about his Perſon, proteſted, that he had been carry'd away from them by force, and reſolved to follow him till they ſhould receive other Orders from the Parliament. The King ſet out about One a Clock Afternon, and having expreſſed a Deſire of going to *Newmarket*, *Joyce* was not againſt it, on the contrary, he order'd the Detachment to march directly for that place.

WHAT induc'd the leading Men of the Army to venture upon ſo bold a Step, was, that the King's Perſon being in the Hands of the *Preſbyterians* of the two Houſes, they began to be afraid, that his Majeſty would at laſt yield to their Requeſts, in coming to an Agreement with them,

and

and be prevail'd upon to conſent to the Covenant at any Rate for the Good of Peace. They knew very well, that the King being once reconciled with the Parliament, the People would adhere to them: That the Army would be diſbanded; that neither Officer nor Soldier would receive the Rewards, which they pretended were due to them, and (which went nearer their Hearts) that the Independent Party would be quite ruined, and trampled upon by that of the Preſbyterians, which they looked upon with ſo much Jealouſy and Contempt. Theſe Conſiderations made them reſolve to ward off the Blow, and take the King out of the Hands of the Preſbyterians. They hoped, by that means, to find their Account in his Majeſty, and, by the Agreement that they would make with him, to reſtore him to his Authority, and re-eſtabliſh Peace in the Kingdom. 1647.

*The General's Account to the Parliament of the King's being removed from* Holmby.

General *Fairfax* hearing that the thing was done, wrote to the Parliament, "that it had been done unknown to him, and that he even "did not believe that any General Officer of the Army had had the leaſt "Knowledge of it: That the Soldiers, who had undertaken it, pretended "to have been induced ſo to do, becauſe it was ſaid, that a third Party "was forming, who were privately to ſeize the King's Perſon, and who "hoped to kindle the War again: That aſſoon as he had had advice of "it, he had ſent Colonel *Whaley* with his Regiment, in order to ſtop "his Majeſty wherever he ſhould meet him; and in ſhort, that he ſhould "be always very careful to keep up a good Underſtanding between the "Army and the Parliament.

*CROMWELL*, who, the better to Screen himſelf, had ſent *Whaley*, his Kinſman, to meet the King, made the ſame Proteſtation in particular, and declared to his Majeſty and the Parliament, that *Joyce* had gone out of the Camp without his Knowledge. Nevertheleſs that Cornet, inſtead of receiving the Puniſhment which an Action of that Nature deſerved, was advanced higher than he was before; and neither *Cromwell*, nor any of the General Officers, which *Fairfax* had carried with him to ſee the King in my Lady *Cutt*'s Houſe, ſeconded the Commiſſioners of the Parliament, when, in preſence of his Majeſty, aggravating the Preſumption of *Joyce*, they told him, that he deſerved to have his Head ſtruck off for the inſolent Action he had been guilty of. *Joyce* did not conceal from the General, who it was that had given him the Order; and *Cromwell*, who had given it him, made *Fairfax* believe, that without that, the two Houſes would have brought the King to *London*, or that Colonel *Graves*, at the Perſuaſion of the Parliament's Commiſſioners, would have carried him thither. *Cromwell* was ſo tranſported with Joy, that when *Joyce*, giving him an Account of his Action, told him, "that from henceforth he had "the King in his Power;" he anſwered, "that it being ſo, the Parlia-"ment could no longer eſcape him." He himſelf had given *Joyce* the Order, before he fled out of *London*, as his own Major, *Huntington*, told the two Houſes, when he quitted the Service, not being able any longer to approve of *Cromwell*'s Principles, which he ſaid were theſe: "That as for "the Advantage or Prejudice of the Kingdom, every Body could judge what "was juſt and reaſonable: That the Kingdom had no other Intereſt but "that of honeſt Men, and that there were none ſuch but thoſe of his Par-"ty: That it was lawful to go through all ſorts of Government, in order "to bring about his Deſigns; and for that end, that it would not be a-"miſs, either to turn out of the two Houſes, all thoſe who were againſt "him, and to ſupport therein his own Partiſans by Arms: Or elſe to diſ-

"miſs

1647. " miſs them all without Diſtinction: That it was lawful to cheat Knaves, " and to play Quits or Double with Sharpers.

THE Parliament having received the General's Letters, ordered the King's Children to be brought back to *London*, and lodg'd in St. *James*'s Palace. They likewiſe gave the neceſſary Orders for their own and the City's Security, and wrote to *Fairfax* to take Care that the King be ſent back with their Commiſſioners to the Caſtle of *Holmby*. *Fairfax*, who was not in the Secret, having but little Power, either in the Council of War, or amongſt the Agitators, who were called the Council of the Army, followed the Orders of his Maſters. He went to meet the King, whom he found at *Childiſly* near *Huntington*. But the King ſhewing no Inclination to return to *Holmby*, and yet leſs to go to the Army, *Fairfax* cauſed two Regiments of Horſe to joyn *Whaley* for conducting his Majeſty to *Newmarket*, having given Orders not to bring him by *Cambridge*, where he fixed the Head Quarters of the Army.

THE Commiſſioners of the Parliament of *Scotland* reſiding at *London*, having heard the ſurpriſing News of the King's being carried away by Force from the Caſtle of *Holmby*, demanded a Conference with the Parliament of *England*. They had an Audience in the Painted Chamber, where they expreſſed a great Deal of Reſentment of the Violence that had been done the King, of which they had demanded Juſtice, and with Vehemence repreſented, what had been ſtipulated between the Commiſſioners of the two Nations, when his Majeſty's Perſon was put into the Hands of the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners at *Newcaſtle*. They were put off at that Time with fair Words; but the Parliament had no longer the Command, their Authority was juſt at the laſt Gaſp, and the Commiſſioners of *Scotland*, far from being able to obtain any Reparation of the heinous Affront, which the Soldiers had put upon the King, they themſelves were ſoon after very ſcurvily uſed. For the Earl of *Lauderdale* having gone to *Woburn* to ſpeak to his Majeſty, ſome Soldiers came early in the Morning, who, without any Reſpect, entered the Earl's Chamber, and having him given inſolent Language, forced him to get up, and begone without ſeeing the King; though the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners, who were following the Army, did their utmoſt to hinder the Soldiers from violating the Law of Nations in the Perſon of that publick Miniſter of the Kingdom of *Scotland*.

AFTER that *Fairfax* was incamped in the Neighbourhood of *Cambridge*, he appointed the general Rendezvous of the whole Army the 5th of *June*, on *Triplow-Heath*, where the Agitators preſented a new Petition to the General, whom they intreated to ſend it to the Parliament. They therein declared that they were not at all ſatisfied with what the Parliament had done, and that they were not inclined to obey their Orders. 'Tis true, they ſpoke of the two Houſes, in reſpectful Terms: But there was no end of their Complaints and Demands. They found Fault with every Thing that the Parliament had cauſed to be propoſed to the Army; they under-valued all their Offers, and gave plainly to underſtand, that their Intention was no longer to receive Orders, but to give them to their Maſters. 'Tis very true, that the two Houſes ſtood haggling too much, and that the inſatiable Avarice of the Members, who had the fingering of the Revenues, would not allow them to part with the Money that had been raiſed for the Army; whereas they ought at firſt to have made reaſonable Offers, and, in Caſe of Diſobedience

dience, cauſed the Militia of the Kingdom to be raiſed, to fall upon the rebellious Troops. 1647.

*The Demands of the Agitators.*

The Agitators therefore, by this Petition, demanded: "That their "Arrears, which were the Price of their Blood, be preſently paid: That "the Ordinances, as well for exempting the Soldiers from being forced "to ſerve out of the Kingdom, as for their Indemnity, and that in Fa-"vour of Apprentices, be reviſed, and made more ample. That all that "had been ordained by the Council of War, be approved of; and that "no Perſon may be ſued at Law, for having executed the Orders of the "General Officers: That the Officers of the Army be told who they "were that impeached them before the Parliament, and that both their "Perſons and Demands be juſtified: That thoſe turbulent Men, who diſ-"credit the whole Body, and who, with Impunity, have traduced the "Army, be expelled the Parliament. In ſhort, in order to remove all "Jealouſy, they moſt humbly begged them to believe, that the Army "had not the leaſt Thought of altering the Government of the State, "nor of hindering the Eſtabliſhment of the Preſbyterian Government; "and that it thought as little of eſtabliſhing Independency, but leaving "all that concerned the Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, to the Prudence of the "Parliament, it expected from their prudent Conduct, that as they had "no Mind to break in upon the natural Liberty of the Subjects, they "ſhould far leſs deſire to put a Yoke upon their Conſciences."

At the ſame Time that theſe Things were tranſacting in the Army, and that the Agitators were revolving others more important in their Minds, the Parliament having ſome Surmiſe of them, paſſed the Indemnity more full, for all that the Soldiery had done during the War; found Money for paying the Army, and revoked the Declaration, which they had made againſt it; nay, ordered the Leaf to be taken out of their Journals. Moreover they ordained, that all Soldiers, who ſhould carry themſelves obediently, ſhould, from that Time, injoy all the Advantages, which the Parliament had offered for the Satisfaction of the Army. And that no Perſon might have any Thing to except againſt the two Houſes, as they were afraid, that the Army might make Demands, which, in Juſtice, they could not refuſe, nor, with Honour, grant, becauſe it was not fitting that they ſhould be ſtirred up by Soldiers to do their Duty: The Houſe of Commons, to prevent that Inconveniency, renewed the ſelf-denying Ordinance, and voted, that, if any of their Members were poſſeſſed of any Office, or forfeited Eſtates, the Grants thereof ſhould hereafter be void. That the Benefit ſuch Members have thereby received, ſhould be paid into the Chamber of *London* for the Uſe of the Publick, and that they ſhould be accountable for it to the Commiſſioners of Accounts. That the Lands, and all other Eſtates of the Members of the Houſe, may be ſeized for Payment of their Debts. That Informations ſhould be heard againſt Members; and that no Member hereafter ſhould receive any Reparation for Damages they may have ſuffered during the Troubles, till the publick Debts be firſt ſatisfied. That no Perſon that hath carried Arms againſt the Parliament, preſume to ſit in the Houſe, whatever Pardon he may have had for it. And, that the Army may be the more readily diſpoſed to obey the Orders of the two Houſes, they deputed to it, the Earl of *Nottingham*, the Lord *de la Ware*, Sir *Henry Vane*, the Son, and *Skippon*, who were immediately diſpatched thither.

1647. In the mean time, the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of the City of *London*, taking to Heart the Difference between the Army and the Parliament, ſent a Deputation to the two Houſes, "Begging of them, "by all Means poſſible to prevent the Effuſion of Blood, which, with-"out doubt, would happen in a new War. That for that end, they may "be pleaſed to give to the Soldiers of the Army, who had expoſed their "Lives for the Defence of the Parliament, the Satisfaction, which they "ſo juſtly demanded. That in order to anſwer the Fidelity they owed "the King, and the Obligation they lay under to obſerve the Covenant, "his Majeſty's Perſon may be with great Care preſerved; and that in "what Place ſoever he may be, the Commiſſioners of the two Nations "may have free Acceſs to him. That they would think ſpeedily of a "Relief for *Ireland*, which demanded it with Tears of Blood. Laſtly, "that for the Security of the City, an Ordinance may be publiſhed for "the levying of ſome Troops of Horſe, that the Militia may be the "better inabled to ſuppreſs ſeditious Aſſemblies, and prevent the Danger "which ſeemed to threaten both the City and Parliament. They con-"cluded with this Proteſtation, that they would never forſake them, but "were reſolved to live and die with them." The Speakers of the two Houſes thanked them for this Teſtimony of their Affection; let them know what they had done for the Satisfaction of the Army; promiſed the Ordinance, which they had demanded, which was publiſhed the 11th of *June*; and ſent them back very well pleaſed.

But their Commiſſioners being arrived in the Army, and having told what Orders they had from the Parliament, they found that the Army was no Ways inclined to obey. It had become more haughty, becauſe the Furies that influenced the Agitators, had taken Care to get the Counties of *Eſſex*, *Suffolk*, and *Norfolk* to preſent Petitions to the General; wherein thoſe Counties begged of him eſpecially, not to ſuffer the Army to be diſbanded at a Juncture, when the Kingdom was in ſo great Confuſion, till the Complaints and Grievances of all the People were redreſſed. At the ſame time, *Fairfax* marched to *Royſton*, and advanced as far as St. *Albans*, twenty Miles from *London*, where he fixed his Head Quarters. This Place is famous, becauſe of the renowned Abbey, which *Offa*, King of the *Mercians*, cauſed to be built, in the Time of the *Saxon* Heptarchy, in Honour of St. *Alban*, the firſt *Engliſh* Martyr. That Abbey was ſubjected immediately to the Holy See, and was exempted from the Tribute of St. *Peter*'s Pence, which was called *Romſcot*, which that Prince granted, over all his Kingdom, to the Succeſſors of the Prince of the Apoſtles. He obtained from the Apoſtolical See in Favour of that Church, that it ſhould levy that Tax in all the County of *Hertford*, where it is ſituate; and that it might make uſe of all that ſhould ariſe from it for its own private Uſe. Pope *Adrian* IV. added ſince to that Privilege this, that its Abbot ſhould be the firſt of all the Abbots of the Kingdom, as St. *Alban*, who ſuffered Martydom under the Reign of *Diocleſian*, was acknowledged the firſt Martyr. He was a Native of *Verulam*, a Town very near St. *Albans*, and one of the moſt ancient in all *England*; beſides it was Municipal under the *Romans*, and which the *Welſh*, for that Reaſon, to this Day call *Caer Municip*. The Parliament had written to the General not to approach within twenty four Miles of *London*; but in his Anſwer he pretended to have changed his Quarters before he received their Orders, and undertook to give them Reaſons for his Approach, which would ſatisfy them.

them. And, that the Army might not be a Burthen upon the County, he begged that they would ſend him a Months Pay in all Haſte. 1647.

The City having Notice of the Approach of the Army, on the 12th of *June*, ordered all the Trained-Bands to be under Arms on Pain of Death. The Shops were ſhut, and every Body ſtood to their Arms: But in the Afternoon they were opened; and the Common-Council having more narrowly conſidered the Conſequence of this Affair, diſmiſſed the Trained-Bands, except ſome Companies, for reinforcing the Guards of the Lines. Some Aldermen and Common-Council-Men were likewiſe ſent to the Army, in order to keep up a good Underſtanding between the City and it. In the mean while, the Houſe of Commons ordered Sir *Thomas Withrington* and Colonel *White* to go thither at the ſame Time, and endeavour to find out the Deſigns of the Army, and likewiſe to know what it was the Houſe could do, that would ſatisfy it.

Before the Deputies of the City had got to the Army, the General had written to the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council. The Letter was alſo ſigned by *Cromwell*, and a great many other Officers of the Army. By this Letter, "They demanded Reparation, and that Juſtice "might be done upon thoſe, who, by their malicious Speeches, had in- "ſtilled bad Impreſſions of them in the Minds of the People; and who, "by all Manner of Calumny, had endeavoured to load the Army with In- "famy and Reproach: That it was not their own private Intereſt that "made them complain of it, and which they were willing to ſacrifice to "the Publick; but that it broke in upon the Privileges of the Parliament "and People in an extraordinary Manner: That they wiſhed the Peace "of the Kingdom, and the Liberties of the Subject might be ſecured: "That they had no Thoughts of any Alteration in the Political Govern- "ment, nor of oppoſing the Preſbyterian Government: That as for the "City, they promiſed, that neither the Officers nor Soldiers of the Army "ſhould ever give it the leaſt Cauſe of Complaint, if it did not declare "againſt them, in ſiding with thoſe Fire-brands of Sedition, who ſtrove "to ſet them at Variance with the whole Kingdom: That, however, if "it ſhould happen, that a conſiderable Party of the City ſhould be ſo "imprudent, as to take up Arms for oppoſing their juſt Proceedings, in "that Caſe, the Blame of all the Damage it may ſuffer will be laid upon "the City, and not upon the Army." Immediately upon Receipt of this Letter, the Common-Council wrote an Anſwer to the General: "That "their whole Body had a very affectionate and tender Regard for the "Army; and that there was nothing elſe meant by the Orders given to "the Trained-Bands, but to provide for the Security of the City, with- "out the leaſt Thought of offending the Army."

*A Letter from the General,* Cromwell, *and other Officers of the Army, to the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of* London.

The two Houſes then thought it was proper to cauſe a Declaration to be publiſhed, to inform all the World of what they had done for giving Satisfaction to the Army, and of the Care they had taken for re-eſtabliſhing Peace in the Kingdom. They likewiſe ordered, that the General ſhould be deſired to deliver the Perſon of the King to the Commiſſioners, who had received him at *Newcaſtle*, to whom the neceſſary Orders ſhould be given for bringing him to his Houſe at *Richmond*, and that his Majeſty's Guards ſhould be commanded by Colonel *Roſſiter*. They likewiſe at the ſame Time ordered a Letter to be written to the General, to let him know, that the Money, which he had demanded for the Army, was ready to be ſent him. The King having heard, that the Parliament

1647. Parliament had a Mind to have him removed from *New-market*, was ſurprized that they had not written to him of it: However, he was not againſt it, and conſented to go to *Richmond*. But Colonel *Whaley* having written to the General for his Orders, he got no Anſwer. The General had not as yet ſeen the Parliament's Order, but after it was received, it was eluded by the Army.

As the two Houſes were impatiently waiting to know what their laſt Commiſſioners had done with the Army, the Deputies of the City, who were Mediators between them, returned; and having addreſſed themſelves to the Houſe of Commons, gave them to underſtand, that they had declared that the City had not taken up Arms againſt an Army that had ſo well deſerved of it, and of the whole State, and which had been the glorious Inſtrument of the Deliverance of the whole Kingdom: And that afterwards they had begged of the General not to take up his Quarters ſo near *London*, leſt thereby Proviſions ſhould become exceſſively dear, and that diſaffected Perſons might from thence take occaſion to diſparage the Conduct of the Army: Laſtly, that they had ſtrongly recommended the King's Perſon to their Care, and that his Majeſty might be treated with all Manner of Reſpect, while he ſhould be in the Power of the Army. The Houſe thanked them for the good Offices they had done the Parliament, deſired them to continue their Good-Will towards them, and as well in Conſideration of the City, as of the Army, the two Houſes recalled the Orders they had given, to raiſe Forces for the Defence of the Kingdom.

At the ſame time, they received Letters from their Commiſſioners, with a Declaration of the Army, which *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, who were imployed in all theſe Declarations and Tranſactions of the Army, had drawn up in more bold and ſpiteful Terms than the other Petitions. For they did not ſtick to ſay, that their Army was not a mercenary Army, ſubject to an arbitrary Power, but that it had been raiſed by the lawful Authority of the two Houſes of Parliament, for the Preſervation of the Liberties of the Kingdom. That being the Caſe, they ought to govern themſelves by the Laws, however, without being obliged always to keep ſo much to the Strictneſs of the literal Senſe, when the Safety of the People requires that they ſhould have Recourſe to the Equity of the Law. And they did not think that there was Room to doubt, that Authority was tied to the Office, and that the Men who exerciſed it, had only the Miniſtration thereof. Therefore if it happened that the People ſhould make Choice of a bad Member to repreſent them in Parliament, they might retrieve their Miſtake, and have Recourſe to a new Election. As for the reſt, whatever may be ſaid of their Proceedings, they did not think they had taken ſo much upon them, in the Defence of their Rights and Liberties, as formerly the States of the *Low Countries*, and the *Portugueſe* had done, nor even their Brethren, the Covenanters of *Scotland*, who made their Covenant, without having made their Application either to the King, or the Parliament of the Kingdom, and without being in the leaſt ſupported. The two Houſes had likewiſe declared, that Men did not oppoſe lawful Authority, when they followed the Principles of the Law of Nature and Nations; and that Soldiers might lawfully hold the Hands of a General that had a Mind to point the Cannon againſt his own Army: And as their Brethren of *Scotland* ſaid very well, that the Seamen had a Right to tie the Pilot, who ſhould have the Malice to ſteer his Ship againſt a Rock. Grounding upon theſe Principles, they

they demanded, " 1. That all thoſe, who had not been ſent up to Par- 1647.
" liament by a free Election, be expelled. 2. That thoſe Perſons, who
" have abuſed the Parliament, and Army, and indangered the Kingdom, *The Demands of the Army.*
" may be ſpeedily diſabled from doing the like. 3. That ſome Time may
" be ſet, for the Continuance of this, and future Parliaments, and new
" Elections be made ſucceſſively, according to the Bill for Triennial
" Parliaments. 4. That Proviſion be made that future Parliaments may
" not be diſſolved at the King's Pleaſure, without their Conſent, but con-
" tinue the ſet Time. 5. That the Right of the People, to repreſent to
" the Parliament their Grievances by Petition, may be vindicated. 6.
" That the large Powers given to Committees, or Deputy Lieutenants
" during the War, as appears not neceſſary to be continued, may be ta-
" ken away, and ſuch as are neceſſary may be put into a regulated Way,
" and left to as little Arbitrarineſs, as the Nature and Neceſſity thereof
" will bear. 7. They wiſh that the Kingdom may be righted, and ſa-
" tisfied in Point of Accounts, and other Things, wherein the Common-
" Wealth may be conceived to have been wronged. 8. That publick
" Juſtice being ſatisfied by ſome few Examples of the worſt of ex-
" cepted Perſons, ſome Courſe may be taken, by a general Act of Ob-
" livion, or otherwiſe, whereby the Seeds of future War, or Fears may
" be taken away."

This Declaration being diſperſed in the Counties adjacent to the Army, thoſe of *Buckingham* and *Hertford* having been practiſed upon under Hand to back it by their Approbation, preſented Petitions to the Geral for that Effect, and intreated him not to diſarm, till the Grievances of the People be redreſſed, and the Army made Umpire of the Affairs of the Kingdom, and the Meeting of Agitators become the ſupreme Council of State.

That not only alarmed all the well-meaning Men of the Parliament's Side; but even ſuch as favoured the Army, were offended at this Conduct, which they plainly ſaw could never be juſtified before reaſonable and diſintereſted Men. It ſeemed to them, that the Army had a Deſign to ſeize both the Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Authority of the Kingdom; and that having once incroached upon that of the Church, it had a Mind likewiſe to wield the Sword of Juſtice.

Although it had been true, that the Army had been raiſed for maintaining the Liberties of the People, yet it did not become them to judge what thoſe Liberties were. And as the Sword was then the only Rule of their Judgment, if it had happened that another Set of Men ſhould have ſtarted up, who had better Swords than thoſe of the Army, without doubt there would have been an Appeal from their Judgment, and the Sentence that they had pronounced would have certainly been void. Neither had the Army any Right to receive Petitions, which ought only to be preſented to the two Houſes of Parliament; ſince the chief End of their Meeting was to hear the Complaints of the People, and to redreſs them. As for the Examples, which the Army alledged of the *Dutch*, the *Portugueſe*, and the Covenanters of *Scotland*, they concluded nothing in their Favour; ſince there was no Action, how wicked ſoever it may be, which may not be juſtified by ſome Inſtance. They ought to meaſure the Goodneſs of their Actions, by Reaſon and the Laws, which are nothing elſe but Reaſon ſtript of all Paſſion. In ſhort, the Army, by alledging the Covenanters of *Scotland*, condemned themſelves; becauſe

1647. they knew very well, that in the firſt, as well as in the laſt Troubles of that Kingdom, though the Covenanters Army knew ſure enough, that their Parliament had no other Troops to oppoſe them, yet immediately upon the Parliament's Orders they laid down their Arms.

THE other Examples of the mad General, and the malicious Pilot, appeared to be no more to the Purpoſe. For though it was true, that in a preſſing Neceſſity, the Law of Nature, in ſome Meaſure, juſtified the Oppoſition made to the Injuſtice and Tyranny of Superiors, when the ſupreme Powers could not be conſulted, nor even Advice had of any body, the Danger being altogether unavoidable, and the wicked Intentions of thoſe, who were making a bad Uſe of their Authority, being plainly diſcovered: All that, however, did not juſtify the Conduct of the Army; becauſe the Caſe of the Army was not the ſame. Perhaps it might have been much about the ſame, if the Parliament had raiſed Troops for cutting the Army in Pieces; in that Caſe, they might have defended themſelves, without minding the Obedience they owed the Parliament. But the Matter here in queſtion was quite otherwiſe; for the Army having made a *German* Quarrel with the Parliament, had advanced at the ſame time to do themſelves Juſtice, though no Forces had been raiſed to oppoſe them. Thus it was the Soldiers that pointed the Cannon, and drew their Swords againſt their General, which, in the Opinion of all Men, is looked upon to be ſo wicked an Attempt, that it cannot be juſtified.

IT as little became the Army to take upon themſelves to chuſe Members of the Houſe of Commons, ſince there was a Committee, which was appointed of Purpoſe to examine, if the Elections had been duly made, though, according to Rule, that ought to have been done in the Counties that ſent them. Above all, it was thought to be of dangerous Conſequence, that the Houſe ſhould give Ear to the Propoſitions, which the Army might make them, to turn out the Members, who they might pretend, whenever they thought fit, were their Enemies. For, beſides that it would be a manifeſt Injuſtice, the Army, by that means, might, at their Pleaſure, lay the Houſe waſte, by thus expelling the Members, one after another. If there were ſome Members, who gave their Opinions freely, about the Proceedings of the Army, that Freedom was their Right, as Members of Parliament, and beſides, it was an unalterable Rule amongſt them, that whatever was ſaid, or done in the Houſe, could not be found Fault with, but by the Houſe itſelf; beſides, it muſt have been done at the very Time that the Affair was under Debate; if it was not put off by common Conſent, to be taken again into Conſideration. For without that, an Affair under Debate could not be adjourned, not even to the next Day, if it were not ſo agreed upon.

THERE were many, who very much approved of that Liberty, which the Army demanded, that all ſorts of Perſons might be allowed to preſent Petitions to the Parliament; but there were others likewiſe, who maintained that, in Matters which had already been offered, and which had been rejected, as prejudicial to the publick Good; if the People did not alledge ſome new Reaſon for grounding the Juſtice of their Petitions, but ſtill repeating over the ſame Reaſons that had been brought, then it would be no more Liberty. In ſhort, it was obſerved, that in the Declaration of the Army, the calling to an Account thoſe who had had the handling of the publick Money, was only mentioned with a faint Wiſh that it might be

be done; becauſe the Independents were afraid, if they ſhould lay any Thing to the Charge of the Preſbyterians, that they would be even with them; both Parties having had their large Share of Plunder in the Robbery that had been made of the publick Money. For 'tis very certain, that the leading Men for a long Time plaid booty together, while the well meaning Men, that were in the Parliament, did not perceive that they were bubled, and inſenſibly dragg'd along with the Torrent, without being aware of it. 1647.

This is what was ſaid concerning the Declaration of the Army. However, there were ſome Demands that were not altogether without Reaſon. It was the Intereſt of all the Kingdom, and even of the Parliament, that the Time for the Continuance of Parliaments ſhould be limited. For when they obtained of the King, that, for the future, Parliaments ſhould be Triennial, and that that which was then in being, could not be diſſolved but with the Conſent of the two Houſes, it would have been demanding Things that were contradictory, if their Deſign had been to perpetuate the preſent Parliament.

As for the Suppreſſion of the large Powers given to Committees, or Deputy Lieutenants of which the Parliament had often ſpoke by the Bye, and without concluding any Thing, the Army could demand nothing more juſt, nor that could more gain them the Favour of the Counties. For truly thoſe Commiſſioners and their Deputies acted therein like little Tyrants. They impriſoned ſome, and maſſacred others; and beſides were ſo oppreſſive, as to make ſome pay the ſame Tax three or four Times, nay, cauſing it to be exacted after the Time of levying it was over. They made themſelves to be obeyed by Force of Arms, without troubling their Heads with any Complaints that the People could make of it to the Parliament, ſince they had their Protectors there, who had their Shares of the Booty; and they knew, that whatever might happen, the Indemnity ſecured them from all. To theſe Outrages they added the Suppreſſion of the ordinary Juſtice; for, uſurping the Authority of Judges, they took upon themſelves to decide Law-Suits at Random, without having regard to the Laws, of which they were intirely ignorant.

During all this Animoſity between the two Parties, which then divided the Kingdom, the Army had not as yet declared which of the two they had a Deſign upon, and it was very hard to diſcover upon which of them the Storm would fall. At laſt the Army explaining themſelves, cauſed an Impeachment to be preſented to the Houſe of Commons againſt eleven of their Members, Sir *William Waller*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *John Clotworthy*, Sir *William Lewis*, Sir *John Maynard*, *Denzil Hollis*, *Anthony Nichols*, Major General *Maſſey*, Colonel *Walter Long*, *Edward Harley*, and *Glyn*, Recorder of *London*. They were firſt accuſed in general, of occaſioning the Diſorders of which the Army had complained. For the Heads of the Charge againſt them were. "That they had been "the Authors of the Miſunderſtanding between the Army and the Par- "liament, and that deſigning the Ruin both of the one and the other, "they had divided the Army under Pretence of the Service of *Ireland*, "and by that means cooled their Affection towards the Parliament. "That they had endeavoured to raiſe new Troops for kindling the War "again, and that it was they that got a great Number of diſbanded Of- "ficers and Soldiers to meet in *Weſtminſter-hall*, in order to intimidate "the moſt leading Men of the Houſe." The Army offered to prove by

*Eleven Members of the Houſe of Commons impeached by the Army.*

*The Heads of the Charge againſt them.*

1647. by good Witneſſes all the Heads of their Charge, and in a ſhort Time to ſend an exact Account of the Particulars of it, reſerving, however, to themſelves the Liberty, if need were, of exhibiting a more full Charge againſt thoſe Members, whom, by all means, they would have ſuſpended from ſitting in the Houſe. The Army likewiſe demanded, "That while "theſe Differences laſted between them and the Parliament, no Commiſ- "ſions ſhould be given for levying Troops. That beſides the Months "Pay, which had been already ſent with a Guard, if the Soldiers, who "had left the Army, had received more, the Army demanded that "thoſe who had kept their Poſts, might be treated in the ſame Man- "ner; and that for the future thoſe Deſerters ſhould receive no "more Money, till the Army be fully paid off the Arrears that were "due to them."

THE Charge having been read in the Houſe, the Members accuſed ſtood all up, without ſhewing the leaſt Surprize, and demanded of the Houſe, that they would be pleaſed forthwith to proceed to their Trial. Yea, to give Satisfaction to the Kingdom, they offered to wave their Privileges, thinking that it was not becoming to make uſe of them, nor to rely upon any other Thing than their Innocence. There was no body but ſaw very well, that all this Procedure was extraordinary, and againſt all Rule, ſince the Courſe of Juſtice required, that the Charge ſhould be ſigned by the Accuſers, who were to make it good, or elſe to undergo the Puniſhment preſcribed by the Laws, and make Reparation to thoſe, whom they had traduced. Beſides, there was a great Number of the chief Officers of the Army, who were Members of the Houſe; ſo that they ſeemed to be Parties, Judges, and Witneſſes, threatning to do themſelves Juſtice by Arms; and adding, that if they ſhould meet with any Difficulty, they could eaſily pave the Way with the Edge of the Sword. But the whole Houſe, and particularly the accuſed Members, might and ought to have remembered, with ſome Remorſe of Conſcience, that when the King went in Perſon to the Houſe of Commons, to have the five Members, whom he had accuſed of High-Treaſon, arreſted, the Houſe declared, that it was a treacherous Deſign; and that thoſe eleven Members, now accuſed of the like Crimes by the Army, were thoſe who then made the greateſt Noiſe, and who, with a loud Voice, ſaid, that it would be a Violation of the Law of Nations, if any of the Members of the Houſe were arreſted by the King's Orders, though they were all accountable to his Majeſty for their Actions; and that they did not in the leaſt depend upon the Army, which on the contrary received their Pay. Thoſe Members were then brought back to the Houſe in Triumph: But theſe, on the contrary, were preſently forced to abſent themſelves from the Houſe, the Army not ſuffering them to appear there any more, but as Criminals, though the Charge brought againſt them was only in general Terms. In ſhort, the Houſe then cried out, that their Privileges were deſtroyed, and boldly appointed a ſet Day to the King, on which his Majeſty was to give in particular Charges againſt them, and upon which they were to be interrogated: But at this Juncture, the Army told them, that their Privileges ought not to prevail above the Safety of the Kingdom. That wicked Men ought not to have them for a Shelter, nor could they make uſe of them for ſcreening themſelves from the Puniſhment which their Crimes deſerved, ſince both the Royal Prerogatives and the Privileges of Parliament might be very often miſuſed contrary to their Deſign, and to the Prejudice of the publick Security, which was preferable to them both, ſince they had not been granted by the Laws but for

for the Safety of the People. 'Tis not to be doubted, but the two Houſes were then ſenſibly affected with the Incroachments of the Army, but they durſt not ſhew their Reſentment; becauſe they had Reaſon to be afraid, that ſomething worſe might happen them. However, the Affair having been taken into Conſideration, it was reſolved, That the Laws of the Kingdom, and the Privileges of Parliament, did not allow that the Members of the Houſe ſhould be ſuſpended from their Service there, upon a bare Accuſation without Proof, and all the Members unanimouſly declared, that they had never had the leaſt Knowledge of any of the Things wherewith they were charged. 1647.

This Declaration ſo much provoked the Army, that in the Letters they wrote to the Common-Council of *London*, and in the Conferences they had by Commiſſioners with the Parliament, they openly complained, that the Preſervation of the Privileges of the Members of the Houſe of Commons, was preferred to the publick Good of the whole Kingdom. And they declared, that the Safety of the State, as well as that of the City, obliged them to continue in their Poſt, and not to move out of it, let them be never ſo much intreated, till after thoſe, whom they had accuſed, ſhould be expelled the Houſe; becauſe, ſaid they, it was by them that all Things were put in Confuſion. Beſides, that it was they, who continually laboured to perplex Matters, and who by the Strength of their Faction ſuppreſſed all the Freedom of Parliament. That they were under-hand carrying on new Levies. That *Worceſter* was their Place of Rendezvous, and where they were to be joined by the Troops that had been ſeparated from the Army, under Pretence of a Relief for *Ireland*. In a Word, they ſhewed ſo little Regard for what the Houſe had reſolved, That thoſe, who conferred on the Part of the Army with the Commiſſioners of the two Houſes, did not ſtand to ſay, That if it were allowed them to ſpeak their Minds freely, and without breaking in upon the Privileges of the Houſe of Commons, for which they had a great deal of Reſpect, they would clearly ſhew, that that Houſe had a perfect Knowledge of every Thing, whereof the eleven Members had been accuſed; and that the Houſe of Lords ought to remember, that the Laws of the Kingdom had ſuffered the Earl of *Strafford*, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Lord-Keeper *Finch* to be ſuſpended from ſitting in the Houſe, before the Particulars, and the Proofs of their Charges had been produced.

It is very true, that theſe Deputies of the Army had Reaſon to upbraid the two Houſes with the hard Uſage which thoſe illuſtrious Perſonages met with at their Hands. But that Reſpect, which they pretended to have for the Privileges and Honour of both Houſes, did not appear ſo clearly as they would have had it believed. For what greater Affront could the Army put upon them, than to deſpiſe all their Reſolutions, and even to force them to revoke their Ordinances? That was ruining their Reputation, and diſcrediting them amongſt the People; becauſe, in the Opinion of every body, the Parliament was no longer capable of doing any Thing but Injuſtice, and committing unworthy Actions. And if the People had but once diſcovered, that they no longer acted but by the Impulſes of Fear, or by thoſe of Complaiſance, or by the Strength of ſome other Paſſion, they would have no longer been conſidered, but as uſeleſs Men, who had betrayed the People that had relied upon them; and, in ſhort, as Men who had proſtituted their Honour, and the Authority, with which the Eſtates of the Kingdom had

1647. intruſted them. Neither was it ſeen, that the Army treated the Parliament in a very reſpectful Manner, when they demanded, that the Soldiers, who continued in their Diſobedience, ſhould be paid as much as thoſe who had obeyed the Orders of the two Houſes; and when they alſo obliged them to ſit with their Hands in their Pockets, and to make no new Levies, at the ſame time, that the General was raiſing Recruits; that he had taken Arms for his new Soldiers, out of the Caſtle of *Windſor*, and ſeized upon the Powder and other Ammunition, that was coming from *Nottingham*, contrary to the Prohibition that had been intimated to him. And though the Army aimed at nothing but the publick Good, as they would fain have had it believed, it was eaſy to judge, that their own private Intereſts moved them to put the eleven Members, whom they had accuſed, to a Non-plus. For ſince they had made no Complaint againſt them, till the Parliament had reſolved to diſband the Army, it was eaſy to ſee, that all the Crimes, of which they afterwards accuſed them, were not inquired into, but in order to palliate the true Cauſe of their Diſcontent; and that the greateſt Crime they had committed, was their having appeared the moſt active in the Houſe for getting the Preſbyterian Government eſtabliſhed, and likewiſe for having that important Affair of diſbanding of the Army reſolved upon, which was ſo neceſſary for the Eaſe of the People, and the Tranquillity of the Kingdom.

THE Army having a Deſign to bring the Affair to the laſt Puſh, cauſed a Train of Artillery to be brought from *Oxford* to St. *Albans*, whereof the Garriſon, with all the Ammunition had been ſecured by *Cromwell*. The Army conſiſted then of thirteen thouſand Foot, and ſeven thouſand Horſe, beſides the Dragoons. They had ſixteen battering Cannon, and as many Field-Pieces. There was ſo good an Underſtanding between the Generals and the Agitators, that the Head Quarters having been fixed at *Uxbridge*, which is about ſixteen Miles from *London*, they kept themſelves in Readineſs to march thither in all Haſte. The Soldiers, who ſought no better, were ſo pleaſed with it, that the Troops that were convoying the Train of Artillery were ſeen throwing their Hats up in the Air, and crying out aloud, to *London*, to *London*. But before they approached nearer the City, they ſent a Remonſtrance to the Parliament, wherein they complained, " That no Anſwer had been " given to their laſt Declaration, and that the two Houſes had neglect- " ed to redreſs the Things, of which the Army had complained to them, " though they were ſuch as the Safety of the State chiefly depended " upon." This Remonſtrance plainly ſet forth, " That the Army did " not at all doubt, but the accuſed Members were the Cauſe of that " Delay; and that they were fully perſuaded, they ſhould have no Sa- " tisfaction in any of their Propoſitions, ſo long as their declared Ene- " mies ſhould ſit in the Houſe. That if they did not produce the " Particulars, and convincing Proofs of the Charge which they had " given in againſt them, as it ſeemed reaſonable that it ſhould be done, " they were willing, that all the World ſhould know, that it was not " for want of being ready, but that it was becauſe they thought the " general Things, which concerned the publick Good, ought to be ad- " juſted before Matters of leſs Conſequence were inquired into, ſuch as " were thoſe of private Men. And they found it likewiſe ſtrange, that " the Parliament, reflecting upon what had paſſed, when they ſaw them- " ſelves forced to revoke the Declaration, which they had cauſed to be " publiſhed againſt the Army, did not reſent it upon thoſe, who, by " an

" an intolerable Abuſe, had made them fall into that Precipice. They 1647.
" were no leſs ſurprized, that the Parliament gave ſo kind a Reception
" to the Deſerters, ſince to act in that Manner was the ready Way to
" put the Army into the utmoſt Deſpair: And as little did they com-
" prehend, why the Parliament did not conſider, that thoſe, who had
" got the Vote paſſed for carrying the King to *Richmond*, had done it
" only to have his Majeſty in their Power, and after having him in
" their Poſſeſſion, to begin a new War, with the Troops, which they were
" drawing together with ſo great Haſte in the adjacent Parts of *London*.
" As for the Reports that were ſpread abroad, that the King was Pri-
" ſoner in the Army, and that he was ill-uſed there, they declared, that
" ſuch Reports were falſe, and quite contrary to their Principles, ſince
" they had no other Deſign, but to take Care that every Man ſhould be
" reſtored to his Eſtate, and peaceably injoy his juſt Liberties. That
" they did not ſee how Peace could be re-eſtabliſhed in the Kingdom,
" if the Royal Family were not reſtored to all its Rights with Honour
" and Sincerity. And they were likewiſe of Opinion, that a tender Love
" and Charity towards the Party and Perſon of his Majeſty, would make
" the Parliament triumph as gloriouſly over their Hearts, as it had done
" over their Arms; and provided that ſo happy a Reconciliation of all
" Parties could be effected, it might truly be ſaid, that *Righteouſneſs and*
" *Peace have kiſſed each other.*"

They concluded, " That becauſe the Standard was to be ſet up at
" *Worceſter*, the War was to be begun there: That there were not only
" Spies in the Army, in order to debauch the Soldiers, but that Meſſen-
" gers had been ſent to *France* and *Scotland* to ſollicit foreign Troops to
" come into the Kingdom. That what honeſt Men there were in the
" Parliament, were threatened by the Officers and Soldiers, who flocked
" to *Weſtminſter-hall*. That their Enemies had Money in their Hands,
" and that the King was ſollicited to declare for them. That being
" the Caſe, they were reſolved to loſe no more Time, but with Dili-
" gence and Vigour to oppoſe theſe fatal Undertakings, to break all theſe
" pernicious Meaſures, and to remedy all Diſorders, by ſuch Ways and
" Means, as God ſhould put into their Hands, if, the very ſame Day,
" that this Remonſtrance ſhould be preſented to the two Houſes, they
" do not ſend to the Army poſitive Anſwers, and agreeable to their De-
" mands. That the Ordinance, which induced the Soldiers to quit the
" Army, in Hopes of receiving all their Pay, be revoked. That the
" Army be paid all that is due to them, proportionably to what had been
" paid the Deſerters, who had been ſatisfied. That the carrying of the
" King to *Richmond* be delayed, till the Kingdom be in a more peace-
" able State, and that all Jealouſies be at an End. That in the mean time,
" the Parliament ſhould not require, that his Majeſty be brought to any
" other Place nearer *London*, than to ſuch as the two Houſes themſelves
" ſhould appoint for the Quarters of the Army. That the accuſed Mem-
" bers leave the Houſe, without further Delay. That the Troops, which
" had left the Army, be diſbanded; and that they be not paid any of
" the Arrears that may be due to them, till the Army be ſatisfied.
" That the Soldiery, which in great Numbers were in *London*, and a-
" bout *Weſtminſter*, be turned out of the City. That the Preparations,
" that have been made, in order to renew the War, be laid aſide; and
" that the Orders, as well for making new Levies in the Kingdom, as
" for inviting Foreigners to come into it, be recalled. That the Par-
" liament forthwith take into Conſideration, the Things which had been

" repre-

1647. " repreſented to them in the Declaration of the Army. And becauſe " that both the Parliament and the City had deſired, that the Army " might retire forty Miles from it, they declared, that they would com- " ply with them, provided they would immediately ſet about giving them " Satisfaction in their Demands, and in two others likewiſe, which they " found themſelves obliged to add thereto: To wit, That it be ordained, " that the Soldiers, who ſhould leave their Poſts in the Army, without " the General's Permiſſion, ſhould be for ever deprived of the Pay that " was due to them. That the Army be continued as yet for ſome time " by the Parliament in the uſual Manner. That before any Reſolu- " tion of diſbanding it be taken, the ſo important Affairs, for reſto- " ring the Peace of the Kingdom, which are as yet undetermined, be " intirely decided."

THIS ſo preſumptuous and inſolent Remonſtrance having been read in the Houſe of Commons, the accuſed Members ſtood up, and deſired Leave to withdraw. Which, after the Affair had been long debated, was granted them; however, upon Condition, that they ſhould not leave the Town, but ſtill continue there, in order to anſwer to the Interrogatories, upon the Charges and Informations, which the Army had promiſed to give in as ſoon as poſſible. Then the Houſe, with the Approbation of the Houſe of Lords, took into Conſideration the Demands which the Army had made with ſo much Eagerneſs, and voted, " That no Officer " or Soldier of the Army could leave it, without Licence or Diſcharge " from the General. That they do own this Army as their Army, and " will make Proviſion for their Maintenance and Pay equally with thoſe " that have deſerted the Army. That the Troops that had been de- " tached from it for the Service of *Ireland*, ſhall be ſent back to it, or " diſbanded. That a Bill had been brought into the Houſe, for order- " ing all Sorts of military Men, as well the reduced Officers, as others, " to be gone from the City. Laſtly, that the King ſhall be carried back " to *Holmby*."

AN Account of theſe Votes having been brought to the Commiſſioners of the Parliament, who were treating with thoſe of the Army, all the Officers expreſſed a great deal of Satisfaction, that the Members, whom the Army had accuſed, were withdrawn from the Houſe; they commended their Modeſty, and proteſted, that it was out of no private Averſion they had to their Perſons, that they had demanded their being ſuſpended from ſitting in the Houſe; but that it was purely the Intereſt of the Publick, that had obliged them to ſollicit their Removal. Therefore, having had Satisfaction in that Demand, which they had ſo eagerly preſſed for, and received ſuch Anſwers to all their other Demands, as they thought reaſonable, the Army decamped, and retired to *Wickham*, which is about thirty two Miles from *London*, whither ſome Officers of the Army were immediately ſent from *Reading*, where the Head Quarters were, with the Charges and Informations againſt the eleven Members. Theſe Informations were printed, as were for the moſt part all the Petitions which the Army preſented, that many Copies of them might be diſperſed amongſt the People. What thoſe Members were charged with was, " That ſome of them had, upon many Occaſions, " kept a Correſpondence with the Royal Party, as well in *England*, as " in *Ireland*. That others of them had always kept a private Corre- " ſpondence with the Queen, and that they had adviſed her to ſend " the Prince of *Wales* into *Scotland*. That ſome of them had alſo con-

*The Charge againſt the Eleven Members.*

" verted

" verted to other Uſes Sums of Money appointed for the Service of *Ireland*. That there were ſome others of them, who had committed Extortions in the Counties. That all of them in general had fomented the Diviſion between the Parliament and the Army, in order to ruin it. That they had cauſed the Petitions preſented by the Army to be declared criminal. That they had obliged Colonel *Lilburn*, Colonel *Hammond*, and other Officers, who were not at all guilty, even in the Opinion of the Houſe, to anſwer at the Bar. Laſtly, that they had impriſoned others, and even ſearched in the Priſon Enſign *Nicholas*, who had the Papers, with which he was intruſted, taken from him, without the leaſt Regard to the publick Liberty, which was very much broke in upon on that Occaſion. 1647.

All theſe Facts were ſet out with all their Circumſtances, and related at large. They were read in Preſence of the accuſed, who were called into the Houſe, who all ſpoke in their own Defence, every one according as the Fact touched him. Very ſoon after they made Anſwer to all the Articles; ſhewing that ſome of them were meer Calumnies, which had no Foundation, and that the reſt revived ſome old Affairs, of which the Houſe, having long ago taken Cognizance, had been ſatisfied with their Conduct. They concluded their Defence with this Reflection, That God often permitted, that Men ſhould be perſecuted for Things, of which they were innocent, to the end that they may recollect themſelves, and ſearch into their Hearts for the true Cauſe of their Misfortune, which, if they had not been afflicted, might have lurked there for a long Time, and, perhaps, would not have awaked them, but in order to throw them head-long into eternal Perdition.

Whereupon it was voted, that the Houſe ſhould proceed to their Trial, as ſoon as the Army had produced their Witneſſes, for proving the Articles, whereof they were accuſed. This Affair was no more proſecuted by the Forms of Law. Theſe Members, with many others, ſunk under the Oppreſſion of the Army, who had not attacked them, but in order to intimidate thoſe who were of the ſame Sentiments with them, and to oblige them, after the Example of their Brethren, to withdraw from the Houſe. The Army had a Mind that the Independents ſhould be abſolute Maſters there, and did not trouble themſelves about the Houſe of Lords, to which they never made any Application. By this Conduct, and by cauſing many Libels, very injurious to the Peers of the Realm, to be diſperſed, it was judged, that the Army was hatching ſomething, which very ſoon would make them ſee the Fault they had committed, when they ſeparated themſelves from their Head, whence they derived all the Grandeur and Authority of Character, which raiſed them above other Men.

In the mean time, the Treaty, between the Parliament and the Army, advanced but ſlowly. Beſides the new Difficulties that occurred in it, the Army likewiſe complained, that the Ordinances of the two Houſes were not put in Execution. That ſeveral Members, whom they had ordered to withdraw from the Houſe of Commons, continued to ſit there. That the military Men did not depart from *London*, and that the Troops, which had been detached from the Army, were neither imployed in *Ireland*, nor diſbanded. However, theſe were Things which the two Houſes had under Deliberation; for they needed no Intreaties from the General, for putting all the Soldiery, and all the Forts of

1647. the Kingdom under his Command, that, according to the Offer which he had made, a ſpeedy Relief might be ſent to *Ireland*. Nevertheleſs they excepted the Militia of the Kingdom, and cauſed it to be proclaimed by Sound of Trumpet, in all the publick Places of the City, that they did not mean, that it ſhould be in the General's Power to command the Militia. For all this, he very ſoon after took upon him to diſpoſe of it, in the ſame manner as he did of the Soldiers of the Army. And to the end that a great Number of the moſt factious and zealous of his Party might join the Army, he cauſed a Petition from the Council of War to be preſented to the Parliament, demanding the Releaſe of all Priſoners that had not been arreſted by the ordinary Forms of Law, but had been impriſoned by the Orders of the two Houſes, except the Priſoners of State, whom they called Malignants, provided they ſhould give ſufficient Bail, to appear within a certain Time, for anſwering to the Accuſations that ſhould be brought againſt them. And in caſe they were not proved by unexceptionable Witneſſes, that Reparation might be made them, and likewiſe that all their Expences and Damages might be paid them. And as the Army was very well informed, that many Perſons well-affected to the Good of the State, and who had alſo ventured their Lives in ſerving it to Purpoſe, were nevertheleſs impriſoned, under Pretence of ſome Ordinances, which Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James* had made againſt ſuch as ſhould not frequent the Churches for aſſiſting at the Liturgy, and who, on the contrary, ſhould hold private Meetings: The Army demanded, that ſince the Parliament had aboliſhed the Liturgy, and that the Ordinances ought not to be underſtood as if they meant private Meetings for religious Exerciſes, but thoſe which were held in private for caballing againſt the State; that the Judges, who were to go the Circuits may be ordered to open the Priſons every where to all ſuch as were there, ſince they were deprived of their Liberty, only for having maintained the Liberty of their Conſciences.

*The Propoſals of the Army.*

At laſt, the Council of War and the Agitators, acting like Reformers of the State, as well as of Religion, drew up a new Plan, which they preſented to the Commiſſioners of the Parliament, that they might ſend it to the two Houſes. "Firſt they demanded, That there ſhould "be a Meeting of Parliament every two Years, which, upon no account "whatſoever, could continue above four Months; and that the King, in "the Intervals of Parliament, by the Advice of the Council of State "could call an extraordinary Meeting. II. That the Houſe of Com- "mons ſhould have a full Power over the Election of their Members, "that they may be inabled to retrench the Repreſentatives of ſmall Bo- "roughs, and to augment the Number of thoſe of large Counties, pro- "portionably to the Burthens laid upon them for the Service of the "State. III. That the two Houſes ſhould have an abſolute Power to "interpret the Laws without Appeal, and that ſuch as they had con- "demned, of what Quality ſoever they were, ſhould not be protected "by the King. IV. That the Commoners of the Kingdom ſhould not "be judged by the Houſe of Peers, without the Concurrence of the "Houſe of Commons. V. That the Militia ſhould be in the Power "of the two Houſes for ten Years only: And that ſuch as had carried "Arms againſt the Parliament ſhould be declared incapable of holding "any Office in the State during five Years, if it was not with Conſent "of the Council of State; or of ſitting in either of the Houſes during "that Time, without the Conſent of both. VI. That Commiſſioners

"be

2

" be appointed for the Admiralty; that an Admiral, Vice-Admiral, and 1647.
" Rear-Admiral be choſen, and that Proviſion be made for ſubſiſting
" of the Royal Fleet. VII. That all the Troops of *England*, *Ireland*,
" and the Principality of *Wales* be put under the Command of one
" General. That there likewiſe be a Council of State, for regulating
" and diſciplining the Militia by Commiſſioners to be appointed for
" that Purpoſe. And that in all Treaties that ſhall be made with Fo-
" reigners, that Council thus eſtabliſhed ſhall have the ſame Power as
" the Privy Council. VIII. That the King now reigning ſhall never
" have Power to diſpoſe of the Militia, nor to make Peace or War
" with Foreigners, without the Conſent of the two Houſes of Parlia-
" ment. IX. That all the great Offices of the Kingdom be at the
" Diſpoſal of the Parliament, or of Committees thereof, during ten
" Years, which being expired, if any Office happen to be vacant, the
" Parliament ſhall name three Perſons, of which the King ſhall chuſe
" one to fill it up, and that the Peers, whom the King has declared
" ſuch ſince the 21ſt of *May* 1642, may not ſit in the Houſe of Peers,
" without the Conſent of both Houſes: That the Ordinance of In-
" demnity be confirmed by the King, and that no Regard be had to
" all or any of the Declarations which his Majeſty has made againſt
" the Parliament. That whatever has paſſed under the Great Seal at
" *Oxford*, be not regarded. That, on the contrary, every Thing that
" has paſſed under the Great Seal by Authority of Parliament, be ap-
" proved of. X. That the Treaties made between the two Kingdoms
" of *England* and *Scotland*, be continued. That the Truce of *Ireland*
" be broke; and that the Proſecution of the War in that Kingdom be
" referred to the two Houſes. XI. That there be an Ordinance made
" with the King's Conſent for the Suppreſſion of the Court of Wards;
" that the Profits which his Majeſty drew from thence be made up
" elſewhere; and that the Perſons, who have Offices in that Court, be
" indemnified. XII. That there be a like Ordinance made, for aboliſh-
" ing the Power of Biſhops, and of all Eccleſiaſtical Courts, in what
" concerns pecuniary Mulcts, or corporal Puniſhments. That the Ordi-
" nances for the uſe of the Liturgy, and for obliging the People to be
" preſent at the Aſſemblies in the Churches, be made void; and that
" ſome other Method be fallen upon for diſcovering Papiſts. XIII.
" That no Perſon may be forced to ſign the Covenant, and that the
" Ordinances for that be repealed. XIV. That after the Liberties and
" Peace of the Kingdom ſhall be ſafely eſtabliſhed, the Perſons of their
" Majeſties and the Royal Family be reſtored to a free and honourable
" State, without any Diminution of the Royal Rights, and without any
" Limitation of the Royal Authority, except ſuch as have been ſpeci-
" fied in what has been propoſed. XV. That ſuch as ſhall be willing
" to compound with the Parliament (very few excepted) may do it
" upon very reaſonable and eaſy Conditions, and that the *Engliſh*, who
" ſhall appear there, not having Goods to the Value of five hundred
" Pounds, be cleared and acquitted. XVI. That the Army having
" plighted their Faith to thoſe of the Royal Party, it may have its full
" Effect. XVII. That there be an Act of Oblivion, and that all
" thoſe of the Royal Party, who have made, or ſhall make it ap-
" pear, that they are well-affected to the Peace of the Kingdom, be
" not obliged to compound, or at moſt to pay but one Year's Rent.
" XVIII. That the People may with all Freedom preſent their Peti-
" tions to the Parliament: That there be no Exciſe upon the Neceſſa-
" ries of Life: That all Sorts of Monopolies be ſuppreſſed; and that

" for

1647. " for the Maintenance of Miniſters, ſome other Fund be deviſed than " that of Tithes, which always produce ſome new Cauſe of Law-ſuits. " XIX. That thoſe who are Priſoners for Debt, and have wherewithal " to pay it, may not defraud their Creditors by an affected prolonging " of their Impriſonment: And that ſuch as have little or no Effects be " ſet at Liberty, and ſuch alſo as ſhall honeſtly deliver up what Goods " they have to their Creditors. XX. That no Perſon may be obliged " to anſwer to Interrogatories, which tend to accuſe himſelf. XXI. " That the Delays, occaſioned by the Quirks at Law, in the Admini- " ſtration of Juſtice, be leſſened, in ſuch a manner as that it may be " done with leſs Charges to the poor Parties. XXII. That the Power " of the Committees or Deputy Lieutenants in the Counties be limited, " or rather quite taken away. XXIII. That the Kingdom may have " the Satisfaction to hear, that the immenſe Sums that have been " raiſed ſhall be accounted for. And laſtly, that what is due to the " Army and the Publick be paid in ſuch a Manner, as in the Pay- " ments that ſhall be made, thoſe may be firſt conſidered, who, having " but ſmall Eſtates, yet ſtrained to advance conſiderable Sums for the " Service of the State." But other Affairs unexpectedly happened, which made all the Treaties, that had been begun upon theſe Propoſitions betwixt the Army and the Parliament, to be put off, and which for ſome time hindered them from being carried on.

THE City had always ſtuck cloſely to the Intereſt of the Parliament, and in the mean time, did all that was poſſible, for keeping likewiſe a good Underſtanding with the Army, even to keep Deputies there for that End. That Friendſhip was a ſtrong Obſtacle to the Deſigns of the Army. Therefore, in a Council of War, which was held the 18th of *July*, an Expedient was found for dividing them, and ſetting them ſo at Variance, that the Army might eaſily make themſelves Maſters both of the City and the two Houſes. We have already told, that the two Houſes had given Power to the Common-Council of the City, to chuſe the Commiſſioners of their own Militia for the Year 1647, and that the ſame Houſes had confirmed the Choice that had been made. Whereupon the Council of War cauſed a Petition to be drawn up, and ſent to the Parliament, whereby the Army demanded, that that Choice might be made void, and that the Militia might be put again into the Hands of thoſe who had commanded it the Year before. This Petition was communicated to the Deputies of the City that were in the Army, and they were made believe, that the Safety of the City and of the whole Kingdom depended upon it. It was carried to the Houſe of Commons the 23d of *July*. There were then but very few Members in the Houſe, becauſe the expelling of the eleven, who had been accuſed, had frighted many others of the Preſbyterian Party, who had withdrawn. The Houſe, without minding the City, which was chiefly concerned in this Petition, and which had in a particular Manner obliged the Army, without having received the leaſt Complaint againſt the new Commiſſioners of the Militia, annulled the Choice that had been made the 4th of *May*, and paſſed an Ordinance for putting the Militia into the Hands of the old Commiſſioners. This Ordinance was carried to the Houſe of Lords about Seven a-Clock at Night, which approved of it *nemine contradicente*. The chief Promoters of this Affair pretended, that the Parliament had been induced to make that Change, in order to hinder the Army from coming to incamp near *London*, and that the Reaſon of doing it ſo haſtily, was to prevent the Oppoſition which the City would

have made, if the Houſes had put off the taking the Petition into Conſideration till the next Day. But the true Reaſon was only, to create Jealouſy and Diſcontent in the City, which they thought would have vigorouſly oppoſed the Change, and, by that means, given the Army a Pretence to march, in order to ſet Matters to Rights, and then make themſelves Maſters both of the Liberties of the City, and of the Authority of the two Houſes. 1647.

As ſoon as the Mayor and Aldermen had Notice of the Change of their Militia, they called a Common-Council, wherein having repreſented, that nothing but the Threatnings of the Army could have obliged the two Houſes to annull their Ordinance of the 4th of *May*, they began to be afraid, that if the Army ſhould continue their Threatnings, they might likewiſe oblige the two Houſes to make void all the Ordinances which they had made for the Security of the Money that they had borrowed from the City. That Reaſon obliged them to depute ſome of their Members with a Petition to the Houſe of Commons, deſiring them to think more ſeriouſly upon an Affair of ſo great Importance. The Deputies went thither the 26th in the Morning: But two or three Hours after they had been there, about a thouſand Apprentices brought another Petition of their own framing, in which they ſaid, "That the Com-"mand of the Militia of the City was the Birthright of the City, and "belonged to them by ſeveral Charters which had been confirmed in "Parliament. Therefore they deſired that the Command of the Mi-"litia might be put into the Hands of thoſe who had been regularly "choſen."

The Lords having ſeen theſe two Petitions, repealed the Ordinance of the 23d of *July*, and confirmed that of the 4th of *May*; and ſent it down to the Houſe of Commons for their Conſent, where the Apprentices being got together in a tumultuary Manner about the Door, cryed out, and knocked with great Inſolence; and would ſuffer no Member to come out of the Houſe, till they had given their Concurrence to the Ordinance that had juſt paſſed in the Houſe of Lords. The Apprentices having had that Satisfaction, retired. But that ſame Day in the Afternoon, another Mobb got together, which chiefly conſiſted of the moſt mutinous of the meaner Sort of People, who were ſpurred on by ſome diſaffected Perſons, in order to foment the Animoſity between the Army and the City. Theſe ſeditious Spirits running to *Weſtminſter-hall*, abuſed ſome of the Members of the Houſe of Commons as they were coming out; and as the Houſe was breaking up, they compelled the Members to go in again, forced the Speaker to return to the Chair, and kept them all ſhut up, till they had voted: That the King ſhould come to *London*, in order to treat with the two Houſes in Perſon.

The Mayor and Aldermen having Notice of this Riot, in all Haſte ſent the two Sheriffs of the City to ſuppreſs the Mobb. The Sheriffs having cauſed ſome Companies of the Train-Bands to take their Arms, marched as faſt as poſſible to *Weſtminſter-hall*, and having diſperſed the Mobb, conducted the Speaker to his own Houſe. The Reſentment which he expreſſed of the Affront, gave many occaſion to ſay, that he intended to leave the Houſe: But though theſe Reports were not without ſome Foundation, yet two Days after, he declared to ſome Members of the Houſe, in St. *Margaret*'s Church, that theſe Reports were falſe and

1647. ſcandalous, and that he would rather die in the Chair, than baſely deſert the Office, with which he had been honoured.

THAT Proteſtation made People believe, that his Eſcape, which happened the next Day, did not proceed ſo much from his own free Will, as from the Fear he had of the Army: And indeed the Army had threatened to give in an Accuſation againſt him, of having robbed the Publick of conſiderable Sums of Money, if he did not comply with their Sentiment in the preſent Juncture of Affairs. Indeed, a Letter addreſſed to him without Subſcription had been intercepted, the two laſt Lines of which were known to be the Hand-writing of *Ruſhworth*, the Army's Secretary, intreating the Speaker to come there in all Haſte, with as many of his Friends as poſſibly he could bring with him. He accordingly went, and notwithſtanding that the two Houſes had met peaceably ſince the late Tumult, and that the Commiſſioners of the Militia, of which Major General *Maſſy* had the chief Command, had cauſed to be proclaimed in the City and Suburbs, and poſted up in all the publick Places: That if any Perſons ſhould be ſo inſolent, as to diſturb the Meetings of the two Houſes, the Guards were to impriſon them, and put to the Sword all ſuch as reſiſted: Notwithſtanding, I ſay, that Order, the Earl of *Mancheſter* and *William Lenthall*, the Speakers of the two Houſes, the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Saliſbury*, *Warwick* and *Kent*, the Viſcount of *Say*, the Lords *Gray* of *Wark*, *Howard* of *Eſcrick*, *Wharton* and *Montague*, and about a hundred Members of the Houſe of Commons, fled to *Windſor*, where the Head Quarters of the Army was, deſiring to be taken under their Protection. *Lenthal*, before he went, left a Declaration for juſtifying his Eſcape, and grounded the Reaſon of his withdrawing upon the Diſorders that had happened, which having taken away all Liberty of voting from the Houſe; he ſhould have looked upon it as betraying the Office which the Commons of the Kingdom had intruſted him with, if he had offered them Ordinances extorted by Force, inſtead of the lawful Ordinances of the Houſe. *Henry Pelham*, a Lawyer, was choſen in his Place, the eleven Members, who had withdrawn, were recalled, and the Houſe of Lords having choſen the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham* for their Speaker, both Houſes appointed a Committee of Safety, and gave them Power to raiſe Men, and to name Generals and other Officers for commanding them, and to join with the City Militia for the Defence of the Parliament and City.

AT the ſame time it was ordered, that the Militia ſhould guard all the Out-works, and that all that were capable of carrying Arms ſhould appear in St. *James*'s Park, in order to ſerve in ſuch Stations as ſhould be aſſigned them. The City being thus put in a Poſture of Defence, made a Declaration, which the two Houſes ordered to be publiſhed. The Mayor, Aldermen, and all the Common-Council of the City, therein ſolemnly proteſted, " That there was nothing they more earneſtly " wiſhed for, than to ſee the King at full Liberty, and in a Condition " to treat with Honour, and without Conſtraint, with the Parliaments " of the two Kingdoms, about the Propoſitions that ſhould be preſent- " ed to him. For they plainly ſaw, that whilſt his Majeſty was invi- " roned by an Army, and under their Power, he can neither freely " grant, nor will there be Hopes of injoying what he grants in ſuch a " Condition. Therefore they were reſolved inviolably to adhere to the " Parliament, hoping that all good Subjects, who are touched with any

*A Declaration publiſhed by the City of* London.

" Senſe

" Senſe of that Duty and Allegiance, which, by the Law of God and " Man, they owe unto their King, will unanimouſly join with them " therein. They likewiſe with Grief declared, that ever ſince the Army " had ſurprized the King in the Caſtle of *Holmby*, the Privileges of Par- " liament have been violated, even to force the Houſe of Commons to " expel eleven of their Members, not only againſt the Opinion of the " Houſe, but likewiſe againſt the Laws of the Kingdom. That there- " fore they humbly intreated, that the Houſe of Commons would be " pleaſed not only to recall the eleven Members, but all the others alſo, " whom the Factions of the Army had forced to withdraw. Laſtly, " they deſired, that it might be known to all the World, that the Rea- " ſon why the Army had picked a Quarrel with them, was only, be- " cauſe they neither could nor would ſubmit the Militia of the City to " be altered at the Will of the Army, after it had been ſettled in the " Hands of ſuch as were intruſted therewith for one whole Year, when " there was a full and free Parliament." 1647.

All the Companies of the City expreſſed a great deal of Zeal for its Intereſt, and a great Number, as well of the Officers and Soldiers of the Militia, and of the auxiliary Troops, as of the Apprentices, Sea-men, and Water-men, who make a great Body at *London*, joined in a League, and ingaged to make Uſe of all their Power, for having the King brought ſpeedily to *London*, that he may there confirm all that he had granted to the two Houſes, and for treating with them in all Freedom and Safety, about the Differences that remained to be decided. They alſo bound themſelves with an Oath to maintain all the Articles of the Covenant between the two Nations, and not to ſtand neutral in that Quarrel, which was God's and the King's, and for the Good and Advantage of the Kingdom. Then they applied themſelves to the Common-Council of the City, deſiring that the League might be preſented to the two Houſes, and that the whole Body of the City might unanimouſly join therein. But the two Houſes did not approve of that League. On the other Hand, the Army had a great many Partiſans in the City. For beſides that the Inhabitants of *Southwark* preſented a Petition to the Common-Council, intreating, " That they might be freed from going forth in a hoſtile " Manner under any Command, but ſuch as ſhould be approved of, by " the Generality of that Borough, and that they might be left to defend " themſelves, and ſtand on their own Guard." At the ſame time there was a very great Concourſe of People of all Sorts and Conditions in *Guild-hall* Yard, in order to petition the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council to find out ſome Expedient for making up the Difference with the Army. And as theſe People were preſſing for an Audience, General *Pointz*, with ſome other Officers of the Militia, came into the Yard amongſt the Petitioners, and with their drawn Swords, very unſeaſonably, wounded many of them, and forced the reſt to fly.

The Army having heard what had paſſed both in the Parliament and City, ſince the 26th of *July*, and finding that every Thing had been done there, as they could have wiſhed, for inabling them to bring their Deſigns to Light, the General cauſed the Army to be drawn together from their different Quarters, and gave Orders for marching towards *London*. He wrote a very ſharp Letter to the Mayor and Aldermen, upbraiding them with the Affront that had been put upon the two Houſes, and that their Guards not only did not endeavour to repel that Violence, but that ſome of their Common-Council-Men had incouraged the Mutineers

1647. tineers and fomented the Sedition. He complained of their Declaration, and of the League of the Inhabitants, whereof he let their Deputies ſee the Copies that had been ſent him. He concluded with telling them, that they were guilty of the new War that was breaking out, and which would again involve the Kingdom into Confuſion and Blood. That it was what ſome factious Spirits, both in the Parliament and City, had for a long Time been contriving, as the Army had diſcovered, and given Account of it in their Remonſtrances. Laſtly, that the Intereſt of the two Houſes being the ſame with that of the Army, ſince they had acknowledged it to them; and that they had made it appear they were ſo well ſatisfied with the Fidelity of the Army, that they had put all the Forces of the Kingdom under the Command of the General, that General was reſolved to protect them, and revenge the Injuries that had been done them.

THE Army being drawn up in order of Battle, received the fugitive Lords and Commons, who approved of the Declaration, juſtifying the Proceedings of the Army, and their Reſolution of marching to *London*. Beſides, they paſſed an Act to live and die with the Army. In that Declaration the Council of War had made a long Recital of all that had paſſed between the Army and the two Houſes, ſince it had begun to negotiate by Petition, in which it had deſired the Concurrence of the City; and had taken Notice of the wonderful Providence of God, in the Preſervation of the Army, in order to oppoſe the pernicious Deſigns which it had foreſeen at a great Diſtance, and which were now breaking out. Then it was obſerved, that the eleven Members, and their Adherents, againſt whom the Army had given in its Complaints, had cauſed the Militia to be changed, in order to put it in the Hands of their Partiſans; and that a Mayor and the Common-Council of the City had been choſen of Men, who were in the ſame Intereſt with thoſe who had ſtirred up the Tumults, and fomented the Miſunderſtanding between the Parliament and the Army, the diſbanding of which they had ſo much preſſed for. The Council of War having ſet forth all theſe Things, aſſumed to themſelves the ſupreme Power, paſſed Sentence upon the Members of the two Houſes, and ſignified their Thoughts plainly, upon the Choice of Perſons, in whom they had an intire Confidence, and by whoſe Advice they intended to manage the important Affairs of State. The ſame Council condemned the Election of the new Speakers, and declared void all the Ordinances made ſince the 26th of *July*, there not having been that Day, nor ſince any lawful Meeting of Parliament, which ought not to be confounded with the few Lords and Gentlemen that had continued at *Weſtminſter*.

IT is a Thing well worth our Obſervation to find, that when the moſt part of the Houſe of Peers, and a great Number of the moſt conſiderable Members of the Houſe of Commons, retired to the King at *York*, they were exclaimed againſt, as Deſerters, and now, thoſe who continued at *Weſtminſter* are treated in the ſame Manner, when the true Deſerters paſs for the moſt honeſt and beſt affected Men. Thus it is ſaid in the Holy Scripture, that the Paths of the wicked are crooked, becauſe being gone out of the ſtraight Way of Reaſon and Juſtice, they uſe a thouſand Shifts; and what they eſtabliſh at one time, they overturn at another, in order to renew it again upon the firſt Occaſion. In like manner, they commend and find Fault with the ſame Things, according to their Paſſions, and the different Relation they have to their Affairs.

The two Houſes, in order to divert the March of the Army, wrote to the General, that they had all the Reaſon in the World to be ſatisfied with the City, with Reſpect to what paſſed the 26th, becauſe it had taken very good Care that the like may not happen any more for the future. The Common-Council likewiſe wrote thrice for their Part, with great Reſpect, and ſent new Deputies to appeaſe the Army. The Army was ſo far from having any Regard to thoſe Letters, that they ſcorned to anſwer them. On the contrary, the General in all Haſte ſent a Detachment, which took Poſſeſſion of one of the three Block-Houſes at *Graveſend*. He ſent Colonel *Rainſborough* with a Brigade to the Aſſiſtance of the Inhabitants of *Southwark*, who had put themſelves under the Protection of the Army, and deſerted the Intereſt of the City. And becauſe there had been ſome auxiliary Troops raiſed in the City, the General, by his own Authority, cauſed ſome Militia to be raiſed in the Counties of *Kent*, *Eſſex*, and *Surry*, but he had no Occaſion to make uſe of them. For the City ſubmitted to the Will of the Army; the Diviſions, which the General and the other Leading-Men had ſown there, the Number of their Partiſans, the different Sects, each of which was ſeeking after different Things, allayed its Reſentment, and thus all of a ſudden it was diſheartened, and had not the Courage to defend itſelf; though if *London* had been united, as it ought to be, it might have more boldly ſent the ſame Meſſage to *Fairfax*, that the City of *Florence* ſent by *Capponi*, a *Florentine*, to a great Prince, who was marching at the Head of a victorious Army, *If you beat your Drums, we will ring our Bells.* 1647.

On the 5th of *Auguſt* ſix Aldermen and ſix Common Council-Men were ſent to the General, humbly to beg of him, that he would be pleaſed to exempt the City from being pillaged. The General made no other Anſwer, but "That he would have all the Forts from *Tyburn* to "the River to be delivered immediately to him: That the City muſt "recall their Declaration, and quit the Pretenſion which they fanſied "they had over the Militia: That they muſt diſband their Troops, and "receive into the Lines ſuch Detachments of Horſe and Foot as he "ſhould judge neceſſary to poſt there for the Security of the two Houſes. "Laſtly, That the eleven Members be arreſted as ſoon as poſſible, as "alſo General *Pointz*." All that was granted, and executed; ſo that the ſame Day the Militia quitted all the Forts, and drew off the Cannon. The Declaration was recalled, and the Troops diſbanded. As for the eleven Members and *Pointz*, they had taken Care to ſecure themſelves the beſt Way they could. At the ſame time, the General wrote to the Mayor and Aldermen, "That having advanced towards *London* with "the Army, in order to reſtore the fugitive Members of both Houſes to "the Exerciſe of their Offices with Honour and Safety, he was glad to "find their ready Compliance with the Demands of the Army; and he "aſſured them, that the City ſhould ſuffer no Violence, nor any of its "Inhabitants the leaſt Prejudice from the Army." He immediately ſent Colonel *Hammond*, with two Regiments of Horſe, and three of Foot, to take Poſſeſſion of the Forts, and cauſed a Prohibition to be publiſhed, that no Soldier ſhould enter the City, without expreſs Orders, upon Pain of Death.

The next Morning *Cromwell* had Orders to go and poſt Guards about the Palace of *Weſtminſter*. He made the Troops to be drawn up in two

1647. Ranks in the *Palace-yard*, and from thence through the Hall, up to the Doors of the two Houſes. Then the General, with two Regiments of Horſe, and two of Foot, marched in order to convoy the fugitive Members of both Houſes, who were waiting him in a Body, in the Earl of *Holland*'s Houſe near *Kenſington*. He was met in *Hyde-Park* by the Mayor and Aldermen, who congratulated him upon the good Agreement between the Army and the City. The Common-Council received him at *Charing-Croſs*, which had eſcaped the Fury of the firſt Reformation, but was pulled down by the new Reformers. It had been built of Jaſper and Porphyry by King *Edward* I. in Honour of Queen *Eleanore*, his Wife, the Daughter of *Ferdinand* III. King of *Caſtile*, a Princeſs worthy of eternal Memory. That great Queen having followed the King, her Huſband, into the Holy Land, it happened that in a Battle, where he was in Perſon, a *Moor* wounded that Prince with a poiſoned Arrow. And as the Phyſicians could not clear the Venom from the Wound with all their Remedies, ſhe applied one, made up of Love and Piety, which ſucceeded. For, every Morning faſting, ſhe licked the King's Wound, and at laſt having, by that Means, ſucked out all the poiſonous Humour, ſhe cured him by an admirable conjugal Love.

THE General being come to *New Palace-yard*, he alighted from his Horſe at the Houſe of Sir *Abraham Williams*, and the Members paſſed betwixt the two Ranks of Soldiers up to their Houſes, where, without the leaſt Diſpute, the Earl of *Mancheſter* placed himſelf in the Speaker's Chair of the Houſe of Lords, and *William Lenthall* ſate down in the Speaker's Chair of the Houſe of Commons, which they had been expelled, for having deſerted them.

AFTER the Members of the two Houſes had taken their Places, General *Fairfax* was made Conſtable of the Tower of *London*. And as in that Quality he could diſpoſe of the Lieutenancy, he turned out Colonel *Weſt*, (though the City, when he went to take Poſſeſſion of the Tower, had earneſtly begged of him to continue him) and appointed Colonel *Tichburn* to be Lieutenant Governor. Then the two Houſes ordered the 12th of the Month to be obſerved as a Day of Thankſgiving, for acknowledging God's Goodneſs in reſtoring the Members of the two Houſes to their former Liberty, and the Injoyment of their Privileges, without Blood-ſhed. Afterwards they ſent to thank the General for the good Services he had done the Kingdom, and particularly for that which he had juſt now done them, with ſo much Affection and Courage. The Earl of *Mancheſter* made a Speech to him in the Houſe of Lords; and in the Houſe of Commons a Chair was placed for him, wherein being ſeated, he heard his Panegyrick pronounced by the Speaker of the Houſe. And that the Soldiery might likewiſe partake of the Bounty and Joy of that Day, a Month's Pay was ordered them as a Gratuity, beſides their ordinary Pay. A Committee was likewiſe appointed, for diſcovering the Authors of the late Tumults, which tended to renew the War; and the Houſe of Peers, which conſiſted but of fourteen Lords, which the Army had brought back, and of the Earl of *Pembroke*, who were all of one Mind, declared void all Ordinances made from the 26th of *July* to the 6th of *Auguſt*. However, that Affair did not paſs in the Houſe of Commons, without great Difficulty, which made the Army reſolve to garble it a ſecond Time, more ſtrictly than formerly, as we ſhall ſee by and by.

ON

On *Saturday*, the 7th of *Auguſt*, a memorable Day, the whole Army marched through the City of *London* in Triumph, every Soldier having a Branch of Laurel in his Hat. The General led the Van, being ſurrounded with his Life-guards, who were finely dreſt, and well-mounted, and thoſe next his Perſon bare-headed. *Skippon* led the Main-Body, and *Cromwell* brought up the Rear. The Artillery cloſed the March, which laſted from Nine a-Clock in the Morning till Eight at Night; the Head Quarters were at *Putney*, and the Army incamped in *Surry*, *Kent*, and *Eſſex*. Thoſe who ſaw this Tragi-comedy acted, without being biaſſed to any Party, beheld how theſe People, who had driven the King both from the Parliament and City; who had made War againſt him, with all Manner of Hoſtility; who had defeated him by the Force of Arms, and who at laſt had confined him, as a Priſoner, in one of his own Houſes, opened their Gates, laid down their Arms, made ſhameful Submiſſions, and gave honourable Receptions to their own Servants, and to thoſe, whom they had taken from the Plough, and ſelling Old Shoes, to arm them againſt their lawful Sovereign. Theſe fooliſh Men readily conſented to have thoſe, who were receiving their Pay, to be their Maſters. They put them upon the Throne; they kiſſed the Chains, which they themſelves had hammered. They made the Day on which they were inſlaved, a feſtival Day. In fine having, as the Scripture ſayeth, *rejected the Fig-tree with its Sweetneſs and good Fruit, they conſented that the Bramble and Thorn ſhould reign over them.* 1647.

*The End of the Seventh* BOOK.

---

THE

# THE HISTORY OF THE TROUBLES OF GREAT-BRITAIN.

## BOOK VIII.

DURING all thoſe Tranſactions, the King was in the Power of the Army, who caus'd him to be ſo well guarded, that, according as they chang'd Quarters, they made him change Houſes, ſometimes lodging him in one of his own, and ſometimes in one of the Nobility's that happened to be neareſt them. Where-ever he paſſed, the People ran to ſee him, and ſtrew'd the Road with Flowers and Branches of Trees, in that manner expreſſing both their Joy and Reſpect. It ſeem'd that they were aſham'd to appear before his Majeſty with empty Hands, and they reproach'd one another with their Want of Gratitude. There were even ſome Women, who drew the Rings off their Fingers, in order to make him a Preſent of them. The King thanked them all, with that Sweetneſs that was natural to him, and received with as good a Grace thoſe little Marks of their Affection, as an Emperor heretofore received that of a Peaſant, who having no other thing to offer him, filled his Hands with Water, and threw it on the Way as that Prince was paſſing. His Majeſty's Satisfaction was ſo much the greater, that he perceived, that the Artifices which had been uſed for rendering him odious, and giving the People bad Impreſſions of his Conduct, in making them believe, that he would not fail to employ the Force of Arms, for revenging the 1647.

1647. Injuries they had done him; on the contrary, ſerv'd rather to imprint in them Reſpect for his Perſon, ſeeing them almoſt all kneeling before him, in order to kiſs his Hand, with an Eagerneſs not to be expreſs'd. Beſides, the Reſpect which People naturally have for their Sovereigns, is always ſo deeply rooted in their Hearts, that the Malice of Men can hardly deface it. They may indeed raiſe Jealouſies, but the Preſence of the Prince removes them; and the Power of the Divine Character which they carry on their Foreheads, makes all thoſe falſe Fears, of which the People are ſo ſuſceptible, and with which they are likewiſe very often alarm'd, vaniſh.

THE Army treated the King very civilly, and permitted all Sorts of Perſons to ſee him. They even conſented, that his Majeſty might have two of his Chaplains in Ordinary to attend him; which the Parliament never would grant him. They likewiſe allowed, that he might have the Comfort of ſeeing his Children, for which the General himſelf ſollicited the Army, and gave his Promiſe to the two Houſes, that the Princes ſhould return to *London*.

THE Queen and the Prince of *Wales* hearing that the King was kindly uſed, both by the Soldiers and the Officers of the Army, ſince they had brought him from the Caſtle of *Holmby*, ſent into *England* Sir *Edward Ford*, *Ireton*'s Brother-in-Law, and Mr. *Denham*, who, during his Impriſonment, had contracted a particular Friendſhip with *Hugh Peters*, the moſt zealous of all the Independent Miniſters, in order to ſound the Intentions of the Army, and find out if the Time was favourable for mediating an Accommodation between his Majeſty and the Army. It is true, that in theſe Beginnings there was great Reaſon to expect it; becauſe the King not having ſo particularly oblig'd any of the Independent Party, as he had favour'd many of the Presbyterians, the Independents might expect more eaſily to get good Conditions from his Majeſty, than the Presbyterians, who had ſhewed themſelves ſo ungrateful, and unworthy of the Favours they had already received. There was yet more, for the Presbyterians having begun the War, under ſpecious Pretences of procuring all manner of Advantages to the King, according to their wonted Practice, they likewiſe proteſted to make him the moſt glorious Prince that ever ruled over *Great-Britain*. They had debauch'd a great many well-affected People, and brought about deep and difficult Deſigns. But the Maſk was taken off, the Cheat was diſcover'd, and all the World ſaw very well then, that they had never ſought after any thing but their own Intereſts. And as, by an uſual Viciſſitude of all human Affairs, the Power was ſo far from being then in their Hands, that there was ſcarce any body that either courted or feared them: So the Independents, who had brought them low, could never have thought on ſo fair and prudent an Expedient for eſtabliſhing themſelves, as in performing the things which the Presbyterians had promis'd. It was their true Intereſt to reſtore both the King and the People to their antient and lawful Rights, according to the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom. For by that Means they infallibly gain'd the Favour of both Parties, and might have promiſed themſelves the Good-will of the People, and the King's Confidence.

THESE Conſiderations obliged the Queen and the Prince of *Wales* to ſend once more into *England*, ſome Perſons, who were thought by every body to have more Credit with their Maſters than the two firſt Meſſengers

gers had. They employ'd in this ſecond Meſſage, Sir *John Berkeley*, who had been Governor of *Exeter*, who was very ſoon follow'd by *John Aſhburnham*, who had likewiſe done Services conſiderable enough to make him be regarded by his Majeſty. *Berkeley* having taken Shipping at *Dieppe*, landed at *Haſtings*, in the County of *Suſſex*. It was near that Place, that *William* the Conqueror having landed his Troops at *Pevenſey*, cauſed his Ships to be ſet on Fire, in order to give his Soldiers to underſtand, that they muſt either vanquiſh or die, and that there was no Safety to be expected but in getting the Victory over their Enemies. And having drawn up his Army in Order of Battle, upon a Plain, he fought with ſo much good Luck, that he defeated King *Harold* in ſuch a Manner, that the End of that Battle was alſo the End of the *Saxon* Monarchy. 1647.

*BERKELEY* going ſtrait from thence to *London*, met upon the Road Sir *Allen Apſley*, who had been his Lieutenant in *Exeter*. He had been ſent by *Cromwell*, and ſome other Officers of the Army, to wait upon *Berkeley*, and deliver to him ſome Letters and a Cypher. By theſe Letters they intreated *Berkeley* to offer their Services to the Queen and Prince of *Wales*, and that they intreated them not to condemn them altogether, but to ſuſpend their Judgment a little, and put off forming it till they ſhould ſee what might happen, rather than to judge of things by what is paſt, ſince they had already given Proofs of the Sincerity of their Conduct, hoping ſtill to give much greater in time. They added, that after he had done them this good Office, he might come himſelf to *England*, to be Witneſs to all their Proceedings. *Berkeley* took this Meeting for a Token that his Journey would prove ſucceſsful, ſince the Officers of the Army had prevented the Queen's Deſires, in their demanding what he was going to endeavour to obtain of them, by her Majeſty's Order.

*BERKELEY* having diſcourſed with ſome of the Royal Party at *London*, went to the Head Quarters of the Army, which were at *Reading*, where he found *Ford* and *Denham*, who told him, "That the "King had been brought from the Caſtle of *Holmby* againſt his Will: "That he would by no means go to the Army, tho' the Officers had "earneſtly intreated him to go: That he had conſented to the Order "of the two Houſes for his going to *Richmond*, where he would have "been out of the Power of the Army, who had ſtrongly oppos'd it, "without having been able to make the King alter his Reſolution, "'till they had forc'd the two Houſes to recal the Order. That he "ſtill had a mind to go to *Windſor*, contrary to the Opinion of the "Army, who not being able to diſſuade him from it, forc'd him to "alter his Mind, and ſo much the more, becauſe his Majeſty would "not conſent to ſee the Army in paſſing. In ſhort, that the Army was "perſuaded, that the King gave Ear to ſome Propoſals, which the Preſ-"byterian Party made him under-hand, and that his Intention was "certainly to oblige the Parliament to come to an open Rupture with "the Army: That *Ireton* having ſmelt it out, had told the King very "bluntly, *Sir, You have a Deſign to make yourſelf Umpire betwixt us "and the Parliament, and we intend to perform that Office betwixt your "Majeſty and them.*"

ASSOON as *Cromwell* had heard that *Berkeley* was come to *Reading*, he ſent an Officer to make his Excuſe for not being able to wait upon him before

1647. before ten o' Clock at Night, becauſe he was ingag'd 'till that Hour, in a Conference with the Commiſſioners of the Parliament. He did not fail to go at that Hour to *Berkeley*'s Lodgings, acompany'd by Colonel *Rainſborough* and Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, where, after ſome mutual Compliments had paſs'd, *Berkeley* let him ſee his Inſtructions, which were; "That he might aſſure the Officers of the Army, that the Queen and "the Prince of *Wales* bore no Hatred againſt them, nor had they any "particular Friendſhip for the Presbyterians: That then he ſhould do "his utmoſt to perſuade the King to come to an Agreement with the "Officers of the Army, ſo far as his Conſcience and Honour would "permit him; and laſtly, that he ſhould likewiſe perſuade them, not "to preſs his Majeſty to do any thing that was incompatible with his "Conſcience and Honour." *Cromwell* anſwer'd, "That whatever Opi-"nion People might have of them, it ſhould be ſeen, that in all their "Conduct, they had never had any other Intereſt that concern'd them "in particular, but that of being able to live as faithful and loyal Sub-"jects ought to do, however, in preſerving ſtill the Liberty of their "Conſciences." He added, "That he did not believe that any Perſon "could be ſure of his Life or Goods, if the Royal Authority was not "reſtor'd, as the Army had very well explain'd themſelves in the Pro-"poſitions which they had lately caus'd to be preſented to the Parliament, "wherein they had comprehended as well the Intereſts of thoſe who "were ingag'd in the Royal Party, as of thoſe who had follow'd that "of the Independents or Presbyterians, as much as thoſe different Inte-"reſts could allow of."

THE next Day *Berkeley*, by the Advice of *Cromwell*, paid a Viſit to *Fairfax*, and got Liberty from him to go to ſee his Majeſty, who was then at *Caverſham*. The King having ſeen *Berkeley*'s Letters and Inſtructions, told him plainly, that he diſtruſted the whole Army; his Majeſty excepting only from that Generality one Officer, named *Huntington*. The Reaſon of the King's Diffidence was, that the Officers were all obſtinate, in not receiving any Favour from his Majeſty. He had good Reaſon, not eaſily to truſt Men, whoſe Hands were ſtill ſtain'd with the Blood of his faithful Subjects, which they had ſpilt. But it was fitting wiſely to diſſemble, whilſt his Majeſty was in their Power, that he might the more eaſily and quickly get out of their Hands. For which End, *Berkeley*, among other Expedients, propos'd to him, to ſatisfy *Peters*'s Ambition, in allowing him to preach before his Majeſty, and to give the Officers of the Army free Acceſs to his Perſon, and, above all, to gain the Friendſhip of the moſt active of the Agitators, who then had really the greateſt Aſcendant over the Officers. But the King did not approve of that Advice: Which made *Berkeley* earneſtly wiſh for *Aſhburnham*'s ſpeedy coming, believing that he might, with a better Grace and more Succeſs, lay before his Majeſty the Things that concern'd his Service, than he had done.

IN the mean time, by the Means of Major *Huntington*, he got intimately acquainted with two of the beſt-affected Officers of the Army, who, in the Conferences he had with them, aſſur'd him, "That all the "Troops had a very great Inclination to come to an Agreement with "the King; and that if *Cromwell* and *Ireton* had other Thoughts, they "were great Diſſemblers. That at leaſt they durſt not open their Minds "to the contrary, becauſe they ſaw very well, that the Army was wholly "intent upon an Accommodation, and that it would eaſily be diſcover'd,

"if

" if they had other Deſigns; and to bring it about, many of the Agita- 1647.
" tors offer'd their Aſſiſtance." *Berkeley* being pleas'd with the Account they gave him of the Diſpoſition of the Army, told them, " That he " foreſaw ſome Difficulties which might ſpoil all; and that, perhaps, " the Army might preſs the King to grant them, not only the Liberty " of Conſcience, but likewiſe a total Alteration of the Eccleſiaſtical " Government, which, indeed, he did not believe could be done. And " that not content with having ſome Lords of the Court remov'd, they " would have both them and their Families abſolutely ruin'd; to which " his Majeſty would hardly conſent. Laſtly, That, perhaps, the Army " would alſo be obſtinately bent upon having, not only his Majeſty, but " likewiſe his Poſterity, ſtripp'd of all Power that belong'd to him " over the Militia, which was the brighteſt Gem in the Crown." Theſe Officers anſwer'd him, " That they could aſſure him, that the " Army had not the leaſt Thought of ſpeaking of thoſe Things to the " King, and that *Ireton* had drawn up ſome Propoſitions to be preſented " to his Majeſty, which, without Doubt, would be approved of by the " whole Army; That theſe Propoſitions contain'd not ſo much as one " of the Things which they were afraid to have found in them; That " if the King accepted them as they were, there would be nothing " more to do, but to ſing *Te Deum*, for the Re-eſtabliſhment of the " Peace of the Kingdom: But it concern'd the King, and all his " faithful Servants, that his Majeſty let not ſlip ſo fair an Opportunity " for getting out of ſo many Troubles; becauſe the Army, who very " often alter their Reſolutions, perhaps may likewiſe alter their Deſign, " if the Matters in Queſtion ſhould be any longer delay'd."

*BERKELEY* ask'd if they could let him ſee the Propoſitions. The Officers anſwer'd him, That he ſhould ſee them immediately, if he pleas'd, and carry'd him forthwith to *Ireton*, who not only caus'd them to be read to him, but, at his Deſire, ſtruck out whole Articles of them, and likewiſe ſoften'd others, becauſe he found them a little too hard, and that he thought they might ſhock his Majeſty, as there was ſome Reaſon to apprehend it; for, among other Things, it was therein propos'd, that, whatever two ſubſequent Seſſions of Parliament ſhould ordain, ſhould have the Force of Law, though the King ſhould not give his Aſſent to it, which deſtroy'd his Majeſty's negative Voice. For which Reaſon, that Article was ſtruck out, as was likewiſe that for the Sale of the Lands belonging to the Biſhops and Chapters; though, ſhortly after, when the Army and Parliament join'd together, the Army got the Ordinance paſs'd. It was likewiſe therein demanded, that thoſe who had carry'd Arms againſt them, ſhould not poſſeſs any Office in the State during ten Years; but the ten Years were reduced to five. Beſides, there was an expreſs Article for aboliſhing Epiſcopacy; but the Propoſitions contain'd only, that the Power of it ſhould be limited, as it had been by the two Houſes the firſt of *Auguſt* 1641. *Berkeley* having earneſtly ſollicited *Ireton* to alter other two Articles, which excluded from the Indemnity ſeven Perſons that were not nam'd, and alſo declar'd all thoſe of the Royal Party incapable of ſitting in the next Seſſion of Parliament, as the original Propoſitions contain'd, which the Army had juſt preſented to the Commiſſioners of the two Houſes, of which thoſe that *Berkeley* had ſeen, were but an Abſtract. To the firſt of theſe Articles *Ireton* anſwer'd, " That thoſe of his Party having been victorous " by their Arms, if they did not make ſome remarkable Diſtinction " between them, and thoſe who had been ſubdued, who had commonly

1647. " the Blame of all publick Quarrels laid upon them, he himſelf, his " Relations, and even his Friends had ſo many Enemies, that they " would be accus'd every where of having betray'd their Party, and " preferr'd their own private Intereſt to every thing elſe, and even of " having ſought after it by Means altogether inconſiſtent with Honour." As to the other Article, he anſwer'd, " That he could not conceal the " Truth, that a Seſſion of Parliament, wherein thoſe of the royal " Party ſhould be the Majority, would fright him: But that if, the " Agreement being made, the royal Party and theirs ſhould join together " as ſincerely and cordially, as it would be neceſſary for them to do, " there would be nothing more eaſy, than to ſatisfy the King as to the " two Articles in Queſtion." Laſtly, he conjur'd *Berkeley* by all the Paſſion he had for his Majeſty's Quiet, " To do his utmoſt for getting " him quickly to conſent to theſe Propoſitions, that they may after- " wards be the more boldly preſented to the two Houſes, and by that " Means a happy End may be put to the many Troubles that were diſ- " tracting the Kingdom."

If *Ireton*, *Cromwell*'s Son-in-Law, expreſs'd ſo great a Concern for the King, and the Peace of the Kingdom, *Cromwell* expreſs'd yet more, and ſeem'd to exceed all the reſt of the Army in the Paſſion he diſcover'd, that all things might be decided, as much as poſſible, to the Satisfaction of every Body. Sometimes he complain'd, that the King did not deal freely enough with them, and that his Majeſty was too much wedded to certain Maxims that were too preciſe: Sometimes he blam'd *Ireton* for being ſo long about drawing up the Propoſitions, and for Want of Complaiſance for the King, ſeeming always to be afraid, that the Army would not continue long in the Affection they had for his Majeſty: And when *Berkeley* met him, as he was returning from *Caverſham*, where the King then was, *Cromwell* told him, " That he had but juſt now " ſeen the thing in the World, that had touch'd his Heart the moſt, " which was the Meeting of the King and his Children, which he could " not mention without ſhedding Tears." And then he added, " That " no Man had ever been ſo groſly miſtaken as he had been, in the bad " Opinion which he had formerly conceiv'd of the King, whom he now " knew to be the moſt upright and moſt religious of all the Men in his " three Kingdoms. That the Independents found themſelves infinitely " oblig'd to his Majeſty, that he had thought fit not to conſent to the " Propoſitions which were preſented to him by the Covenanters at " *Newcaſtle*, tho' it ſeem'd that his own Intereſt ought to have induc'd " him to accept them at that time, which would have quite ruin'd the " Independent Party." At laſt he ended his Diſcourſe with ſaying, " That he wiſh'd that God might never have Mercy upon him, if he " was not ſpeaking in the Sincerity of his Heart, and if he bore any ſecret " Malice to his Majeſty."

Cromwell's *Diſcourſe to Sir* Johnberkeley.

He was no ſooner gone, but *Berkeley* went to give the King an Account of what had paſs'd. But his Majeſty did not expreſs much Satisfaction in it, ſtill believing that thoſe Teſtimonies of ſo much Affection proceeded only from the Neceſſity, to which the Army ſaw themſelves reduc'd, of making their Court to him, as the Earl of *Lauderdale* and *Bamfield*, who ſaw his Majeſty very often then, endeavour'd to perſuade him, out of Favour to the Presbyterians of the two Kingdoms, who had plainly perceiv'd, that a good Underſtanding between the King and the Army could

could not but be fatal to them, and that it would ruin the Covenant, which they look'd upon as the *Palladium* of their Party. 1647.

Now, at the ſame time that the Diſpute between the Army and the Houſe of Commons, on Account of the eleven Members, was at the hotteſt, the Army march'd from *Reading* to *Bedford*, and the King, as formerly, taking the ſame Rout, was lodg'd with his uſual Guard at *Woburn*. It was there that *Berkeley* ſhew'd the King privately the Propoſitions of the Army, about eight Days before they were publickly preſented to his Majeſty. The King was very ill pleas'd with them, and ſaid, " That if it was true, that the Officers of the Army deſign'd to " come to an Agreement with him, they would not impoſe ſo hard and " unreaſonable Conditions upon him." *Berkeley* anſwer'd, " That as " for him, he ſhould not think that they were dealing ſincerely with " his Majeſty, if they demanded leſs than they had done, becauſe it was " not to be expected, that People, who having run ſo many Hazards in " a long War, and who had at laſt gain'd ſo great Advantages by their " Arms, would ever lay them down upon leſs Conditions, than thoſe " they had demanded of his Majeſty, as Matters ſtood. Beſides, perhaps " it never had been ſeen, that a Crown, ſo tottering as that of his Ma- " jeſty then was, had ever been ſettled by more gentle Means, than " thoſe which the Officers of the Army had propos'd to him." The King, who was of a contrary Opinion, reply'd, " That they could not " ſubſiſt without him, and therefore he hop'd, that in a ſhort time they " would be oblig'd to be ſatisfy'd with more reaſonable Conditions."

THEN he complain'd, " That they had excepted ſeven Perſons out " of the Act of Oblivion, That they had excluded all thoſe of his Party " from the next Seſſion of Parliament, and alſo, That the Army put off " ſo long giving an Anſwer to the Article concerning the Eccleſiaſtical " Government." To which *Berkeley* anſwer'd, " That after the " Agreement betwixt his Majeſty and the Army ſhould be concluded, " it would not be impoſſible for him to get them to abate of their Rigour " againſt private Perſons, whom they had not as yet nam'd; and when " the worſt comes to the worſt, after that his Majeſty ſhould be reſtor'd " to his Authority, it would be no hard Matter for him to maintain ſix " or ſeven Perſons beyond Sea, and even to maintain them in ſuch a " Manner, as that their Exile ſhould not be uneaſy to them, till a fa- " vourable Opportunity. That it would be an Advantage to all his " Party, and to his Majeſty in particular, not to be preſent in the next " Seſſion of Parliament, becauſe being oblig'd to lay on heavy Taxes " upon the whole Kingdom, for the Payment of the publick Debts, " he would gain the Hatred of all the People. In ſhort, as to what " concern'd the Eccleſiaſtical Government, its Security was in the " Laws, which continu'd ſtill in Force; and that it was an Happineſs " that could not have been expected, to ſee, that thoſe who had been " ſo much againſt that Government, were ſilent, now that they were " Maſters of all." Theſe Anſwers ſeem'd to be ſufficient for perſuading the King, yet his Majeſty did not yield to them; on the contrary, in retiring, he repeated once more what he had formerly ſaid, " That in " a ſhort time the Army would be reduc'd to ſuch a Condition, as to " be very glad to make him more reaſonable Propoſitions, than any " they had made him hitherto.

*ASHBURNHAM,*

1647. *ASHBURNHAM*, who was to negotiate jointly with *Berkeley*, being come, and *Berkeley* having told him in what State Affairs were, he at firſt approv'd of all his Conduct: but after he had diſcours'd a long time with the King in private, he was of Opinion, that thoſe brutiſh Agitators, whom he look'd upon to be void of common Senſe, ought to be deſpis'd, and that Application muſt be made to the Officers only, who, without Doubt, would be able to bring the Army to Reaſon, and make them ſubmit to whatever they pleas'd, if they were once drawn in, and join'd in the ſame Intereſt with his Majeſty. *Aſhburnham* then having apply'd himſelf to the Officers only, he firſt contracted a Friendſhip with Colonel *Whaley*, who commanded the King's Guard; and then he got into *Cromwell*'s and *Ireton*'s Favour: So that almoſt every Day he did nothing but go and come between the King and the Head-Quarters. *Berkeley* accompany'd him ſometimes; but as it was *Aſhburnham* who was truſted with the Secret, ſo he was always the Spokeſman.

Now, whether by *Aſhburnham*'s Negotiations, or by the Meſſengers that went often to and fro on the Part of the Presbyterians of both Kingdoms, and of the City of *London*, who expreſs'd a great deal of Contempt for the Army, and a ſtrong Reſolution of putting them to a Non-plus, the King ſeem'd to be ſo much incourag'd, that when the Propoſitions of the Army were in a ſolemn Manner preſented to him, and that his royal Conſent was with great Submiſſion and Sincerity ask'd, as far as can be judg'd of the Hearts of Men, the King receiv'd them with much Indifference, and it may even be ſaid, very ill; which very much ſurpriz'd *Ireton*, and the reſt of the Deputies of the Army, to whom his Majeſty always ſpoke with a great deal of Bitterneſs. He told them poſitively, "That he never would conſent that any Perſon ſhould "ſuffer on his Account; That nothing had ever griev'd him ſo much "in all his Life, as his having conſented to the Death of the Earl of "*Strafford*." In ſhort, he told them, "That he was abſolutely de-"termin'd, that the Propoſitions ſhould contain the Re-eſtabliſhment "of the Eccleſiaſtical Government according to the Laws." The Deputies anſwer'd, "That that was none of their Buſineſs, and that "they thought they had done enough both for themſelves and his Ma-"jeſty, in having paſs'd over that Article without making the leaſt "Mention of it, ſince he himſelf had acted in the ſame Manner in *Scot-*"*land*." The King reply'd, "That he believ'd God had forgiven him "that Sin." And then he often repeated, "That they could not "ſubſiſt without him, That they would come to Ruin, and that their "Deſtruction was inevitable, if he did not ſupport them with his "Authority, and eſpouſe their Intereſt."

THE Deputies, ſurpriz'd to hear the King ſpeak after that Manner, were going to withdraw; but *Berkeley* drew nigh his Majeſty, and whiſper'd in his Ear, that he ſpoke as if he was ſure of ſome conſiderable Aſſiſtance, which he had hitherto conceal'd from his Servants; that if it was ſo, it had been to be wiſh'd, that he had likewiſe conceal'd it from the Deputies of the Army. The King immediately recover'd himſelf, and, with a Grace and Eloquence intirely peculiar to him, endeavour'd to mend what he had ſaid; but it was too late, becauſe in the midſt of their Conference, *Rainsborough*, who, to tell the Truth, had no great Mind to come to an Accommodation, having ſtolen away, in all

all Haſte ran to the Army, which he prepoſſeſs'd, and maliciouſly exaſperated againſt the King. Which was the Cauſe, that when *Berkeley* went thither a little after, ſome of the Agitators came to him in great Paſſion, and ask'd him, " What Reaſon could have induc'd the King to " treat the Deputies of the Army ſo ill as he had done. " *Berkeley* told them, " That *Rainsborough* was in the wrong, that he had impos'd upon " the Army, and that he had related the things quite otherwiſe than they " had paſs'd. " And as he wanted to undeceive them, he deſir'd a Conference with *Ireton* and the other chief Officers; which having been inſtantly granted him, he ask'd them, " What Benefit could be expected " from the Propoſitions, in caſe that he ſhould perſuade the King to con- " ſent to them? " They anſwer'd, " That they would then preſent them " to the two Houſes. " To which *Berkeley* reply'd, " That he deſir'd " to be inform'd what they deſign'd to do, if the two Houſes ſhould reject " them. " They anſwer'd, " That that was puſhing them too far, and " that it would not be handſome in them, to tell what they would do in " that Caſe. " However, they gave a ſufficient Hint, that they were morally aſſur'd of getting the Parliament to conſent. *Rainsborough* ſeeing that *Berkeley* was not fully ſatisfy'd with that Anſwer, did not mince the Matter, but told him plainly, " That if the Parliament ſhould refuſe to " conſent to them, they would make them do it in Spite of their Teeth; " for which all the Leading Men that were preſent, commended him. 1647.

But the King, far from being come to a Reſolution, call'd a Council, which he had made up of Men learned in the Law, in order to give their Judgment upon the Propoſitions; tho' that Affair was of ſuch a Nature, as that the Reſolution ought to have been taken immediately, ſo as to come quickly to a Concluſion. In the mean time, there were a great many Men, who loſt no Time in labouring to make up the Differences between the Army and the Parliament. In ſhort, that Negotiation not having ſucceeded, the Army advanc'd towards *London*. The Head-Quarters were at *Windſor*, and the King lodg'd at *Stoke*. It was then that the Officers, who were beſt affected to the King, expreſs'd a great deal of Grief for the Averſeneſs which the King had to be reconcil'd with the Army; and it affected them the more, that they certainly expected to be very ſoon Maſters of *London*, which they were afraid might alter the good Will which the Army had for his Majeſty. Above two Days before the News was ſpread in the Army, all the chief Officers were aſſur'd that they ſhould be very ſoon Maſters of *London*. For which Reaſon *Cromwell* and *Ireton* diſpatch'd an Expreſs to *Berkeley* and *Aſhburnham*, to give them Notice of it; and that, ſince the King would not conſent to the Propoſitions, they might at leaſt perſuade him to write a Letter of Civility to the Army, before it ſhould be publickly known, that *London* was reſolv'd to ſubmit to them. The King's Council ſpent too much Time in concerting that Letter, with which both *Berkeley* and *Aſhburnham* were charg'd. They met on the Road ſome Meſſengers for haſtening them; but before they could get to *Sion*, the Deputies of the City were already come thither to make the Submiſſion of the City; ſo that the Letter, which contain'd a Diſowning of the late Tumults in *London*, and a Proteſtation that his Majeſty had never thought of returning thither by thoſe Means, was then too late. 'Tis true, the King had not the leaſt Knowledge of what was a doing, when his Majeſty ſign'd the Letter: But as it did not arrive, till the thing had been publick all over the Army, it loſt all its Grace, and was no more of any Uſe. However, the Officers of the Army did all that was in their Power, to keep the Army ſtill firm to the King's Intereſt. And when they re-

1647. turn'd Thanks to God for that happy and truly great Event of the Submiſſion of *London*, the Officers ſpoke to the Soldiers, and earneſtly exhorted them not to be puff'd up with vain Glory, and to continue ſtedfaſt to that Engagement they had with his Majeſty; and told them, that, above all, they muſt once more confirm the Propoſitions which had been preſented to him, which was ſolemnly done that very Inſtant.

THE Army having enter'd *London*, the King, without being brought near the City, was conducted to *Hampton-Court*, the ſtately Palace, which Cardinal *Wolſey* caus'd to be built, and which he afterwards gave to King *Henry* VIII. his Maſter. The Officers of the Army were then in too good an Underſtanding with the King, to make his Majeſty ſerve as an Addition to the Pomp of their Triumph, and, perhaps too, they were afraid that his Preſence in the City might occaſion ſome Tumult, that might have made that Day fatal. The Army had good Reaſon to be ſatisfy'd then with having him in their Power, and both the Parliament and City under their Subjection; for, after that, neither of the two acted any more, but according to the Orders and Inclination of the Army. They preſs'd hard upon the Houſe of Commons to conſent to the Bill of the Lords, which had declar'd void and abuſive all that had paſs'd in the two Houſes, ſince the 26th of *July* to the 6th of *Auguſt*. That Bill was preſented to them five different times, and they ſtill rejected it. The Party, that ſtood up for the Army in that Houſe, repreſented, "That they were all engag'd to live and die with the Army, (as "the Commons themſelves ſoon after join'd with them in that) and "that it was hard to pleaſe them otherwiſe than in paſſing the Bill, as the "Lords had plainly ſeen, that it was proper to do it: That, after all, "they might aſſure themſelves, that the Army would never put up the "Affront." They were anſwer'd, "That acting in that manner, was "properly appealing from the Parliament to the Army, and taking the "Liberty of Voting intirely away: In a Word, it was deſtroying the "Power of the two Houſes." To which they added, "That the "Tumult having been at an End on *Monday* the 26th of *July*, the City "took Care of their Security, in ſuch a manner, that their Meetings "were held the reſt of the Week, as peaceably as they could have wiſh'd: "But that though the Tumult had continued, it would be very Unbe-"coming in the Parliament, to be willing to have it thought, that they "had been forc'd; ſince it will always be preſum'd, that they are com-"pos'd of Men of Honour, who would rather loſe their Lives, than "fail in their Duty. Which was not without a Precedent; for it had "been ſeen, that when the King, follow'd by a great many Noblemen "and Gentlemen, came to the Houſe of Commons to demand the five "Members, and when the People flock'd in a tumultuous manner to the "Houſe of Lords to demand Juſtice upon the Earl of *Strafford*, the two "Houſes ſtill continu'd to vote, and decide the Affairs that came under "their Deliberation, without ever having it in their Thoughts to annul "their Votes." They likewiſe ſaid, "That it was a Thing of very dan-"gerous Conſequence, to cloke the Nullity of the Votes of the two Houſes, "under a Pretence that they had been forc'd; becauſe it might as well "be maintain'd, that the King had been forc'd to conſent to the Bill for "Triennial Parliaments, and to that for the ſuppreſſing of ſome Courts, "and likewiſe to many others; which, however, were look'd upon to "be very advantageous to the Publick Good: And if the King ſhould "ever recover his Authority, he might, upon the ſame Grounds, declare "void all that has been ordain'd by this Meeting of Parliament, and in

"the

" the ſame manner might ſhake the fundamental Laws of the State, ſuch 1647.
" as *Magna Charta*, for the Liberty of the Subjects, and *Charta de*
" *Foreſtis*, which the Kings his Predeceſſors did not confirm 'till they
" were forc'd to do it. In fine, they concluded, that the People ought
" then to be allow'd to judge of the Validity or Invalidity of their Ordi-
" nances: ſince it was acting contrary to all Reaſon and natural Equity,
" to oblige Men to obey them blindly, and yet to make their Obedi-
" ence criminal, whenever the Humour ſhould take the two Houſes to
" declare their Ordinances to have been void from the Beginning.

THE Speaker did not mind theſe Reaſons, but comply'd in every Thing with the Will of the Army, which was then the convincing, though not the ſatisfactory Reaſon. The Speaker, for that End, took a Letter out of his Pocket from the General, and the general Council of the Army, (it was then that the Council of War began to be ſo call'd) accompany'd with a Remonſtrance full of Threatnings againſt the Members that had continu'd in the Houſe during the Speaker's Abſence, whom they call'd Perfidious and Traytors, and vow'd, that if they were ſo bold as to take their Places there, before they had clear'd themſelves, and made it appear, that they had not conſented to the pretended Bills that had been paſs'd there, they would do themſelves Juſtice; and that it was in their Power, not to ſuffer them to be Judges in their own Cauſe, nor to be their Maſters, they, whom they might have treated as Priſoners of War, if they had thought fit to decide the Quarrel by Arms.

AT laſt this Medium was found out, that all the Ordinances, which the Army deſir'd to be repeal'd, ſhould be declar'd void, as having been extorted by Force, at a time when the two Houſes were, in a manner, beſieg'd, and Priſoners under the Power of a Multitude of ſeditious Men; provided, nevertheleſs, that none of thoſe, who had acted by Virtue of thoſe Ordinances, ſhould be moleſted, if it were not ſome, who had been convicted of having had a hand in the Sedition. But the Honour of the two Houſes would have been much better preſerv'd, if they had follow'd the Example of the Parliament which met the firſt Year of *Henry* VII. For that Prince having preſs'd the two Houſes to declare void all the Acts made under *Richard* III. they refus'd to do it, becauſe, ſaid they, by that Means, all ſuch as had obey'd, wou'd become Criminals, and there would alſo be a Pretence for puniſhing them: but, in order to extinguiſh the Memory of that cruel Parricide, they repeal'd them all.

THE Commiſſioners appointed for diſcovering the Authors of the late Tumults, were about it at the ſame time, but contrary to all the Forms of Juſtice. They had a particular Grudge againſt the Members of the two Houſes, who were of the Committee of Safety. It had been appointed, from the Time that the two Houſes, being threaten'd by the firſt Approach of the Army, were oblig'd to think of Means for defending themſelves againſt that Violence; and having been ſuppreſs'd, at the urgent Sollicitation of the Army, when they remov'd to a greater Diſtance from the City, it was renew'd as ſoon as the Army, having drawn nearer, threaten'd more boldly than before, both the City and Parliament. The Commiſſions that were deliver'd out then for the Security of both, were interpreted by the Army to have been done with Deſign to renew the War: So the Members who had ſign'd them, and thoſe of the Common Council

1647. Council of the City, who had acted in Concert with them, were dealt with as Criminals. Nevertheleſs, the Commiſſioners that were appointed for proſecuting them, produced no Witneſſes that were brought Face to Face with them, and againſt whom they might have excepted: But thoſe hired Evidences, having depos'd againſt ſome particular Men, whom they deſcrib'd by their Size, by the Colour of their Hair, and by that of their Cloaths, the Commiſſioners, in making their Report apply'd thoſe Marks to ſuch as the Army hated moſt. Thus, without any Form of Juſtice, ſome were expell'd the Houſe of Commons, and others were impeach'd of High Treaſon before the Houſe of Peers, and ſent Priſoners to the Tower. The Mayor and four Aldermen were likewiſe impriſon'd, and another Mayor was elected in his Place. Of the Houſe of Lords, the Earls of *Suffolk*, *Lincoln* and *Middleſex*, the Lords *Berkeley*, *Willoughby* of *Parham*, *Hudſon* and *Maynard*, were put in Cuſtody of the Black Rod. And the more to authoriſe the Impriſonment of the Members of the two Houſes, the Officers ſollicited Petitions from ſeveral Counties, againſt thoſe who had ſate there, whilſt the reſt were ſheltering themſelves in the Army.

'Tis hardly poſſible, in a great Aſſembly, let it be never ſo corrupted, but ſome may be found, who have the Courage to give their Opinion like honeſt Men, whom neither Fears nor Hopes can oblige to proſtitute their Honour and Conſcience; there were ſuch in the Houſe of Commons, who were for remitting thoſe Members to the *King's Bench*, where their Indictments would be enquired into by a Jury of twelve Men, their Peers and Equals, choſen in the Neighbourhood, according to the Laws of the Kingdom; and they likewiſe ſaid, That the Lords of the Upper Houſe were not, nor could be thought to be the Peers of the Commons. To which they added, That that Houſe was not a Court: That the Lords, of which it was compos'd, did not ſit there in the Quality of Judges; and that they had no Power to judge, without the King's ſpecial Commiſſion for that Purpoſe. They prov'd it thus: Firſt, when the King gives the Great Seal to the Lord Keeper, he likewiſe makes him Keeper of his Conſcience, with reſpect to Matters wherein there is room for making uſe of Equity, and abating the Rigour of the Laws in Civil Cauſes: And when his Majeſty gives his Letters Patent to the Judges of the *King's Bench* and *Common Pleas*, he, indeed, makes them Expounders and Adminiſtrators of the Laws: But the King reſerves always to himſelf the Power of pardoning and remitting the Rigour of the Law in criminal Caſes, without ever intruſting any Perſon with that Power. And though the Lord Keeper was generally Speaker of the Houſe of Lords, yet he was not a Member, becauſe of his Office. Neither did the other Judges ſit there as Members, but only as Aſſiſtants; ſo that there was not one Perſon in the Houſe of Lords, who, in the Quality of Peer, was veſted by the King with the Adminiſtration of Juſtice. In the ſecond Place, when a Peer of the Realm is to be try'd, the Peers alone cannot try him, becauſe on ſuch Occaſions, there muſt be a ſuperior Judge to preſide. It was on that Account, that the King gave a Commiſſion to the Earl of *Arundel* to be Lord High Steward, and in that Quality to ſit in the Houſe as Judge, when the Earl of *Strafford* was try'd; ſo that the other Peers aſſiſted there but as the Jury. By which Procedure 'tis very plain, that the King's Commiſſion made that Diſtinction, and gave Authority to the whole Trial. And as both Houſes paſs'd a Vote, whereby all the Subjects of the Kingdom were forbidden for the future to make any more Addreſſes to the King, they

they themſelves damm'd up the Fountain, from whence all their Power, which they had in the Quality of Judges, flow'd. 1647.

But the Noiſe of Arms ſilenc'd the Laws. It was reſolv'd, that the Lords, who remain'd in the Houſe of Peers, and were all ingag'd to live and die with the Army, ſhould try the impeach'd Members: And without Doubt, ſome Heads would have been cut off, if the News of the Diſcontent, and warlike Preparations of the *Scots*, had not oblig'd both the Army and the Parliament to think of ſomething elſe. What concern'd the Pay that was due to the Troops, and the Courſe that was neceſſary to be taken for their Subſiſtence, employ'd both the one and the other, the Affair being of ſo great Conſequence, that they were wholly taken up with it. On the ſeventeenth of *September* was read in the Houſe of Commons the Opinion of the Officers of the Council of War, as well about the Troops that ought to be maintain'd in *England*, as about thoſe which ought to be ſent to *Ireland*. They thought it neceſſary to ſend thither ſix thouſand Foot, and two thouſand four hundred Horſe, to be drawn out of the ſupernumerary Forces, and that in the Kingdom there ſhould be maintain'd ten thouſand Foot, and ſeven thouſand two hundred Horſe, with a thouſand Dragoons, at the Rate of two Shillings a Day for each Light Horſe-man, and Eight Pence for each Foot Soldier. Laſtly, that the Foot ſhould be diſtributed amongſt the Gariſons, but in ſuch a Manner, that upon any Occaſion, ſix thouſand might take the Field. Whereupon the Independents repreſented, That the Army had no Mind to go to *Ireland*; on the contrary, That they were reſolv'd not to go; ſo that, if it ſhould be propos'd to ſend thither, or disband a Part of them, they would believe, that the firſt Deſign of disbanding the whole was about to be put in Execution. That it was not a proper Time to give them any Cauſe of Diſcontent, ſince the Anſwer which the King had given to the Propoſitions of the two Houſes, tended to take the Army off from their Intereſt, and that the People in general had declar'd for the Army, and forſaken the Parliament. On the other hand, the Presbyterians ſaid, That the Reſolutions of the Army ought not to be a Rule to the two Houſes, and that ſome Remains of Authority muſt be left them, and not proſtitute themſelves ſo much, as to put it wholly in the Hands of the Council of War. That there was no Reaſon for maintaining more Troops, than what the two Houſes had reſolv'd ſhould be kept ſtanding; and what would be neceſſary for ſubſiſting the Armies then, as well in *England* as in *Ireland*, amounted but to fifty thouſand Pounds a Month, which was all that the People could reaſonably bear; whereas now it amounted to an hundred and five thouſand, ſix hundred and ſixty ſix Pounds, thirteen Shillings, and four Pence, which the Counties could never pay without being plunder'd, and laid quite waſte; ſo much the more ſtill, becauſe the Officers of the Army, whoſe Requeſts were become Laws, had been allow'd to levy the Sums themſelves, which were appointed for paying the whole Army. That in ſhort, the Pay that had been agreed to be paid, would not hinder the Soldiers from living at Diſcretion, nor from deſpiſing the Allowance given them upon their March; and that having Lodging, Coal, and Candle over and above their Pay, they would, with Impunity, oblige their Landlords to give them ſomething beſides, knowing well, that in the preſent Juncture of Affairs, the poor Country People durſt not ſo much as complain of it. At laſt they concluded, that if the Parliament deſign'd to govern by Force, their Army was too weak, if by the Laws of the Kingdom, it was too ſtrong.

1647. THE Independent Faction had the better of it, and caus'd the Militia of *London* to be chang'd. That of the Tower-Hamlets was disjoin'd from it, and put under the Command of the Commiſſary of the Stores. Commiſſioners were likewiſe appointed for regulating the Militia of *Weſtminſter*, and of the Suburbs of the City, and by a Vote of the two Houſes, all the Out-works thereof were demoliſh'd. And as the Parliament had done ſo many things for pleaſing the Army, the Council of War could do no leſs than turn an Officer out of it, for having ſaid with a loud Voice: *That henceforth no Authority would be ſeen in the Kingdom, but the Power of Arms:* And to declare, That they were very far from having the leaſt Thought of raiſing themſelves above the ſupreme Power of the State, which the Army were reſolv'd to ſupport with all their Might.

IN the mean time, the King continu'd his Correſpondence with the Army, and frequently ſent *Aſhburnham* to *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, who were very much taken up with Buſineſs, as well in the Parliament, which was full of Presbyterians, as in the Council of the Army, where thoſe fantaſtical Men, the *Levellers*, of whom we ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak by-and-by, were beginning to multiply. Every Body was jealous of *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, whom they ſuſpected of having a ſecret Treaty with the King. Thoſe Jealouſies were ſtill increas'd by the frequent Conferences which *Aſhburnham* had with them, and by the Report that was ſpread, of the great Advantages they were both to reap by that Treaty. It was ſaid in particular, that the King would make *Cromwell* Earl of *Eſſex*, and Captain of his Guards. So that the Agitators, who ſtill complain'd that *Cromwell* went on too ſlowly with the King, began to alter their Note, and to complain that he had got the Start of them, and left them too far behind. They likewiſe grumbled at the Familiarity which *Berkeley* and *Aſhburnham* had in the Army, and at the Acceſs they had at all Hours to *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, while they were ſhut out. In ſhort, that they did not underſtand why the Malignants were receiv'd with ſo much Freedom in the Army, nor why they were allow'd ſo much Liberty with the King. *Cromwell* declar'd boldly both in publick and private, that the Diſcourſe of the Agitators did not at all pleaſe him: And when he could carry any thing among them for the King's Advantage, he did not fail immediately to acquaint *Berkeley* and *Aſhburnham* with it, but privately; and found himſelf oblig'd to tell them at the ſame time, that if he was a Man of Honour and Honeſty, he had ſaid enough for explaining the Sincerity of his Intentions towards the King; and if he was not, he could ſay nothing more. Upon that Principle, he conjur'd them, by the Affection which they had for his Majeſty's Perſon and Service, to ſend him privately whatever they ſhould have to communicate to him, and not to come to his Quarters ſo often as they us'd to do, becauſe the Jealouſies that were conceiv'd of him, were gone ſo far, that he durſt no longer lodge there.

ABOUT three Weeks after the Army's triumphal Entry into *London*, the Commiſſioners of the *Scots* Covenanters oblig'd the two Houſes, jointly with them, to ſend once more to the King, in order to make the laſt Effort with his Majeſty, that he would be pleas'd to accept the Propoſitions of *Newcaſtle*. They were preſented to him with great Zeal and Affection, by the Commiſſioners of both Kingdoms, the ſeventh of *September*. The Army declar'd ſtrongly againſt that Reſolution, and all the King's Council were unanimouſly of Opinion, that it was dangerous for his Majeſty to cloſe with the Enemies of the Army, while his Perſon was ſo well guarded there,

there, and it was found better, to follow the Advice of the leading Men of the Independent Party. So the King perſiſted in refuſing to accept the Propoſitions of *Newcaſtle*, and deſir'd that he might treat in Perſon upon the Propoſitions of the Army, which he thought more reaſonable than thoſe which the Parliament of *England*, and the Covenanters of *Scotland*, had ſo often made him. 1647.

THE General Aſſembly, which had met at *Edinburgh* the 13th of *October*, being inform'd of the King's Anſwer, expreſs'd a great deal of Grief for it, as well as all the Commiſſioners, who found it to be of a very dangerous Conſequence to Religion. They thought fit to make a Remonſtrance about it to the Committee of the Parliament of the Kingdom. In the firſt Place, they took Notice, " That the King had ſaid, " that his Conſcience and Honour having hinder'd him from conſenting " to ſome of the Propoſitions, when they were preſented to him at " *Newcaſtle*, he could as little now conſent to others, which he found " more contrary and diſproportionable to the preſent State of his Affairs, " than they were then, inaſmuch as they ruin'd the chief Concerns of the " Army; ſo that the King made it appear, that he was more alienated " from the Covenant, and had a greater Averſion to it than before; " beſides, that he preferr'd the private Concerns of the Army, full of " Sectaries, to the publick Intereſts of the two Kingdoms, which they " had jointly repreſented to him, in the Propoſitions they had agreed " upon." In the ſecond Place, they took Notice, " That the King having " deſir'd to treat with the two Houſes, upon the Propoſitions of the " Army, beſides that the Wiſhes of the two Kingdoms, for the Eſtabliſh- " ment of Religion, were therein neglected, they again open'd a Door " to Epiſcopacy. That thoſe very Propoſitions imply'd a Toleration for " all Sorts of Hereſies and Sects, and tended directly to repeal the Ordi- " nance, which oblig'd all his Majeſty's Subjects to ſign the Covenant." In a Word, they complain'd, " That the King divided the common " Intereſt of his Kingdoms, in the Uniformity of Religion: That, by " their joint Requeſts, they had deſired of his Majeſty, that it might be " eſtabliſh'd according to the Covenant, in all his Dominions; and " therefore the King ought not to treat about it ſeparately with the Par- " liament of one of the Kingdoms, without calling for the Commiſſioners " of the other to aſſiſt therein." And as the Clergy were ſtill incenſing the ſecular Magiſtrates againſt all thoſe of the Royal Party who fell into their Hands, *Leith* of *Harthill*, who had perform'd very gallant Actions under *Montroſe*, having been taken in making the Retreat of *Huntley*'s Troops, and ſent to *Edinburgh*, whither *Huntley* himſelf follow'd ſoon after, having been betray'd in one of his own Houſes; he was immediately try'd, and about the End of the Month, with a great deal of Courage and Pleaſure he ſeal'd with his Blood the Fidelity which he had always preſerv'd to his Prince.

BUT if the King's Anſwer had diſpleas'd the General Aſſembly of *Scotland*, it was very agreeable to the Army of *England*. For *Berkeley* and *Aſhburnham* having ſhewn it to their Friends in the Army, before it was ſent to the two Houſes, they were extremely pleas'd with it, and promis'd to uſe all their Intereſt, for getting the Perſonal Treaty granted, as the King deſir'd. They perform'd their Promiſe very punctually, and not only *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, but likewiſe Sir *Harry Vane*, with all their Friends, with great Zeal ſeconded the King's Deſire; but, contrary to their Expectation, the Houſe of Commons in general oppos'd their Deſign.

1647. Deſign. The King's very Anſwer confirm'd the Suſpicion, that *Cromwell* and *Ireton* had treated under-hand with the King; inſomuch, that the more they preſs'd for having his Majeſty's Deſire granted, ſo much the more was the Propoſal rejected by the other Members, who look'd upon *Cromwell* and *Ireton* as Traitors. The Army, which was incamp'd in the Neighbourhood of *London*, was no leſs diſpleas'd with it. The Officers had News daily from the City, which increas'd their Jealouſy, inſomuch that *Cromwell* did not think himſelf ſafe in his Quarters, at leaſt he was willing that it ſhould be ſo believ'd.

At laſt, to crown the Work, the Agitators began to complain as well of the King, as of the Malignants that were about his Perſon, and reſolv'd to have *Berkeley* remov'd from him amongſt the firſt, and accordingly he retir'd to *London*. A Fortnight after, *Aſhburnham* was likewiſe order'd to depart. Theſe Furies ſaid in their Council, That the King having refus'd their Propoſitions, they were no longer tied to them; on the contrary, they were oblig'd to mind their own Safety, and that of the whole Kingdom, and henceforth to procure it by all the Means which they ſhould judge reaſonable. And becauſe *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, as well as the greateſt Part of the General Officers, vigorouſly oppos'd them, they held many private Meetings in *London*, where they humbled themſelves before God, for ſeeking his good Will, ſupplicating him to reveal it to ſo many Saints, who were burning with Zeal for his Glory. Theſe Men, plung'd into a terrible Blindneſs, and powerfully ſeduc'd by the Spirit of Error, were ſtrongly perſuaded, that, on the one hand, God had blinded the King, and hardened his Heart, not to conſent to the Propoſitions which had been made him: That they ought to preſent no more to him, being fallen into a reprobate Senſe: And that, on the other hand, God had led the Captivity captive, and put all Things under their Feet, ſo that they thought themſelves ſtrictly bound to finiſh the Work of the Lord. By that execrable Work, they meant to change the Government, and, for that End, to take the Perſon of his Majeſty out of the Hands of *Cromwell* and *Ireton*. This ſtrange Procedure ſtruck Terror into all the other Officers, who were well-affected to the King, and who were for appointing a general Rendezvous for all the Army, in order to endeavour to engage them once more to ſtand ſteady to the Propoſitions, which they had ſo often and ſo ſolemnly approv'd of. But the Agitators having Notice of it, reſolv'd, before that Time, to ſeize upon his Majeſty's Perſon.

In order to prevent this fatal Deſign, about eight or ten Days before the Army was to march to the Rendezvous, *Aſhburnham* ſent Word to *Berkeley*, that he deſir'd to ſpeak with him on *Sunday* the 7th of *November*, at *Ditton*, which is a Village ſituate on the other Side of the River, oppoſite to *Hampton-Court*. As ſoon as *Berkeley* came there, *Aſhburnham*, and Colonel *Legg*, formerly Governor of *Oxford*, and now of his Majeſty's Bed-chamber, took him aſide, and told him, That the King having juſt Apprehenſions, that the Mutineers in the Army deſign'd his Murder, he was reſolv'd to make his Eſcape, and that they had Orders from his Majeſty to command him to accompany him in his Retreat. *Berkeley* look'd upon it as an Honour to be one of the Company; but not knowing what Care they had taken for putting the Deſign in Execution, which to him ſeem'd to be dangerous, he thought that, firſt of all, *Aſhburnham*, who kept the King's Purſe, ought in all haſte to ſend a Man that was well acquainted upon the Sea-coaſt, in order to

ſecure

ſecure three or four Ships in different Ports, and that they might be ready, whatever ſhould happen. That Advice appear'd to them to be very good, but it was not at all follow'd, which was a very great Overſight. He likewiſe thought that it was neceſſary, that, before he engag'd in it, he ſhould receive the Orders from his Majeſty's own Mouth. He was humour'd in that; for on the *Tueſday* at Night, *Legg* carry'd both him and *Aſhburnham* to *Hampton-Court*, and made them enter the Palace by a Back-door, where the King told him, that his Life being in Danger, he had a Mind that he ſhould aſſiſt him in his Eſcape; and as he had ask'd his Majeſty what Road he deſign'd to take, the King, who was very cloſe, anſwer'd in Preſence of *Aſhburnham*, that *Legg* would let them both know it. 1647.

It had been ſtrongly debated, whether the King ought not to go privately to *London*, and appear in the Houſe of Lords in a full Meeting of the Peers; but that Propoſal was rejected, as a thing of moſt dangerous Conſequence; becauſe the Army being abſolute Maſters both of the Parliament and City, would have infallibly made the King Priſoner; and if, during the Fray, any Body ſhould have flown out into a Paſſion, and drawn his Sword, the Army would have charg'd the King with having form'd a Party for renewing the War, which would have irrecoverably ruin'd his Majeſty's Affairs. Then the Iſle of *Wight* was propos'd, of which Colonel *Hammond* had been appointed Governor; and *Aſhburnham*, who had diſcours'd with him but a few Days before, was in great Hopes, that he would not be againſt the King's Deſign, tho' he durſt not undertake for him. At laſt his Majeſty reſolv'd to retire into that Iſland, tho' he had but very ſlight Conjectures of the good Reception that *Hammond* might give him.

'Tis truly very ſurprizing, that the King did not chuſe to ſecure his Retreat, in leaving the Kingdom altogether. Thoſe who had the greateſt Share in his Majeſty's Confidence, alledg'd two Reaſons for that. Firſt, that in eight Days the Army was to march to the Rendezvous, and that the King had no Mind to leave it, till that Meeting ſhould be over, becauſe, if the Officers got the better of it, as it was likely, they would be in a Condition to make good the Engagement which they had with his Majeſty; and if, on the contrary, it happen'd that they got the worſt of it, they would be forc'd, for their own Security, of Neceſſity, to follow his Intereſt. The ſecond Reaſon was, That the Treaty between the King and the *Scots* Covenanters was far advanc'd, and that the ſtrong Deſire alone, which they had of diſuniting his Majeſty and the Army, induc'd them to haſten the Concluſion of it, and to yield many things; ſo that if the King left the Army, before the Treaty was concluded, they would ſtart new Difficulties, and be obſtinately bent upon having his Majeſty take the Covenant. Theſe were weighty Reaſons, if the King's Perſon had been in Safety; but as in that Juncture of Time, it was threaten'd and expos'd to evident Danger, it ought to have been taken care of preferably to all things.

*BERKELEY* and *Aſhburnham* having had Orders to ſend, on the *Wedneſday* following, freſh Horſes to *Sutton* in *Hampſhire*, on *Thurſday* the eleventh of *November*, in the Dusk of the Evening, the King left *Hampton-Court*, accompany'd by *Legg*. They all four took the Road to *Oatlands*, croſſing the Foreſt, where the King himſelf was Guide. But the Weather was ſo gloomy, that they frequently loſt their Way in it, ſo that, whereas his Majeſty thought to have arriv'd at *Sutton* three Hours before Day, it was Break of Day, when he came thither. By the Way, *The King eſcapes from* Hampton-Court.

1647. the King complain'd heavily of the Commiſſioners of the *Scots* Covenanters, who had been the firſt, and moſt warm, in repreſenting to him the Danger that he ran in the Army, and in propoſing Expedients for getting him out of it; but that, as ſoon as he ſeem'd to embrace any of them, they ſtill ſtarted new Difficulties. They had told him, that to go to *London*, was a deſperate Undertaking; and that to think of being able to conceal himſelf in any Part of *England*, was a mere Chimera; and that, in ſhort, if he deſign'd to fly into *Jerſey*, he was prevented, *Berkeley*'s Ship having been diſcover'd. Whereupon the King ask'd *Berkeley*, "If he had caus'd "a Ship to be got ready in any Place." He anſwer'd, "That it had not "been in his Power; but as he had thought the thing moſt neceſſary, he "had frequently recommended it to *Aſhburnham*." The King ask'd him again, "What he thought then could be the Reaſon why the Covenanters "had ſpoken ſo of it?" *Berkeley* anſwer'd, "That he could not eaſily "find out what their Meaning was, either in that Matter, or in all their "Proceedings with his Majeſty: However, it might be, that having a "ſtrong Inclination to ſee him out of the Hands of the Army, and having "no leſs to ſee him throw himſelf into theirs, they had not the Confidence "to propoſe it to him, becauſe they had dealt too harſhly with him, the "laſt time that they had him in their Power: That therefore they them-"ſelves had rais'd Objections againſt their own Expedients, having rejected "them, either as raſh, or impoſſible to be put in Execution: And becauſe "they could ſay nothing againſt his Majeſty's retiring into the Iſle of *Jerſey*, "in order to make him give over that Deſign, they had contriv'd the Diſ-"covery of the Ship, in which he was to tranſport himſelf thither; think-"ing, that after the Army had once remov'd from about his Majeſty, he "ſhould not be able to join it again, to contradict them: So they hop'd, "that after they had let the King ſee the Impoſſibility of all other Means of "eſcaping from the Army, he would be forc'd to turn his Thoughts towards "*Scotland*." The King agreed with him in that Conjecture, which ap-pear'd very probable, and which likewiſe ſeem'd to diſcover the Bottom of the Covenanters Deſign, whom a ſecret Remorſe of their groſs Fault had fill'd with Confuſion, being aſham'd to offer the King the Shelter, which they paſſionately wiſh'd he would take amongſt them.

THEY had no ſooner got into *Sutton*, then their Servants came and told them, that there were ſome Commiſſioners of the Parliament, who had alighted in that Place, for the Affairs of the County. That News oblig'd them immediately to mount on Horſe-back, and to take the Road to *South-ampton*. The King reſolv'd to go with *Legg* to *Tichfield*, a Seat of the Earl of *Southampton*'s, and to ſend *Berkeley* and *Aſhburnham* before into the Iſle of *Wight*. He gave them theſe Inſtructions by Word of Mouth; "That "they ſhould carry to the Governor a Copy of a Letter from his Majeſty, "directed to the two Houſes of Parliament, which he had left behind him "at *Hampton-Court*; and Copies of two others, which had been written "to him, one by *Cromwell*, and the other without a Subſcription." Theſe two Letters imported, "That it was very much dreaded, that the Agi-"tators and Levellers in the Army had bad Deſigns againſt his Majeſty, "and that in two Days they would change his Guard, and put another upon "him, all made up of their own Party." The King's Letter was to this Effect, "That having juſt Ground to miſtruſt the Mutineers in the Army, "he was forc'd to provide for his own Safety; and that he would do it in "ſuch a Manner, that he ſhould not abandon the Intereſt of the Army. "After the Governor ſhall have read theſe Letters, they were to add, That "of all the Officers of the Army, the King had look'd upon him, as a

"Gentleman

" Gentleman full of Honour, in whom his Majeſty might intirely con- 1647.
" fide: And tho' he had been of the contrary Party in the War, yet his
" Majeſty was inform'd, that he had always acted therein like a good Man,
" without ſhewing any Hatred againſt, or Averſion to his Perſon. But as
" his Majeſty was unwilling to ſurprize him, he had ſent them into the
" Iſland, in order to give him this Account, and to deſire his Promiſe to
" protect the King, and his Servants, ſo long as they ſhould be in his
" Power; and in caſe he ſhould find, that it was not in his Power to do it,
" he ſhould promiſe to leave them in the ſame Condition he had found
" them; that is to ſay, that he ſhould ſuffer them freely to provide for the
" Safety of their Perſons." Having receiv'd theſe Inſtructions, they took leave of the King: But *Berkeley*, after he had gone a little Way, return'd to tell his Majeſty, that as he was not at all known to the Governor, it might happen that he would arreſt them both in the Iſland. So he warn'd the King, that if they did not return the next Day to his Majeſty, he ſhould mind them no more, but think of making his Eſcape by ſome other Means, as ſoon as poſſible. The King thank'd him for that Advice, and continu'd his Journey to *Tichfield*.

THE Meſſengers rode directly for *Lemington*, where the Paſſage was ſhorteſt; but becauſe of a great Storm, which happen'd then, they could not paſs till the next Morning; when, about ten o' Clock, they came to *Carisbrook* Caſtle, from whence the Governor had but juſt gone towards *Newport*. As ſoon as they had overtaken him, *Aſhburnham* deſir'd *Berkeley* to propoſe the Affair to him, and then he would ſecond him. *Berkeley* then having taken him aſide, told him their Meſſage in the very ſame Terms as the King had order'd them: But as he was ſtill ſpeaking, the Governor grew ſo pale, and was ſeiz'd with ſo great a Trembling, that *Berkeley* expected every Moment, that he would have fallen from his Horſe. In that Diſorder, he ſometimes cry'd out, " That they had undone him, by
" bringing the King into the Iſland, if it was true that he was there: That
" if he was not there, he conjur'd them never to think of it: That he
" ſhould be put to a Puzzle on both Sides; becauſe he was ſenſible, that
" he ow'd all manner of Reſpect to the King; but that he likewiſe lay
" under great Obligations to the Parliament and Army, for that Mark of
" Honour and Confidence, which he had but juſt receiv'd from them,
" and that he did not ſee how he could perform his Duty to them both."
Sometimes he ſaid the quite contrary, and ſpoke a long time alone, like a Man that was beſide himſelf, having his Mind toſs'd with different Paſſions.

*BERKELEY*, in order to remove his Fears, told him, " That there
" was no Harm done to any Perſon: That the King deſign'd to do him a
" Favour, of which his Poſterity might be ſenſible, ſince his Majeſty
" offer'd him ſo fair an Opportunity of obliging him in the moſt ſenſible
" Manner that ever could happen; and what the King requir'd of him,
" did not claſh with his Obligations to the Army, who had ſolemnly en-
" gag'd to ſtand by his Majeſty: But if he was of another Opinion, the
" King had no Mind to put him to any Trouble, nor to come within his
" Government." He anſwer'd, " That he ſhould be always in Pain:
" For, if any Misfortune ſhould befal the King, he could not anſwer,
" either to the Army, or the Kingdom, for having refus'd to receive his
" Majeſty." *Berkeley* was pleaſed to reply to that, " That he had not
" refuſed to receive the King, ſince he was not come; nor ought he to
" believe, by their coming into the Iſland, that the King was the nearer it
" for that." He began then to be a little cool, and to ſay, that he wiſh'd

the

1647. the King had truſted entirely in him, and that it would have been for the Good of both Parties.

*BERKELEY* broke off the Converſation there, and went to tell *Aſhburnham*, that *Hammond* was not their Man, and that he would never conſent that the King ſhould truſt to him. *Aſhburnham* agreed, "That "as little did he like that Diſtruſt, but at the ſame time, he was afraid "what ſhould become of the King, if he came to be diſcover'd before "he had made the Innocence of his Intentions appear, becauſe, other-"wiſe, his Enemies would be bold enough to accuſe him of all that "their Malice could invent." *Berkeley* anſwer'd, "That if they did "not return to the King before that Day was over, his Majeſty would "be imbark'd, in order to tranſport himſelf beyond Sea." *Aſhburnham* did not reliſh that, but reſolv'd, in his Turn, to ſpeak to the Governor in private. After they had diſcours'd for ſome Time, the Governor ſtept in between them, and ſaid, "That ſince he believ'd that the King had "made choice of him, as a Man of Integrity and Honour, to intruſt "him with the Guard of his Perſon, he would not be afraid to tell "them, that he ſhould not deceive his Majeſty, in the good Opinion, "which he plainly ſaw he had conceiv'd of him." *Berkeley* anſwer'd, "That that Expreſſion was too general, and did not come up to their "Inſtructions." The Governor reply'd, "That he was harder to be "pleas'd than *Aſhburnham*, and that, in his Opinion, the King would "more eaſily be pleas'd than either of them." He concluded, That "*Berkeley* ſhould go into the Caſtle, and that *Aſhburnham* ſhould go "to give the King an Account of what he had ſaid to them." *Berkeley* agreed to the Propoſal, and very frankly paſs'd the Draw-Bridge, though he had abundance of Reaſon to be afraid, that, perhaps, he ſhould never repaſs it, but to mount a Scaffold. *Aſhburnham* having gone about a Piſtol-ſhot from the Caſtle, the Governor, who was ſtanding at the Gate, call'd him back, and having talk'd with him a long Time, he call'd *Berkeley*, and having taken him by the Hand, ſaid to them both, "That he would give them a Promiſe, which might ſatisfy reaſonable "Men, which was, That if the King truſted to him as a Gentleman, "he engag'd faithfully to perform all that could be expected from a Man "of Honour." *Aſhburnham* anſwer'd, "That he ask'd no more;" and the Governor added, "Then let us go to the King all together." To which *Aſhburnham* agreed: But *Berkeley* having taken him aſide, told him, "That he did not conſider the Conſequence of carrying *Ham-*"*mond* to the King, before he knew whether his Majeſty would approve, "or not, of what had paſs'd between them; and that, without doubt, "ſuch a Procedure would very much ſurprize the King." *Aſhburnham* having told him, "That he would anſwer for That;" *Berkeley* begg'd of him to remember it then; "and that, as for himſelf, he would "not ſee his Maleſty, until he had been ſatisfy'd with all his Proceed-"ings with the Governor, and deſir'd that, at leaſt, he would not ſuffer "the Governor to carry any Men with him; that, whatever happens, "they might be able to ſecure him, if there ſhould be Occaſion for it." Nevertheleſs, when they came to the Place where they were to take Boat, *Hammond* carry'd *Basket*, the Governor of *Cows Caſtle*, with him.

BEING arriv'd at *Tichfield*, *Aſhburnham* went up to the King's Apartment, to give him an Account of their Negotiation, and left *Berkeley* with *Hammond* and *Basket* below. After he had made a Report of what had paſs'd, and had added, That the Governor himſelf was come, to perform

perform what he had promis'd; the King, ſtruck with Amazement, ſaid, "That he had undone him, in bringing *Hammond*, becauſe there "was no Room left for him now to retract." *Aſhburnham*, touch'd with that Word, anſwer'd, "That if his Majeſty had the leaſt Suſpicion of "*Hammond*, he would quickly diſpatch him." The King reply'd, "That all the World would juſtly find fault with that Action; and that, "if he conſented to that, it would be ſaid, that *Hammond* having ven-"tur'd his Life for him, he had baſely robb'd him of it: That the "Thing was ſo far gone, that there was no other Courſe to be taken, "but to go into the Iſland with the Governor, and to leave the Event "to God." *Aſhburnham* having nothing to reply to the Reaſons which the King had to be amaz'd at his Blunder, was like to melt in Tears: Not that *Aſhburnham* wanted Tenderneſs for the King's Perſon, and Zeal for his Majeſty's Service, having been always look'd upon as one of his moſt faithful and affectionate Servants; but he thought that the King's Affairs would be entirely ruin'd, if he left the Kingdom before coming to a Concluſion with the *Scotiſh* Covenanters, and making Advantage of the Diſorders of the Army: And as, in the mean time, he ſaw not a more ſecure Retreat than the Iſle of *Wight*, he hop'd that the Governor would do what was deſir'd of him, with a better Grace than he had promis'd, and that his Majeſty would run no Riſque. 1647.

In the mean time, *Hammond* and *Basket* were ſo impatient, to wait ſo long in a Yard, that *Berkeley* was oblig'd to deſire one of the Earl of *Southampton*'s Gentlemen to go to *Aſhburnham* and tell him, to remember thoſe whom he had left below. Soon after, the King caus'd them all to be call'd up; but before the two Governors kiſs'd the King's Hand, he beckon'd to *Berkeley* to come to him, and ask'd him, "if he thought he had punctually follow'd his Inſtructions". *Berkeley* anſwer'd, "No; but that it was not his Fault, having even expos'd his "Life, in order to prevent that which diſpleas'd his Majeſty." Then the King ſeeing that there was no help for it, advanc'd towards *Hammond*, and receiv'd him ſo courteouſly, that he promis'd much more to his Majeſty than he had done to his Meſſengers. So that that very Night of the 13th of *November*, they all went over into the Iſland, and lay at *Cows*. The next Morning the King went with *Hammond* to *Carisbrook* Caſtle, accompany'd by many Gentlemen of the Iſland, who came to meet his Majeſty. Theſe Gentlemen told his Servants, "That they "were happier than they imagin'd; becauſe, except *Hammond* and his "Chaplain, all the Iſland was intirely for the King: That there were "only twelve Invalids in the Caſtle, who had ſerv'd under the Earl of "*Portland*, and who were all well-affected to his Majeſty: That *Ham-*"*mond* might be eaſily prevail'd upon, or elſe more eaſily compell'd, "the Caſtle being always full, both Day and Night, of faithful and "loyal Subjects to his Majeſty: In a Word, That as the King would "have liberty to ride about the Fields, he might chuſe his Time, when "he thought fit, to go out of the Iſland." Indeed, the Governor gave the King no reaſon to complain of him, having deſir'd no other Thing of his Majeſty, but only that he would be pleas'd to write civilly to the two Houſes of Parliament, to make it appear to them, that he ſtill deſir'd Peace: Which was immediately done; ſo that not only the King and thoſe of his Retinue, but many others, who were at a Diſtance from him, by their Letters, approv'd of the Reſolution he had taken to retire into that Iſland.

1647. Now the two Houſes having been inform'd, as well by *Fairfax*'s and *Cromwell*'s Letters, as by their Commiſſioners, who reſided with the King, after what manner he had retir'd from *Hampton-Court*, ſent Orders to lay an Embargo upon all Ships in the Cinque-Ports for ſome Time, and to ſuffer no Perſon to go beyond Sea, whatever Paſſport he might have. They likewiſe order'd the Rear-Admiral to board all Ships and Boats that were croſſing betwixt the two Sea-Coaſts, in order to ſearch for the King, and to ſtop him, in caſe he was aboard of any Veſſel; and having had Information that he was in or near *London*, they order'd, that it ſhould be the Loſs of Eſtate and Life, for any one to harbour the King's Perſon, and not to diſcover it to both Houſes of Parliament. But two Days after, Colonel *Hammond* clear'd that Doubt to them, and acquainted them with the King's Arrival in the Iſland, and ſent them an Account of the three principal Things that had paſs'd between him and his Majeſty's Meſſengers. In his Letter, he crav'd the Orders of the two Houſes, with reſpect to the King's Perſon, which he thought he was oblig'd to receive with Honour, and for the Security of which, he ſhould be anſwerable to the Parliament. Whereupon it was reſolv'd, That the King ſhould reſide in *Carisbrook* Caſtle: That the Governor ſhould not ſuffer any of thoſe, who had carry'd Arms againſt the Parliament, to ſtay in the Iſland, if he had not compounded with them; nor allow any Stranger to come near the King, without Permiſſion from the two Houſes; and that he ſhould take all the Care imaginable of his Majeſty's Perſon. *Hammond*, agreeable thereto, ſent Orders to all the Ports of the Iſland, which contain'd, That except the Inhabitants, all ſuch as ſhould land, ſhould be brought to him, in order to avoid all Surprize, and to prevent Factions from being form'd in the Iſland.

After the King had paſs'd three Days there, the two Houſes ſent, by an Expreſs, That *Aſhburnham*, *Berkeley*, and *Legg* ſhould be ſent to them: But the Governor put off the Execution of his Maſters Orders, and wrote them, "That the King having expreſs'd more Good-Will "than ever for the Pacification of the Kingdom; if, at the ſame time, "his Servants were taken out of the Iſland, in order to be put in "Priſon, it would vex him very much, and make him apprehend the "like Treatment; beſides, that theſe Gentlemen having caſt themſelves "into his Arms, no Violence could be offer'd them, without wounding "his Honour: That if he might be allow'd to give his Opinion, he "thought, that by all manner of Civilities, the King ought to be kept "in the good Inclination which he ſeem'd to have, as well for the Army "as for the Parliament." And indeed, in the Letter, which he wrote them the 16th of *November*, he made Overtures for Peace more than reaſonable, if they had been accepted.

*The King's Letter from the Iſle of* Wight *to the two Houſes of Parliament, was to this Effect.*

"That he ſuppoſeth they had receiv'd the Letter which he left "behind him at *Hampton-Court*; according to which, and being in a "Place of more Security, than he was there, he ſtill deſires and endea-"vours the Settlement of a happy Peace; and becauſe Religion is the "beſt and chiefeſt Foundation of Peace, he begins with that Particular:

"That for the aboliſhing of Archbiſhops and Biſhops, *&c.* he "clearly profeſſeth, that he cannot give his Aſſent thereunto, as he is "a Chriſtian, and a King. Not, as he is a Chriſtian; for he avows, "that he is ſatisfy'd in his Judgment, that this Order was plac'd in the "Church

1647.

" Church by the Apoſtles themſelves; and ever ſince their Time, hath
" continued in all Chriſtian Churches throughout the World, until this
" laſt Century of Years; and in this Church, in all Times of Change
" and Reformation, it hath been upheld by the Wiſdom of his Anceſtors,
" as the great Preſerver of Doctrine, Diſcipline, and Order in the Service
" of God: That as a King, at his Coronation, he hath not only taken
" a ſolemn Oath to maintain this Order; but he, and his Predeceſſors,
" in their Confirmation of the great Charter, have inſeparably woven
" the Rights of the Church, into the Liberties of the Subject: That
" yet he is willing it be provided, that the particular Biſhops perform
" their ſeveral Duties of their Callings, by their perſonal Reſidence,
" and frequent Preaching; and exerciſe no Act of Juriſdiction or
" Ordination, without Conſent of their *Presbyters*; and will conſent,
" that their Powers in all Things be ſo limited, that they be not grievous
" to the tender Conſciences of others; and ſees no reaſon, why he alone,
" and thoſe of his Judgment, ſhould be preſs'd to a Violation of theirs.
" Nor can he conſent to the Alienation of Church-Lands, a Sin of the
" higheſt Sacrilege, and that ſubverts the Intentions of ſo many pious
" Donors, who have laid a heavy Curſe upon all prophane Violations;
" which his Majeſty is very unwilling to undergo, and believes it to be
" a Prejudice to the Publick Good; many of his Subjects having the
" Benefit of renewing Leaſes at much eaſier Rates than if the Lands were
" private Mens, not omitting the Diſcouragement it will be to all Learning
" and Induſtry, when ſuch eminent Rewards ſhall be taken away, which
" now lie open to the Children of the meaneſt Perſons: Yet, to ſatisfy
" his two Houſes, he is content that the *Presbyterian* Government do
" continue as it is now ſettled for three Years; provided that he, and
" thoſe of his Judgment, be not compell'd to comply therewith; and
" that a Conſultation about the Settlement of Church-Government, be
" by the Aſſembly, with twenty Divines to be added to them, of the
" King's Nomination. That in the Settlement of the Church-Govern-
" ment, there be full Liberty to all thoſe, who ſhould differ on con-
" ſcientious Grounds, from that Settlement; provided that nothing be
" underſtood to tolerate thoſe of the Popiſh Profeſſion; nor exempting
" any Popiſh Recuſant from the Penalties of the Laws, or to tolerate
" the publick Profeſſion of Atheiſm and Blaſphemy, contrary to the
" Doctrine of the Apoſtles, *Nicene*, and *Athanaſian* Creeds, they having
" been received and had in Reverence by all the Chriſtian Churches,
" and more particularly by this of *England*, ever ſince the Reformation.
" As to the Militia, which he avows an inſeparable Right of his Crown,
" he cannot diveſt himſelf and his Succeſſors of the Power of the Sword;
" yet he will conſent to an Act of Parliament, to place the Power of
" the Militia, during his Reign, in the two Houſes of Parliament, and
" after his Reign to return to the Crown. As to the Payment of the
" Arrears of the Army, he will conſent, if the Houſes will remit to him
" ſome Benefit of Sequeſtrations, Compoſitions, the Aſſiſtance of the
" Clergy, and the Arrears of his own Revenue, to pay within eighteen
" Months four hundred thouſand Pounds to the Army; and if that be
" not ſufficient, he will give way for the Sale of Foreſt-Lands, for that
" Purpoſe. For Payment of the other publick Debts, he will conſent
" to ſuch Acts as the Parliament ſhall agree upon; and to an Act for
" the naming of Officers of State, and Privy-Counſellors, during his
" Reign, by both Houſes of Parliament; the Commiſſions to be in his
" Name; and after his Reign, this Right to return to the Crown. He
" will conſent to the taking away of the Court of Wards, ſo as a full

" Recom-

1647. " Recompence be ſettled upon him in Perpetuity. That he will conſent " to an Act to make null all Declarations, *&c.* and to an Act of Oblivion: " That he will give Satisfaction concerning *Ireland*; and although he " cannot in Honour conſent to make void all his own Grants under his " Great Seal at *Weſtminſter*, yet he doubts not, but upon ſome Propoſals, " to give Satisfaction therein to the two Houſes. He earneſtly deſires a " Perſonal Treaty at *London*, in Honour, Freedom, and Safety with " his two Houſes, as the only Means to ſettle Peace. And then he " deſires, that the Propoſals of the Army, as to the future Parliaments, " and Elections, may be conſider'd.

In the Letter which the King ſent to the two Houſes, the 12th of *May*, he did not, by much, come ſo near their Deſires; and yet the People were ſo well ſatisfy'd with the Offers which his Majeſty had made them, that they oblig'd them to paſs the Bill for his returning to *London*. It might have been expected then, that the King having ſtript himſelf, by this Letter of the 16th of *November*, and deſiring to go to the Parliament rather as a private Man than a King, the Parliament would have invited him chearfully, and receiv'd him with open Arms, and that the People ought to have carry'd him thither on their Shoulders: But the Caſe was alter'd; the People had no longer liberty to petition, nor the Parliament to vote; they were both groaning under the Tyranny of the Army, which had become their abſolute and inſolent Maſter; and the Traitors, who govern'd it, were ready to bring to Light the fatal Deſign, which, for a long Time, they had been hatching in their Hearts.

After the King had diſpatch'd his Letter, he had Advice, that the Officers had got the better of it: That one of the Mutineers had been ſhot, and eleven others made Priſoners. This Mutiny had been rais'd in the Army by the Agitators of the nine Regiments of Horſe, and ſeven of Foot, who, ſome Days before, had preſented a very extravagant Letter to the General, accompany'd with theſe Propoſitions; " That the " Election of the Members of the Houſe of Commons be no more by " Counties and Towns, but that they be taken indifferently out of all " the Inhabitants of the Kingdom, proportionable to their Number. " That, in order to prevent the Inconveniencies that would happen, if " the Authority were left long in the Hands of the ſame Perſons, this " preſent Parliament be diſſolved by the laſt Day of *September* 1648. " That every two Years the People may call a Meeting of Parliament " in ſuch a Place as they ſhall think fit. That this Repreſentative Body " be ſubject to none but the Body of the People, and that without ſtand- " ing in Need of the Conſent or Concurrence of any Perſon, it may have " Power to repeal Laws, and to make others in their Place, to eſtabliſh " and ſuppreſs Courts of Juſtice, to create and to turn out Magiſtrates " of what Dignity ſoever they may be, and to make them accountable " for all that had been committed to their Charge. To make Peace " and War, and to treat with Foreigners. That as to Religion, and the " Service of God, it was a Thing that was not in the Power of Men; " every one being oblig'd, upon Pain of Sin, to follow the Dictates of " his own Conſcience, and what he believes to be the Will of God. " That the publick Manner of Inſtructing the People, be committed to " the Direction of the Repreſentative Body, provided it be not com- " pulſive. That none be forc'd to go to the War. That the Laws be " equally binding upon all Sorts of Perſons, and that neither the Birth, nor

" the

3

" the Dignity, nor the Condition of any Man, can exempt him from the " ordinary Courſe of Juſtice." It was from this airy Notion of ſettling all Ranks of People in the Kingdom upon the ſame Level, that they were call'd Levellers, of whom *Lilburn* was the Head; if a Body, where Equality is the Proportion of all the Members, may be ſaid to have a Head. 1647.

THE Day of the Rendezvous between *Hertford* and *Ware*, which was the fifteenth of *November*, the Mutineers appear'd, having all a Paper upon their Hats, wherein theſe Words were written, *The Privileges of* England, *and the Conſent of the People*. And it was obſerv'd, that *Rainsborough* was the Promoter of a Petition, wherein a Democracy was demanded; and that Colonel *Eyre* and Major *Scot* went from Regiment to Regiment, in order to ſtir up the Soldiers againſt the General and chief Officers. But theſe broke his Meaſures, oblig'd the Soldiers to tear the Paper they wore, as a Mark of Sedition, ſeiz'd the principal Authors, and, in a Court Martial, condemn'd three of the moſt obſtinate to be ſhot; who having caſt Lots, one of them was ſhot upon the Spot, and ſome others ran the Gantlope. The two Houſes being inform'd of it, order'd *Rainsborough* not to officiate as Vice-Admiral, till he had given Account of his Conduct at the Rendezvous of the Army. And at the ſame time, they wrote Letters of Thanks to *Cromwell*, who had appear'd with the moſt Zeal, for aſſuring the General, that the two Houſes ſhould be always ready to receive and anſwer, in a ſuitable Manner, all the humble Petitions of the Army, which ſhould be preſented to them from his Excellency.

AFTER the agreeable News of the Diſgrace of the Agitators, which very much confirm'd his Majeſty in the Reſolution he had taken, the Governor having had ſeveral Conferences with *Aſhburnham*, ſeem'd to be very much for having the Army reſume its former Diſcipline, and, once for all, to get rid of thoſe troubleſome and impertinent Agitators, whoſe Authority had been always odious to him. For which End, he diſpatch'd his Chaplain to the Officers of the Army, in order to conjure them to improve the Advantage they had got over the Agitators; and he moſt humbly intreated the King to ſend thither one of his own Servants, with Letters of Compliment to the General, but to write confidently to *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, to whom he likewiſe wrote. He did it very ſincerely, and conjur'd them by their Engagement with the King, by their Intereſt, by their Honour, and by their Conſcience, to come to a ſpeedy Concluſion with his Majeſty, and not to expoſe themſelves any longer to the extravagant Levity of the Agitators.

*BERKELEY*, who was pitch'd upon for carrying theſe Letters, took with him his Couſin-German *Henry Berkeley*; for whom he got a Paſſport from the Governor of *Cows*, that he might return in four or five Days. Having croſs'd over to the main Land, he took the Road to *Windſor*, which was then the Head-Quarters, and met *Hammond*'s Chaplain, who was returning from it. He told him nothing that gave him Reaſon to expect any Good by his Journey, having no other News, ſave only that the Army had not as yet taken any Reſolution upon what concern'd the King's Intereſt. As *Berkeley* was about half Way between *Bagſhot* and *Windſor*, he was overtaken by *Joyce*, that furious Agitator, who commanded the Party that carry'd away the King from *Holmby*. *Joyce*, ſurpriz'd that *Berkeley* went ſo freely to and from the Army, gave him to underſtand, that the Agitators had taken into Deliberation, whether, for their own Juſtification, they ought not to order out a Summons againſt the King for his

1647. perſonal Appearance; and own'd frankly, that he had given his Opinion, that it muſt be done. However he added, that he did not deſire that his Majeſty ſhould ſuffer the leaſt Affront, not ſo much as to loſe one Hair of his Head. Theſe are the Terms he made Uſe of to expreſs his Sentiments. He added, that he was of that Opinion, only to ſhew, that they had been found Fault with without Reaſon. *Berkeley* could not get rid of this impertinent prating Fellow, till he reach'd *Windſor*; where the phrenetick Agitator did not fail to obſerve the Inn where he alighted. *Berkeley*, after having taken a little Refreſhment, went ſtrait to the General's Quarters; where he was told by his Guards, that all the chief Officers were met there. After having waited about an Hour, he had an Audience in full Meeting; where having made his Compliments, and preſented the King's Letters, he was deſir'd to withdraw for a little time. About half an Hour after, he was call'd in again; and being enter'd, the General, putting on a ſtern Countenance, told him, "That being the Parliament's Army, as they were, "they could give no Anſwer to the Overtures of Peace, which the King "had ſent them; and that, referring them to the two Houſes of Parlia-"ment, they ſhould ſend them his Majeſty's Letters." Then *Berkeley* turn'd towards *Cromwell*, *Ireton*, and the reſt of his particular Acquaintance; who indeed ſaluted him, but ſo coldly, that they made as if they had ſcarce ever known him. Beſides, with a diſdainful Smile, they ſhew'd him the Letter which *Hammond* had written them. *Berkeley* finding that there was no Good to be expected from them, retir'd to his Inn; where he ſtaid from four till ſix o' Clock at Night, without receiving a Viſit from any Perſon. 'Tis not to be doubted, but the Time lay heavy upon him, and he was muſing upon things, that could not but be very afflicting, as Matters then ſtood.

At laſt, not knowing which way to turn himſelf, he ſent out his Servant, to endeavour to find out in the Streets ſome of his Friends, who perhaps might tell things more freely to the Man, than to the Maſter. Towards the Evening, an Officer having perceiv'd him, came to him; and whiſpering in his Ear, bad him go and tell his Maſter to meet him at Midnight, in a Place which he mention'd. *Berkeley* did not fail to be there at the Hour appointed; whither the Officer likewiſe came ſoon after, who preſently told him, "That ever ſince the Diſorders and Tumults had broke out "in the Army, he had ſuſpected *Cromwell* and *Ireton*; but Suſpicions "muſt not now be any longer minded; that the Maſk was taken off, and "that there was no Room to doubt, not only that theſe two, but all and "every one of them, were the moſt deſperate Traitors, that ever had been "in the World; becauſe, notwithſtanding their Engagement with his Ma-"jeſty, they were reſolv'd to murder him, and to deſtroy the royal Family, "and all their Poſterity. That in order to put that execrable Deſign in "Execution, they had order'd eight hundred Men of the Army, whom "they had pick'd out from among the moſt diſaffected to the King, to "ſeize his Majeſty, and then to bring him to a Trial. And as that De-"tachment was to march in ten Days, his Majeſty's Life was at Stake, if "he did not quickly fall upon ſome Means for getting out of the Kingdom. "That he had hazarded his own by this Viſit; becauſe that very After-"noon, *Ireton* had propos'd to ſend the King's Meſſenger Priſoner to *Lon-"don*, and that all the Officers and Soldiers of the Army were order'd not to "ſpeak to him, upon Pain of Death. In ſhort, that one had indeed "ſtrongly oppos'd it; but he was hiſs'd at, and forc'd to hold his Peace.

*BERKELEY*,

*BERKELEY*, ſurpriz'd at this ſo fatal and extraordinary News, ask'd him, "What could be the Cauſe of ſo horrid a Change, ſince the "Officers had carry'd all before them at the laſt Rendezvous of the "Army, and that nothing had paſs'd ſince, wherein the King could have in "the leaſt diſoblig'd them?" The Officer anſwer'd, "That they heartily "had wiſh'd that his Majeſty had done ſomething that might have given "them ſome Ground of Complaint; and as for the reſt, it was hard to "find out what had hurry'd them on to that utmoſt Deſpair: but that, "in his Opinion, the moſt probable Thing that could be ſaid of it was, "that though, at the laſt Rendezvous, one of the Mutineers had been "ſhot, and eleven others made Priſoners, ſo that it look'd as if that "Faction had been quite humbled, and that, after ſuch a ſevere Blow, "it could never get up again; yet they were ſo little caſt down and "diſcourag'd by that Shock, that two thirds of the Army had been to "wait upon *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, to aſſure them, that though they "ſhould die in the Attempt, they would leave no Stone unturn'd, for "bringing the Army to be of their Mind. That when the Worſt came "to the Worſt, they were, in a manner, ſure to divide it, and that they "would join with whomſoever ſhould offer them Aſſiſtance for ruining "their Adverſaries. *Cromwell* and *Ireton* foreſeeing then, that if the "Army ſhould divide, the greateſt Part would join with the Presbyterians, "and who would become ſtrong enough, and be very willing to ruin "them, and then undo the whole Independent Party; ſo that they "would be forc'd, in order to ſhelter themſelves from the Storm, to "take Part with the King in good Earneſt, but that then they ſhould "be obliged to ask his Aſſiſtance, inſtead of offering him theirs. And "in caſe that the King ſhould grant them Aſſiſtance, and get the better "of it, though his Majeſty ſhould be ſo good then as to forgive all that "had paſſed, that would be all they could pretend to, and even more "than they could expect. From thence they at laſt concluded, that if "they could but bring the Army to be of their Mind, they would yield "to the Sentiments of the Army, ſince otherwiſe the Diviſion that would "ariſe therein would infallibly be their Ruin." 1647.

It was then that *Cromwell* apply'd all his Thoughts upon currying Favour with that Faction of the Army, who were the King's greateſt Enemies, and to make uſe of *Peters* for making his Peace with them. He acknowledg'd, ſaid he, (as he had formerly done upon the like Occaſion) "That the Vanity of the World had ſo dazzled his Eyes, that "he had not been able to diſcover the Deſign of God, in the great Work "he was working amongſt them. That he would humble himſelf "ſeriouſly before him, deſiring to be aſſiſted by the Prayers of the "Saints, for obtaining of his Mercy, the Pardon of his own Self-love, "and of the Paſſion he had had for the Vanities of the World." He likewiſe ſent very often to viſit and comfort the Priſoners, and to exhort them to take Courage, and to be afraid of no Harm, ſince it had pleas'd God to open his Eyes. By which Means that good Penitent was reconcil'd with, and admitted again into the Society of the Faithful, ſuch as himſelf. As ſoon as *Berkeley* had return'd to his Inn, he diſpatch'd his Couſin to the Iſle of *Wight*, with two Letters for the King; one, which might be ſeen by the Governor, which contain'd only in general Terms, that he could not as yet write any thing certain about the Reſolution of the Army; the other, which was written in Cyphers, gave an Account of all the Particulars of the Conference he had had with the Officer, whom he nam'd; and concluded his Letter with a moſt humble and

paſſionate

1647. paſſionate Requeſt to his Majeſty, that as ſoon as he ſhould receive his Letter, he ſhould loſe no Time, but, if poſſible, take Shipping that Inſtant. And becauſe the Officer had thought it proper, that he ſhould cauſe to be deliver'd to *Cromwell* and *Ireton* the Letters which the King had written to them, he ſent Colonel *Cook* to *Cromwell*, to tell him that he had Letters and Inſtructions for him from his Majeſty. *Cromwell* anſwer'd him by the ſame Colonel, " That he durſt not ſee him, and " that their Meeting would be dangerous for them both. That, how- " ever, he might aſſure himſelf, that he would ſerve the King to the " utmoſt of his Power, without ruining himſelf; but he muſt not " expect that he would run headlong to Deſtruction for his Majeſty's " Sake.

HAVING receiv'd this Anſwer, he ſet out in all Haſte for *London*, and reſolv'd not to diſcover to any Perſon, either the deteſtable Intentions of the Army, or the King's Deſign of taking Shipping, which he ſuppos'd his Majeſty would do with the firſt Opportunity, the Queen having, by her Letters, begg'd of him to do it, and, beſides, ſent him a Frigate for his Paſſage. The next Day after *Berkeley* had got to *London*, the Earls of *Lenrick* and *Lauderdale* ſent to tell him, that they deſir'd to ſee him, believing that he had a Commiſſion from the King to treat with them; and at their Meeting being much ſurpriz'd that he had none, they had ſome Reaſon to wonder at it: And it was truly a great Overſight in *Berkeley* to have forgot that, when he left the Iſle of *Wight*; for it ſeem'd to be abſolutely neceſſary, that in caſe he ſhould not find the Army in the Diſpoſition that could have been wiſh'd, he might have had a Power to apply himſelf to the *Scotiſh* Covenanters, in order to preſs them, as much as poſſible, to finiſh their Treaty with his Majeſty, which could have been done with ſo much the more Succeſs, that the frequent Addreſſes which the King made to the Army, put them in a terrible Fright: He might have made the Commiſſioners, who knew not what was doing there, believe, that their Delays, and their uſing the King ſo rigorouſly, would at laſt oblige his Majeſty to come to an Agreement with the Army.

IN order to ſupply that Defect, *Berkeley* happen'd to ſay to the Commiſſioners, " That the laſt Words, which the King ſpoke to him at his " leaving the Iſland, were, That whatever he ſhould promiſe in his " Majeſty's Name, he ſhould make it good, upon the Word of a " Prince." *Lenrick* anſwer'd, " That he deſir'd no other Commiſſion, " becauſe he look'd upon him to be a Man of Honour, and likewiſe " becauſe that, upon other Occaſions, he himſelf had receiv'd juſt ſuch " Commiſſions from his Majeſty." Nothing was done at the firſt Meeting, becauſe a Letter, which *Aſhburnham* had written to the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, had put *Lauderdale* into ſuch a Paſſion, that he could not recover himſelf. That Letter was written before *Berkeley* left the Iſland, upon the Account of *Whaley*'s having written to the Houſe, that *Aſhburnham*, with the King's Conſent, having paſs'd his Word to him at *Woburn*, that his Majeſty ſhould not leave the Army without his Knowledge, nor even without his Conſent, by Order of his Majeſty he had retracted it ſome Days before his Eſcape, and had given him for Reaſon, " that of late nothing was ſpoken at Court but *Scots*, " and that a Party had ſtarted up in the Army, who carry'd Things to " the laſt Extremities." *Aſhburnham*'s Letter, beſides thoſe Words, contain'd likewiſe theſe, which, indeed, was enough to provoke the

*Scots*,

1647.

*Scots, That he would expoſe his Life and Honour neither for* Scot *nor Agitator.* Theſe Words were equally impertinent and injurious, and it was horrid Imprudence in *Aſhburnham,* in the deplorable State of the King's Affairs, on ſet Purpoſe to offend a whole Nation, which alone was capable to reſtore them to their former State, and to cure the Wound, which may be ſaid it had made. All the Thinking Men about the King, found theſe Words too harſh and ill-tim'd, and advis'd *Aſhburnham* to ſtrike them out: but he lik'd them too much, and thought he had punn'd ſo well, that he could not be prevail'd upon to alter them in the leaſt.

THEY met again on the *Friday* at *Lenrick*'s Lodgings, where having revis'd all the Articles, they adjuſted the chief of them, and reſolv'd that on the *Monday* following they would conclude the Treaty. But the next Day *Berkeley* having receiv'd a Letter from *Aſhburnham,* whereby he was commanded, by the King's Order, that as ſoon as he had receiv'd the Letter, he ſhould give over negotiating, and come in all Haſte to his Majeſty, *Berkeley* ſent to make his Excuſe to *Lenrick* and *Lauderdale,* and ſet out that Inſtant. Theſe Lords thought this Procedure very ſtrange, as, without doubt, there was ſome Fault to be found with it, though they had no Reaſon to complain of *Berkeley,* who had no greater Deſire than to finiſh the Treaty, which was an Affair, the Conſequence whereof was ſuch, that there had not as yet been any, wherein his Preſence had been ſo neceſſary for his Majeſty's Service. This Misfortune ſhews plainly, that Matters were not carry'd on unanimouſly: which is a fatal Miſchief in, almoſt, all Courts, where he, who is in greateſt Eſteem with the Prince, will have all carry'd on by his Advice; whereas all Affairs of Conſequence ought of Neceſſity to be debated in a Council, as it appears that God himſelf has ſet an Example of it, ſince He who ſtood in no need of Advice, did not finiſh his Maſter-pieces, 'till after ſome kind of Conſultation. The Prince ought, from the Diverſity of Opinions, to form his Reſolutions, and 'tis then that *Minerva* ought to iſſue out arm'd from *Jupiter*'s Brains; that is to ſay, that the Orders, which are given, ought, after that, to take all their Force and Authority from the Mouth of the Prince.

THE King receiv'd *Berkeley* with great Marks of Affection, and told him, "That having always had a very great Opinion both of his Fide-"lity and Ability, he was ſtill more confirm'd therein by his laſt Letters "from *Windſor.*" *Berkeley* having return'd him his moſt humble Thanks for the good Opinion he had of him, did not fail to tell him, with a Freedom full of Reſpect, "That ſince his Majeſty had approv'd "of his Advice, he was ſurpriz'd how it came that he had not follow'd "it, and why he was ſtill in the Iſland, where he could not expect long "to enjoy the Liberty he had hitherto had there, and that he knew "very well, that Forces had been order'd both by Sea and Land, in "order to watch him." The King anſwer'd him, "That he would "provide for his Security Time enough, and that, firſt of all, the "Treaty with the *Scotiſh* Covenanters muſt be finiſh'd." That was likewiſe *Aſhburnham*'s Opinion: but *Berkeley* was of a quite contrary Sentiment, and his Reaſon was, that as Matters then ſtood, the Safety of the King's Perſon ought to be preferr'd before all other Buſineſs whatſoever; and as he could not carry that, he begg'd of the King to conclude the Treaty, in any manner whatever; becauſe he was ſure that the leaſt Delay, could not but be very prejudicial.

1647. WHEREUPON the King order'd *Berkeley*, *Aſhburnham*, and *Legg*, with Dr. *Sheldon*, and Dr. *Hammond*, his Majeſty's Chaplains, to ſee in what State the Treaty with the Covenanters was. That Affair had been manag'd with great Prudence by Dr. *Goffe*, a very learned and knowing Man; who very wiſely remonſtrated to the King, that in the Condition he then was, he ought not to inſiſt much upon Expreſſions, and the Ways of ſpeaking, which were of little Conſequence. But *Aſhburnham* refin'd upon all the Terms, which were made Uſe of for expreſſing the Things. And he would needs ſhew his Zeal for what he call'd the Church of *England*; but it was very ill tim'd. He ſent Expreſs upon Expreſs to the Covenanters, about the Manner of drawing up the Articles, thus ſpending much Time upon things, which were not worth the while to beſtow one Moment upon. At laſt he perſuaded the King to ſend for the Commiſſioners; and did not conſider, that inſtead of thinking of bringing them into the Iſland, his chief Buſineſs was, to get his Majeſty out of it.

THE Advice, which *Berkeley* gave him, was much better: For he propos'd, that the King ſhould cauſe two Copies of Articles to be drawn up, one of which ſhould contain the whole of what he had a Mind to grant to the Covenanters, and let him ſign it; and that the other might contain the leaſt that he would accept from them. That they ſhould both be ſent in all Haſte to Dr. *Goffe*, who ſhould deliver that ſign'd by his Majeſty to their Commiſſioners, at the ſame time that they having ſign'd the other, ſhould deliver it to him. That then his Majeſty, without heſitating a Moment, might take ſhipping. As they were making theſe Propoſals, *Aſhburnham* came in, and ſaid, That the Expedient was good, if the thing were feaſible, but it was not; becauſe, tho' the Commiſſioners ſhould be ſatisfy'd with the Articles in the main, yet they would be willing (according to the uſual Cuſtom) to concert with the King the Manner, in which they ought to be ſet down; for which Cauſe they muſt of Neceſſity be ſent for. *Berkeley* anſwer'd very well, That that might be true in ordinary Affairs; and beſides, that none but litigious Men would ſtand carping at Words, when the Things had been agreed upon; but the Danger the King was in, by ſtaying longer in the Iſland, would not admit of obſerving ſo many Formalities.

HOWEVER, *Aſhburnham* carry'd it ſo, that his Opinion having prevail'd, Sir *William Fleming* ſet out to bring the Commiſſioners. The next Day the King ſent for *Berkeley*, and told him, That the Covenanters Commiſſioners had given him to underſtand by an Expreſs, That they wiſh'd he would do much about the ſame thing, that he had propos'd to him: But that there was not Time now to think of it; becauſe the Commiſſioners would be ſet out from *London*, before an Expreſs could be there with the Articles. That ſhew'd ſtill, that *Berkeley*'s Expedient was feaſible, and might have been eaſily put in Execution, when he propos'd it.

As the Covenanters Commiſſioners were getting themſelves ready to wait upon the King, the two Houſes of Parliament ſent Commiſſioners to him, and offer'd to treat in the Iſland with his Majeſty upon new Propoſitions, which ſhould be offer'd him, provided he would be pleas'd, firſt of all, by Letters Patent to confirm four Acts, with which they were charg'd; that theſe Letters might be ſo many Proofs of the Sincerity and plain Dealing, wherewith his Majeſty intended to act with them. The Commiſſioners preſented them to the King the fourteenth of *December*, and intreated him to give his Anſwer thereto in three or four Days, they not being allow'd to ſtay longer in the Iſland. The firſt of theſe Acts contain'd a Revocation of all

all Declarations, Oaths, and Proclamations againſt the two Houſes, with a Juſtification of all their Proceedings ſince their Rupture with him; which was properly to make the King declare himſelf the ſole Author of the War. By the ſecond Act, the King was to degrade all the Lords, which his Majeſty had made ſince the War, and to make them incapable of ſitting in the Houſe of Peers, and to oblige himſelf and his Succeſſors, not to make any more for the future, without the Conſent of Parliament. Which likewiſe degraded the King, and tarniſh'd the Luſtre of his Crown; which is the only Source, from whence all the Marks of Honour and Dignities in the State flow. The third gave the two Houſes full Power to continue ſitting at *London*, or to remove to any other Place of the Kingdom, as they ſhould think fit. Which the prevailing Party in the two Houſes had demanded, on Purpoſe to have it in their Power to draw near the Army, and by that Means to diſcourage ſuch as had a Mind to oppoſe their Meaſures. The fourth ſubjected the Militia for ever to the two Houſes; and gave them an abſolute Power to levy Men and Money, without any Limitation, whenever they ſhould think fit. This laſt abſolutely dethron'd the King, and directly ſtruck at the Foundations of Monarchy. 1647.

THESE ſo general Demands were accompany'd with ſo many Proteſtations, and ſuch Submiſſion of Obedience, which had ſo humble and reſpectful an Appearance, that ſeveral of his Majeſty's Servants were of Opinion, that he ought to grant them. Thoſe who were of that Mind, were afraid, if the King ſhould refuſe them, that his Enemies would proclaim every where, as they did, that he perſiſted obſtinately in his own Ruin, and the Undoing of his three Kingdoms. Others however, of better Judgment, thought that it was contrary to Juſtice and Reaſon, to demand of the King, that he ſhould before-hand grant the principal things, which were to be treated about, before the Treaty itſelf was open'd. In order to prevent the Inconveniencies of an abſolute Denial, they bethought themſelves of cauſing it to be propos'd to the Commiſſioners, That ſince they thought fit to be ſo cautious, they could not take it ill, that the King ſhould alſo mind his own Security; and, on his part, to make four Demands to the two Houſes. The firſt, That the Army be paid all that is due to it; and that after the Payment, it be disbanded. The ſecond, That there be a Time limited for the ſitting of the Parliament, then in being; which being expir'd, it be diſſolv'd. The third, That their Majeſties be reſtor'd to the Poſſeſſion of their Revenues. And laſtly, That the Eccleſiaſtical Government be eſtabliſh'd in ſuch a Manner, that the Biſhops may be depriv'd of all coercive Power; and that, in the mean time, the antient Government may ſubſiſt. All theſe things ſeeming plauſible and beneficial to the People, would have put the two Houſes to a Stand; who would have been far from granting them, nor durſt they directly have refus'd them; at leaſt, if they had refus'd things ſo juſt, they could no more have pretended to blame the King, for having refus'd thoſe, which, in the Opinion of all diſintereſted Men, were altogether unjuſt.

THAT Advice was not taken: The King follow'd another, which oblig'd his Majeſty, by a moſt eloquent and elaborate Writing, abſolutely to refuſe the Demands of the two Houſes. *Berkeley* having heard him read it, made this Objection, "That, perhaps, the Commiſſioners had "Orders to command the Governor to have a more ſtrict Eye upon his "Majeſty's Perſon, in caſe he ſhould reject their Demands, and ſo it "would be impoſſible for him to get out of the Iſland." His Majeſty anſwer'd, "That he had conſider'd of that, and would deliver his

"Anſwer

1647. " Anſwer to the Commiſſioners ſeal'd up." But that Expedient was very weak; for it was eaſily ſeen, either that the Commiſſioners would open the Letter, or at leaſt would judge, by his dealing with them in that manner, that his Majeſty did not incline to grant their Demands.

In the mean time, the Commiſſioners of the *Scotiſh* Covenanters, in Preſence of the King, proteſted againſt the Propoſitions, as alſo againſt the Acts, which the two Houſes had ſent him ready drawn up, which they affirm'd to be contrary to the Covenant, the Honour of the Crown, and the Union of the two Kingdoms. Afterwards they enter'd into a moſt ſerious and ſecret Treaty with his Majeſty. But before we ſpeak of that, it is neceſſary to repreſent what paſs'd, in relation to the King, betwixt the two Houſes and them, ſince the Earls of *Loudon* and *Lenrick* were join'd in Commiſſion with them. The great Succeſs of the two Houſes had made them very haughty: And the ill Treatment which the King was undergoing, incens'd the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners, and quicken'd their Reſentment, inſomuch that the Diſpute was very hot on both Sides.

*A Letter from the* Scotiſh *Commiſſioners to the two Houſes, about the King's being kept Priſoner at* Hampton-Court.

They had written to the two Houſes on the 5th of *November*, and had repreſented to them, " That as they did not ſtick to expreſs their Re-
" ſentment of the King's being carry'd away by Force, out of the Caſtle
" of *Holmby*, by a Detachment of *Fairfax*'s Army; ſo the Committee
" of their Parliament having been inform'd, that his Majeſty's Perſon
" was ſtill in the Power of that Army, they had been order'd to make
" their Application to the King himſelf, in order to have a certain Ac-
" count of the Condition he was in; and that his Majeſty had anſwer'd
" them, that he thought he could not do it otherwiſe, than by ſending
" them back to the two Houſes and the Army. But the two Houſes
" having often declar'd, that they would always take a very great Care
" to preſerve the Perſon, the lawful Authority, and the Grandeur of
" his Majeſty, which the two Kingdoms had ſolemnly ſworn never to
" diminiſh: They addreſs'd themſelves to the two Houſes only, ſince
" their Army was to do nothing but by their Orders, to know in what
" State the King was, ſeeing they were accountable for him, having
" paſs'd their Word, that nothing ſhould be attempted either againſt the
" King's Honour or Perſon, when his Majeſty was put into their Hands;
" on the contrary, that he ſhould always be treated with all the Reſpect
" that was due to their Sovereign. That, without that Aſſurance,
" neither Promiſes nor Threats would have oblig'd them to part with
" his Perſon, 'till the Armies had been disbanded, and Peace re-
" eſtabliſh'd in the Kingdoms. And becauſe the Parliament of the
" Kingdom of *Scotland* had found, that their Happineſs and Preſerva-
" tion depended upon that of his royal Perſon, they were reſolv'd never
" to forſake his Majeſty's Intereſts, and all their Lives to continue in that
" Fidelity and Obedience to him, which they naturally ow'd him, what-
" ſoever Change might happen in Affairs, having never had any other
" Thought, but to live like faithful and loyal Subjects, under his
" Reign. That for that Reaſon, they had often wiſh'd to have it in
" their Power to contribute towards the making up of Matters, which
" were, as yet, to be ſettled between the King and his Subjects. And
" that, for the ſame Intent, they deſir'd, that the new Propoſitions,
" which the two Houſes had determined to ſend to the King, might be
" imparted to them; that, according to the ſolemn League between the
" two Nations, they might act in Concert with their Commiſſioners,
" and conſult together upon the Matters that concern'd the publick
" Peace, and the common Intereſt of both the Kingdoms. And that
" the

" the King may the more eaſily be clear'd of his Doubts, and receive " more Satisfaction, than, for ſome time, he had had from the Parlia- " ment of *England*, they requir'd, in the Name of the Kingdom of *Scot-* " *land*, that the King may come to *London* with Safety, and the Honour " due to his Majeſty, or at leaſt that he may ſtay at *Hampton-Court* in " full Liberty: That he may be no longer under the Power of Soldiers, " nor remov'd from Place to Place like a Priſoner of War, as he had " been hitherto, according to the Fancy of the Army: That, by that " Means, the Commiſſioners of his Kingdoms may make their Applica- " tion freely to his Majeſty, without fear of being affronted, as one of " theirs had already been, of which they had not as yet been able to " obtain the leaſt Reparation, notwithſtanding their having complain'd " of it on ſeveral Occaſions." 1647.

THEY receiv'd no Anſwer to this Letter, which plainly ſhew'd that they began to repent; but the new Propoſitions having been communicated to them, and they being altogether diſagreeable to them, on the 17th of *December* they preſented a long Declaration, containing their Opinion thereof, and their Complaints to the two Houſes, who, ſome time after, caus'd a full Anſwer to be publiſh'd. The Commiſſioners of *Scotland* reſuming Matters a little higher, complain'd, " That the " Parliaments of the two Kingdoms having agreed to Propoſitions, " which were preſented to the King at *Oxford*, and which were after- " wards treated about at *Uxbridge*, yet thoſe of *England* had refus'd to " preſent the ſame Propoſitions to his Majeſty at *Newcaſtle*, and had " made Alterations in the Articles, which concern'd the ſtrict Union " between the Kingdoms. That, nevertheleſs, thoſe of *Scotland*, for the " Good of Peace, had overlook'd whatever might have been for their " own private Intereſt, and had join'd with thoſe of *England*, for getting " the King to accept of the Propoſitions, though they were not at all " pleas'd with them, as they have ever ſince declar'd. And although " they had agreed among themſelves to offer the ſaid Articles to his " Majeſty at *Holmby*, the two Houſes having been a long Time with- " out ſhewing the Effects of their Promiſe, they had ſtill waited their " Conveniency, without expreſſing the leaſt Impatience. And that " after ſo long waiting, they were quite ſurpriz'd to hear, that they had " all of a ſudden appointed a preciſe Day, on which their Commiſſioners " were to carry the Propoſitions to the King at *Hampton-Court*, with " Orders to preſent them to his Majeſty, even whether thoſe of *Scotland* " were there, or not. Laſtly, That having, by their Letters of the 5th " of *November*, requir'd that the King might come to *London*, in order " to treat there with the Parliament; the two Houſes, without giving " them any Anſwer upon that Head, had preſs'd them to explain them- " ſelves poſitively upon, and to give their Thoughts of the new Propo- " ſitions, which they had reſolv'd to ſend to his Majeſty in the Iſle of " *Wight*, and had had as little Regard to the Requeſt they had made, " that they might confer with them, and give the Reaſons they had, for " deſiring, that the King might come to *London*, that, according to " the Treaty made between the two Nations in 1644, ſuch Things " might be agreed upon, as ought to be the Foundation of the com- " mon Peace."

*Their Complaints to the two Houſes.*

THE two Houſes anſwer'd to theſe Complaints, " That, by the Pro- " poſitions ſent to *Oxford*, the Militia of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland* " was put under the Direction of Commiſſioners appointed by the two " King-

*The Anſwer of the two Houſes to theſe Complaints.*

1647. " Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, for having the Command of it " as well in *England*, as in *Scotland* and *Ireland*; and by thoſe which " were ſent to *Newcaſtle*, the Militia of *England* and that of *Ireland* " depending upon *England*, was ſeparated from that of *Scotland*, in ſuch " a manner, that the Parliaments of both Kingdoms ſhould command " their own Militia ſeparately; upon Condition, however, of joining " them together, when the Good and Intereſt of both Nations ſhould be " in Danger: So it having been adjuſted by the Propoſitions of *Oxford*, " that the War of *Ireland* ſhould be manag'd by the Advice and Conſent " of both Kingdoms, by the Propoſitions of *Newcaſtle*, it was re- " quir'd, that the Direction of that War ſhould belong to the two " Houſes. So that the Alterations that had been made in the Propo- " ſitions, had no other Tendency but to avoid the Confuſion which the " mixing of the private Rights of each Kingdom would have occaſion'd, " and which, without doubt, at laſt would have broken that Union " they had made between them, for the Maintenance of their common " Intereſts. That as to their not being pleas'd with the Propoſitions " of *Newcaſtle*, it ſeem'd that the Reaſons, which the Commiſſioners " of *England* had alledg'd, were better than theirs, becauſe they had " at laſt conſented to them; which they would not have done, how " deſirous ſoever they had been of Peace, if they had diſcover'd " any thing therein repugnant to the Covenant. In fine, That the two " Houſes thought it ſtrange, that the Commiſſioners of *Scotland* ſhould " alledge their Patience, they, who had been ſilent, and who, during all " the King's Stay at *Holmby*, had never ſollicited the two Houſes to ſend " him Propoſitions; on the contrary, as the Commiſſioners were fre- " quently urg'd to do it, they anſwer'd, That they could do nothing, " 'till the other Commiſſioners, whom they were expecting, were arriv'd. " More than that; for the two Houſes were well inform'd, that ſome " of them had ſaid, that Propoſitions muſt not be preſented to the King, " 'till the Army ſhould be disbanded. In that Caſe, they would have " been able to bring the King to *London*, in Spite of the two Houſes, " and with open Force oblige them to treat with him upon ſuch Con- " ditions as his Majeſty and they ſhould have judg'd moſt advantageous " for their Affairs. That as to the Circumſtance of the Time and Day " on which the Propoſitions were to be preſented to the King at " *Hampton-Court*, the two Houſes did not ſee what Reaſon they had to " quarrel with them for that, ſince they pretended to have waited pa- " tiently four Months, during which Time they had always been ready. " That even though the two Houſes ſhould have caus'd the Propoſitions " to be preſented without them, they ſhould have done nothing, but " what the Commiſſioners of *Scotland* had done at *Newcaſtle*, who " alone preſented them to his Majeſty a ſecond time. That, in ſhort, " the two Houſes had more Reaſon to be ill pleas'd with them, for not " having given them any Anſwer, upon the Matter of the Propoſitions, " which they call'd New, than they had to complain of the two Houſes, " for not having anſwer'd to what they deſir'd, concerning the King's " coming back to *London*; becauſe the ſending of the Propoſitions, " about which they made ſo much Noiſe, had never been blam'd by " either of the Kingdoms, whereas a Perſonal Treaty with the King at " *London*, had been diſapprov'd of by both. That it was that alone, " which had oblig'd them to avoid all manner of Conference upon that " Subject, and upon that of the Alteration which had been made in the " Propoſitions, which touch'd upon nothing but what concern'd *England* " in particular, in which *Scotland* had not the leaſt Intereſt, however

" diſpleas'd

" diſpleas'd the Commiſſioners ſeem'd to be with that Proceeding, which 1647.
" they ſaid ſtruck at the Treaty between the two Nations. For the Article,
" upon which they grounded their Diſpleaſure, was to ſubſiſt only while
" there ſhould be War, and Armies kept up on Foot on both Sides: But
" the War being at an End, that Article of the Treaty likewiſe ceas'd;
" ſince, where there was no War, there was no Occaſion to treat of a Peace,
" nor an Enemy to treat with. The two Houſes likewiſe added, That
" ſuch was always the Cuſtom amongſt confederate Princes, who under-
" take a War againſt ſome common Enemy, and who bind themſelves to
" the ſame thing, but which is not meant, but when the War is ended by
" a Treaty, and not by the Defeat of the Enemy; the Meaning of ſuch
" an Article being, that the one ſhould not treat for his own particular Se-
" curity, without comprehending his Confederate, and without delivering
" him from the Danger as well as himſelf: Which does not confound their
" particular Intereſts, nor makes one Maſter of the other's Affairs; no more
" than the Treaties betwixt *France* and *Holland*, gave any Power to *France*
" to diſpoſe of any thing, concerning the Polity or Religion in the United
" Provinces."

THE Commiſſioners of *Scotland* offer'd, in the ſecond place, the Reaſons of the Demand, which they had made, of treating with the King in Perſon; and ſaid, firſt: " That the Parliaments of both Kingdoms having
" oftentimes ſent Propoſitions to his Majeſty, without obtaining any Satiſ-
" faction by them, the new Propoſitions being yet more diſadvantageous to
" the Crown, than the former were, they could not reaſonably expect any
" better Succeſs. Secondly, That the two Houſes having acknowledg'd in
" ſeveral of their Declarations, that the King's Abſence from the Parlia-
" ment had been the principal Cauſe of the War, and of all the Diſorders of
" the Kingdoms, it follow'd then, that his Preſence there would be the
" beſt, nay, perhaps, the only Cure for all their Diſtempers. In the third
" place, That it was properly impoſing upon the King, to propoſe any
" thing to him, without ſhewing him the Reaſons and Juſtice of it, in
" treating with his Majeſty. In the fourth place, That it was juſt, that the
" King ſhould at leaſt be heard upon what he may deſire, as to the things
" which concern'd the Dignity of his Perſon, and the Grandeur of his
" Crown. In the fifth place, That the Articles of the Propoſitions were
" not all of ſuch Importance, that the Refuſal of them ought to put a Stop
" to the Peace. Laſtly, That they look'd upon a perſonal Treaty to be the
" ſureſt way for ſettling a mutual Confidence between the King and Parlia-
" ment." To which the two Houſes anſwer'd, " That they could not
" expect better Succeſs by a new Treaty, than that of *Uxbridge* had, or that
" which was held at *Oxford*, where his Majeſty was preſent; unleſs they
" had a mind to yield by a Treaty, what could not be got from them by the
" Force of Arms; or elſe, that under Pretence of adjuſting the Intereſts of
" each of the Parties, they ſhould ſuffer themſelves to be inſenſibly divided,
" by compenſating of one Intereſt with another Intereſt; and by that
" Means put it in the King's Power, to improve his own above all the
" others. And if they could not expect Peace, but upon Condition that
" the King ſhould be ſatisfy'd in what he reckon'd Advantages of the Crown;
" in that Caſe, it had been better for them not to have made War, and to
" have ſav'd the Blood of ſo many Men, that had been ſpilt; of which, by
" that Means, they made themſelves guilty. That the Commiſſioners
" were miſtaken, when they thought that the King's Preſence in the Parli-
" ament neceſſarily inferr'd his coming back to *London*, as he and they ſo
" much long'd for, in order to cajole the People there; becauſe it was not
abſolutely

*Reaſons given by the* Scotiſh *Commiſſioners for a perſonal Treaty.*

*The Anſwer of the two Houſes thereto.*

1647. " abſolutely neceſſary, that the Parliament ſhould ſit in *London:* And that " they were no leſs out in the Meaning of the two Houſes in their Declara- " tions; for they did not at all pretend therein to have it believ'd, that they " thought the Diſtance between the King and the Parliament was the Cauſe " of the War; but rather, that they knew very well, that it was the Di- " ſtance of his Affection only, that induc'd him to oppoſe all their Reſolu- " tions, and to uſe all Means for rendering them fruitleſs. In like manner, " they were fully perſuaded, that as long as he continues in that Mind, his " Abſence was more advantageous, than his Preſence in the Parliament. " Matters being thus, the Commiſſioners had not foreſeen, that the Con- " ſequences which are drawn from contrary things, are often fallacious. " And as it would be bad Reaſoning to ſay, That ſince the entering of the " *Scotiſh* Army into *England* was for the good of the two Houſes, when " they ſent for it to their Aſſiſtance, therefore the going out of it was " prejudicial, when they ſtood no longer in Need of it. Theſe Subtilties " are Fallacies more fit to be made Uſe of in Schools, than in a Senate. " That the Chancellor of *Scotland* reaſon'd very long with the King upon " the Propoſitions of *Newcaſtle*; but that he had not been able to prevail " upon him in the leaſt; and that it was not to be thought, that either he " or they had any other better Reaſons ſince that time, than thoſe he made " Uſe of then for convincing his Majeſty, when he told him, with great " Freedom, That if he ſhould refuſe to conſent to the Propoſitions, (which, " he pray'd to God, might not happen) he would loſe all his Friends, and " that all *England*, to a Man, would at once riſe up againſt him: And " added, That it was to be fear'd, that when it ſhould be ſeen, that there " were no more Hopes of a Reconciliation, they would depoſe him, and " change the Government: That in the mean time, the Parliaments of the " two Kingdoms, join'd together, would be forc'd to ſettle Religion and " Peace therein, without conſulting him; which would be his Ruin, as " well as that of all his Poſterity; becauſe, if by his Obſtinacy, he ſhould " chance to loſe *England*, he would not be ſuffer'd to go to ruin *Scotland*. " In ſhort, the two Houſes did not ſee, that the Commiſſioners could al- " ledge, on their part, a ſtronger Reaſon than the Judgment of the Par- " liament, which was the repreſentative Body of the Kingdom; nor, in " caſe that the King ſhould not be ſatisfy'd with any Reaſon, had they Cauſe " to ſay, That it was impoſing upon his Majeſty, to propoſe ſuch juſt and " reaſonable things to him. That having taken care of their own Security " by the four preliminary Acts, which the King was deſir'd to paſs, and " particularly, by that which contain'd a Revocation of all the Declarations, " which he had made againſt them, without which, it ſeems, they had a " Mind to force the two Houſes to treat with the Rope about their Necks, " they ſubmitted the reſt of the Propoſitions to the Treaty, wherein ſome " things might be yielded, and Expedients found for ſatisfying the King, " in what he ſhould juſtly deſire. "

In the third place, the Commiſſioners found Fault with many things in the new Propoſitions, as well in what concern'd Religion, as the Honour of the Crown. In the firſt place, they ſaid, " That what concern'd Re- " ligion, which ought to have been minded firſt, was the very laſt of the " Propoſitions; and beſides, there was not the leaſt Mention made of the " Covenant, nor of the Orders, which ought to have been given for the " Aſſembly of Divines, wherein the Religion in *England* and *Ireland* was " to be reform'd, according to the Covenant, that it might be uniform in " all the three Kingdoms. But inſtead of that, the two Houſes, on the " contrary, deſir'd nothing but a Shadow of Presbyterian Government, a

Diſcipline

" Diſcipline without either Life or Vigour; and what was yet worſe, they 1647.
" demanded, that all Sorts of Worſhip might be tolerated; ſo that a mon-
" ſtrous Deformity of ſo many and ſo different Sects was preferr'd to that
" Uniformity of Religion, which the Parliaments of *Scotland* and *England*
" had ſolemnly ſworn to eſtabliſh in all his Majeſty's Dominions." The two Houſes anſwer'd, " That it was very true, that as well in the Thoughts,
" as in the Words and Actions of all Chriſtians, the Pearl of the Goſpel
" ought juſtly to be preferr'd to all other Intereſts, and that it likewiſe ought
" to be ſought after before all things; but that the Presbyterian Govern-
" ment was not all that Pearl; and that, very far from being the *one thing*
" *needful*, they ſaw no Neceſſity of believing, that it was of divine Right.
" And tho' it was true, that Men ought to mind Religion firſt; yet they
" might preferably ſet about things which concern'd their Safety, when it
" was in order to attain an End, which they valu'd more than that very
" Safety. As the Maſter of a leaky Ship would, before all things, ſet about
" refitting her, as being abſolutely neceſſary for the Preſervation of the
" Goods; which, without including the Lives of the Paſſengers, are ge-
" nerally of more Value than the Ship. That the Senſe of the Covenant
" was not cut off from the Propoſitions; but only that Manner of eſta-
" bliſhing it upon Penalties againſt the Contraveners, that ſhould be or-
" dain'd by the common Advice of both Kingdoms; which confounded
" their particular Juriſdictions, which, above all things, ought to be kept
" ſeparate. But that the two Houſes were of Opinion, That it ought not
" to be eſtabliſh'd under any Penalty hereafter, until the true Senſe of it
" ſhould be agreed upon; and ſo much the rather, that of late ſome have
" made ſcandalous Interpretations of it, under Gloſſes which deſtroy'd the
" Text. And that they thought it very ſtrange, that the Commiſſioners
" ſhould ſtand ſo much upon Forms, as to inſiſt upon the Order of things
" propos'd by the two Houſes; even to take it ill, that the Covenant was
" not therein contain'd in its full Extent; and for all that, the King's Let-
" ter, written from *Carisbrook* Caſtle, had not diſpleas'd them; wherein,
" indeed, he begins with Religion, but plainly refuſeth to conſent to the
" Covenant, and the Aboliſhment of Epiſcopacy, which the two Houſes
" had always demanded. Which the Commiſſioners, in order to pleaſe
" the King, acting rather for his Intereſt, than for that of the Kingdom of
" *Scotland*, would not explain otherwiſe, but by ſaying, that they had not
" been able to obtain any thing more of the King: Yet they did not believe,
" that his Majeſty, whoſe Heart is in the Hand of the Lord, could be forc'd
" to it by Arms, tho' the Covenanters of *Scotland* had taken up Arms for
" maintaining the Covenant, and had fought againſt the King for
" oppoſing it. And as for that Secret of the Power of God over the
" Hearts of Kings, the two Houſes thought, that it was Matter of
" Prayer, which might be made for the King, but not of a Propoſition
" that was to be preſented to him. That they had taken ſufficient
" Care of the Aſſembly of Divines, who having almoſt finiſh'd
" the Affair, for which they had been called together, deſired to
" return to their uſual Charges: And that though they agreed, that a
" Shadow of Diſcipline, void of the Life and Spirit of Religion, was
" not much to be valu'd; yet they did not believe, that the Power of
" appointing Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures independently of the Civil Magi-
" ſtrate, nor his blind Obedience in inflicting Civil Puniſhments by
" Order of the Clergy, was that Life. As for the reſt, that it was not
" true, that the two Houſes had given Liberty to all Sorts of Sects, or
" conniv'd at any Doctrine that ſtruck at the Foundation of Chriſtianity,
" or that open'd a Door to Impiety. For the Propoſition about Religion

1647. " was divided into theſe Articles; That his Majeſty would be pleas'd to " conſent to an Act for the Eſtabliſhment of *Presbyterian* Government, " and of the *Directory* in *England* and *Ireland*, and that that Act ſhould " be in Force to the End of the next Parliament. That ſuch as ſhould " refuſe to comply therewith, ſhould not be troubled on that Account, " but that they might meet to worſhip God in ſuch Places as they ſhould " think fit, provided they ſhould do nothing that might diſturb the " Quiet of the People. That that Toleration ſhould not be extended to " Papiſts, nor to ſuch as ſhould preach Doctrines contrary to the Fun- " damentals of the Chriſtian Religion, contain'd in the firſt fifteen Ar- " ticles of the *Engliſh* Confeſſion of Faith, nor to thoſe who abſtain'd " from hearing the Word of God on *Sundays*, either in the Chuches or " elſewhere, nor yet to thoſe who ſhould make uſe of the *Liturgy*. That " the Tythes and the other Emoluments of the Churches ſhould belong to " the Presbyterian Miniſters. That all other Miniſters, excepting ſuch " as were interdicted, might likewiſe make Exhortations, ſave at the " uſual Hours of Service and Preaching, in all the Churches and " Chapels whither the People ſhould have a mind to call them, and " that they ſhould enjoy the Foundations that had been made for that " manner of Devotion. The Propoſition being ſuch, the two Houſes " maintain'd, that if the Commiſſioners had narrowly examin'd it, and " conſider'd all the Terms of it, all that they had found fault with in " it were nothing but trifling Things. That they ſaid it was abſurd to " demand that the *Presbyterian* Government ſhould be eſtabliſh'd by " Virtue of a Law, and yet that no Body ſhould be oblig'd to obſerve " that Law, but ſuch as ſhould have a mind to ſubmit to it. But the " two Houſes did not require that every Body ſhould be allow'd to diſ- " obey the Law: On the contrary, it was the Law itſelf that exempted " all ſuch, as ſhould not be pleas'd voluntarily to ſubmit to that Govern- " ment, from being ſubject to it. For in Things where the Law re- " quir'd Obedience, no Man was allow'd to be exempted from it. As " the Law having authoriz'd that Government, there was no Perſon, of " what Condition ſoever, that could either moleſt or diſturb thoſe who " were willing to ſubmit to it. Beſides, without that Law, the Preſ- " byterian Miniſters could not force the People to pay their Tythes, nor " to give them the free Uſe of the Churches and Chapels. Juſt ſo, if " the two Houſes ſhould ordain a voluntary Contribution to be rais'd " over all the Kingdom, for the Relief of *Ireland*, the Ordinance would " not be ridiculous, becauſe that no Body would be oblig'd to contri- " bute towards it. Or if the Parliament ſhould give Orders for founding " a College in ſome Town, that Ordinance would not be abſurd, though " the Inhabitants were not oblig'd to ſend their Children there, and " that that depended upon the Will of the Parents. That the Com- " miſſioners likewiſe objected, that whatever may be pretended, nothing " was demanded but a Toleration of the Presbyterian Government, " which was limited as well by the Time of the ſitting of the next Par- " liament, which might begin and end in ſix Weeks, as by the Bounds " that were ſet to the Eccleſiaſtical Authority, which was ſubjected to " the Secular Magiſtrate, and that the Parliament had alſo given Di- " rections to the Presbyteries, concerning Perſons, who, on Account of " their Ignorance, ought to be debarr'd from the Lord's Supper. But the " two Houſes having eſtabliſh'd that Government in ſuch a manner, and " ordain'd that the Tythes, and all the other Emoluments of the Churches, " ſhould belong to the Miniſters that ſhould comply therewith, thought " they had done ſomething that far exceeded a bare Toleration. That

" as

1647.

" as for the Time it was to laſt, it was the Cuſtom of Parliament, not " to make any Ordinance that was to be perpetual and unrepealable, " upon the bringing in of ſome new Thing, whereof the Conveniency " or Inconveniency it might bring along with it to the State, had not " been as yet found by Experience. And that, in a Word, the two " Houſes could not acknowledge any Authority which was not to take " its firſt Riſe, and receive its Bounds from the Civil Magiſtrate, who " ought not to be ignorant of Religion, and who alone had the Power " in his Hand to puniſh Vice, and reward Virtue. That as for the reſt, " they intreated the Commiſſioners to conſider, that it was much better " to bear with ſome Errors, and to leave the Diſpoſal of ſuch Things to " God, than to employ his Authority for the Condemnation of one " ſingle Truth; and that they would do well to moderate their Zeal, " and abſtain from all Speeches which tended to Bitterneſs. That the " two Houſes gave them this Advice, becauſe they thought they had " ſpoken in a more civil manner to them, than they did, when they " charg'd the Parliament of the Kingdom with being condeſcending and " liberal in the Things that belong'd to God, but ſtiff and too ſparing in " thoſe where their own Intereſt was concern'd: beſides, that the Com- " miſſioners were groſly miſtaken, to believe that the Preſbyterian Govern- " ment was look'd upon to be more of the Number of the Things be- " longing to God, than the Privileges of Parliament, and the Liberties " of the Subjects were; and that, by a Calumny much more repugnant " to Charity, than the Indulgence which the two Houſes granted to " tender Conſciences, they had call'd it an *impious Toleration*.

" LASTLY, The Commiſſioners found fault with the two Houſes, for " demanding Things which deſtroy'd the brighteſt Gems of the Crown. " That both the Kingdoms were oblig'd, as well by the Covenant, as " by the Oath of Fidelity which they had ſworn, to maintain the lawful " Authority and Grandeur of the King. And that it would be wreſt- " ing the Sword and Scepter out of his Hands, to ſtrip him altogether " of the Power that belong'd to him over the Militia, without which " he could not protect his Subjects; and to deprive him of the negative " Voice, without which he could not govern them by the Laws, there " being no other in all the Kingdoms of the World, but Royal Laws. " That it was poſſible, that the King's refuſing to give his Conſent to " ſome Settlement which the Parliament ſhould demand, might be for " the Good of the Kingdom; and as for his Power of beſtowing " Favours, it was the brighteſt Gem of the Crown, of which he ought " not to be robb'd, Kings having been always acknowledg'd for the " Diſtributers of Offices and Honours in all the Nations of the World."

The two Houſes anſwer'd, " That the King was likewiſe oblig'd to " maintain the Privileges of Parliament, and the Liberties of the Subject; " and that the Covenanters of *Scotland* had made War, and join'd with " the two Houſes, for no other End, but to oblige him to do ſo. That " they, as well as the Parliament of *England*, had made Laws for the " Covenant, for raiſing Money in the Counties, for the Suppreſſion of " the Liturgy, for the Eſtabliſhment of the Directory; and all that " without the King's Conſent, and without having Regard to his negative " Voice. So that they acknowledg'd, that in all extraordinary Caſes, " which put the Kingdom in Danger, as theſe, about which the Diſpute " now was, would infallibly do, the Parliament alone was bound to " look to that. That what happen'd but ſeldom, was a bad Founda-

" tion

1647. " tion of Politicks; and that it was more probable to think, that the King " alone, without the Aſſiſtance of any Council, might ſooner be miſtaken, " than the repreſentative Body of the whole Kingdom; and that it might " likewiſe happen in the ſame Manner, that he might oppoſe ſome Over- " ture, that might be made for the Advantage of the Kingdom, rather " than that the Parliament might be miſtaken, or would do any thing that " might be prejudicial to the State. That tho' the Commiſſioners made " it appear, that the King, by his laſt Letter, offer'd to grant all that " could be deſir'd about the Matter of the Militia, yet they could not be " ignorant, that in the Propoſitions of *Oxford*, in thoſe of *Newcaſtle*, and " in the very Treaty of *Uxbridge*, wherein they had acted jointly with " the two Houſes, his Majeſty and his Poſterity were depriv'd of the " Power of commanding the Militia, without any Complaint being " made then, that claſh'd either with the Covenant, or the Oath of Fi- " delity. In fine, That the two Houſes were ſurpriz'd, that thoſe who " had ſided with the Parliament of *England*, ſhould expreſs ſo much De- " ſire to taſte of that Fountain of Honour, which the Commiſſioners " mention'd, without waiting till it ſhould be made clear; and that that " Gem of the Crown ſhould appear ſo bright to them now, when they " themſelves had formerly conſented to have that Ornament taken away, " and had aſſiſted in all the things, againſt which they had proteſted in " the Iſle of *Wight*, by an injurious Attempt upon the Authority of the " Parliament of *England*."

It was thus, that *Simeon* and *Levi*, that is to ſay, the Covenanters of *Scotland* and *England*, parted from one another, breaking that Band of Iniquity, which, not long before, they call'd the Band of Unity, and which the Independents then call'd an old Almanack. 'Tis true, that in this Diſpute, the Parliament of *England* ran down that of *Scotland* with their own Weapons. For the *Scots* had been Acceſſories to the Revolt of the *Engliſh*, and had fomented their Rebellion. But the Covenanters of *Scotland* having repented of it, and reſuming good and ſound Principles, argu'd ſo well in the main, that the two Houſes could make but very weak Anſwers to what they had aſſerted, both for the Good of Religion, and the Honour of the Crown. And indeed, how could the King fulfil the Oath he had taken at his Coronation, to defend the Laws and his People, if the Power of the Sword ſhould be taken from him, which is the true Support of the Scepter, without which the Laws would have no Vigour, and conſequently all the People would be expos'd to Invaſions from without, and to Troubles from within, by popular Seditions, and the Factions of the Nobility? For it happens but too often, that they abuſe their Maſter's Authority, in order to ſatisfy their own Paſſions, whereas they are only intruſted with that Authority, for protecting thoſe, who are unable to keep themſelves from the Violence and Oppreſſion of ſuch as imagine they may do what they pleaſe. It was likewiſe true, that the King's refuſing ſometimes to conſent to the Ordinances of the two Houſes, might be for the Good of his People. Things are paſs'd in both Houſes by the Majority of Votes: But very often they are carry'd but by three or four Members, who are neither more knowing, nor better affected to the publick Good, than the reſt; and who, when two Opinions ſeem to divide the Houſe, perhaps go over to one of the two, without knowing why they do it, ſave only to put an End to the Diſpute. But in the Houſe of Peers, the King being aſſiſted by his Privy Council, the twelve Judges of the Kingdom, his Attorney General and Sollicitor, and the twelve Maſters in Chancery, probably judges better of what is for the Good and

Advantage

Advantage of the People, according to the Laws, than can be done in great Aſſemblies, where the Debates are commonly tumultuary; and where Factions reign, Men always carrying thither their Paſſions and private Intereſts. 1647.

As to the ſolemn League, it would be hard to divine what the two Houſes meant by the Subſtance of the Covenant, which, they ſaid, was contain'd in the Propoſitions. For, beſides that there was no Mention made therein of that Uniformity of Religion, in the Doctrine, Worſhip, and Diſcipline, which was to be eſtabliſh'd in the three Kingdoms, how could the two Houſes ſay, That they maintain'd the King's royal Authority, which was not only one of the principal Articles of the Covenant, but the only lawful one? Had not they ſeiz'd all the royal Authority; had not they declar'd the King not to be in a Condition to govern his Kingdoms; had not they paſs'd a Vote, forbidding all Correſpondence with his Majeſty for the future? As for the King's Perſon, it appears that he was not very well treated, being ſhut up, as he was, in a Priſon, without being able to obtain but only one of his ordinary Chaplains, but not ſo much as one of his domeſtick Officers to attend his Majeſty. Neither was it ſeen that the two Houſes ſhew'd a very great Regard for him, when, ſome time after, *Richard Osborne* told them, That one Captain *Rolph* ſeem'd to have a Deſign upon his Life. In the Letter, which *Osborne* wrote them, and which he directed to the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, he ſaid, "That having diſcours'd with *Rolph*, who was *Hammond*'s great Confident, and beſides, much eſteem'd in the Army, he "had told him, that he knew it for certain, that *Hammond* had receiv'd "many Letters from the Army, inciting him to poiſon the King, or to "diſpatch him any other way; and that that being once done, it would "forward their Affairs very much: However, he did not believe, that "*Hammond*, who got ſo much Money for guarding the King, would "be willing to have his Office ſo ſoon at an End. But that, if he *(Oſ-borne)* would join with him, they would endeavour to get the King "out of *Carisbrook* Caſtle, and carry him to ſome By-Place, where they "might do with him whatever they pleas'd." He had inclos'd in this Letter the Copy of another to the ſame Purpoſe, which he had written to the Lord *Wharton*; and in both the Letters *Osborne* offer'd to appear, and juſtify that what he had written was true, if the Parliament would grant him a Safe-guard to go and return in Safety. The Speaker was unwilling to read the Letters; Becauſe, ſaid he, they being from *Osborne*, could tend to nothing elſe, but to ſow Diviſion in the Houſe. However, a great many of the Members being of another Opinion, oblig'd him to cauſe them to be read: But the Clerk had ſcarce read them over, when the Affair was dropp'd, without expreſſing the leaſt Reſentment of it: And as *Clement Walker*, ſeconded by ſome other Members, had ſaid, "That "the Houſe having receiv'd an Information of ſuch Importance as that "was, let it be true or falſe, it ought not to be ſlighted; becauſe that, if "the King ſhould happen to die, were it a natural Death or not, the "People would never believe, that the Parliament was innocent of it, "becauſe of the bad Treatment, which every Body knew his Majeſty "had had: For which Reaſon, there ought to be Commiſſioners ap-"pointed for interrogating *Osborne*, *Rolph*, and *Hammond*, upon that "Fact." It was anſwer'd coldly, "That thoſe Commiſſioners would "not know where to find *Osborne*; and that he was a Malignant, that "had endeavour'd to ſet the King at Liberty." And as *Walker* had again reply'd, "That, not long ago, a Committee had been appointed on

1647. " the Account of a ſimple Footman, who had ſtruck *Mildmay*, tho' that " Committee knew not where that Footman was, nor ſo much as his " Name. That to ſtrike a Subject, and to murder a King, were two " Actions infinitely different. That it ought to be publiſh'd, that *Osborne* " might come and return in Safety, in caſe he perſiſted to make good his " Accuſation againſt *Rolph*; and if he ſhould not appear, he ought to be " declar'd a Slanderer, and juſtly puniſh'd as ſuch, whenever he ſhould " be taken. That of what Party ſoever he may be, unleſs he be known " to be a perfidious Man, he ought to be heard upon his Oath. That if " he has attempted to get the King out of *Carisbrook* Caſtle, probably " he has done it upon the Belief he had, that his Majeſty's Life was in " Danger there, and not out of any ill Will he bore to the Parliament, " which he had ſerv'd with great Zeal." It being aſſerted, that he made that Propoſal with no other Deſign but to bring *Hammond* and *Rolph* to *London*, that the King might the more eaſily make his Eſcape from *Carisbrook*, he was forc'd to be ſilent. At laſt, after the Houſe of Lords had granted *Osborne* forty Days to come and return in all Safety, and that both he and *Rolph* did appear, the one was poſitive in the Information againſt *Rolph*, and the other flatly deny'd it. *Rolph* being ſent to Priſon, found Friends enough in the Houſe, beſides the Recommendation of *Hammond*, who had written in his Favour, to deſire that he might be ſet at Liberty, upon his giving good and ſufficient Bail; and, in all Appearance, would have obtain'd it, had it not been that the Laws did not allow ſuch as were accus'd of High Treaſon to be bail'd. The Medium that they fell upon was, that a Committee ſhould examine the Fact, and report it to the Houſe, who afterwards might ſet him at Liberty upon Bail, if they ſhould find any Flaw in it, and bind *Osborne* in a Recognizance, to proſecute him before the King's Bench. In the mean time, great Care was taken to make *Rolph*'s Impriſonment eaſy to him, whom they look'd upon to be a Man they might confide in, and whom they had no mind to loſe. At laſt, the Aſſizes of *Southampton*, whither he had been carry'd, not having found the Bill againſt him, the Affair was dropp'd, and *Rolph* ſet at Liberty, with Reparation of Damages. Thus it may be ſaid of the Covenant, That as nothing but the Neceſſity of the Affairs of the two Houſes had induc'd them to join in it with the Covenanters of *Scotland*, ſo they fell off from it by Degrees, according to the Situation of their Affairs, and at laſt laugh'd at it, whatever they pretended, when their victorious Army had made them entertain more myſterious Sentiments both of Religion and State. Inſomuch that they could hardly diſſemble their acting like thoſe, who, when they ſee themſelves in Danger, make great Vows, and, as ſoon as the Danger is over, forget their Promiſes.

THE two Houſes could as little clear themſelves from the ſatirical Jeſt of the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners, who told them, " That ſince " they had kept a ſolemn Faſt on the 10th of *March*, and implor'd the " Aſſiſtance of God, for extirpating ſo many ſecret and ſo many ſorts " of Hereſies that were increaſing in the Kingdom, it was ſtrange that " God had not inſpir'd them with other Means for ſuppreſſing them, " but to tolerate them all. For all thoſe which they deſign'd to root " out then, were, without the leaſt Difference, the ſame that they had " a mind to ſuffer at preſent." They had nothing to anſwer to that, which could have the leaſt Shadow of Truth, but, " that when the Par- " liament of *England* join'd in a League with the Parliament of *Scotland*, " and obſerv'd that Faſt of the 10th of *March*, the Parliament was " Maſter; but the Caſe being alter'd, the Army was become Maſter."

It

It was plainly ſeen, that *Cromwell* and *Ireton* had contriv'd that Anſwer, and that their Sentiments were clearly expreſs'd in it: Which made the Covenant to be thereby ſo much undervalu'd, and the moſt important Article of the Treaty betwen the two Kingdoms, which oblig'd them not to make either Truce or Peace but with common Conſent, eluded, and look'd upon to be no longer binding, the Peace being concluded, becauſe the Independents were become Maſters, and had ſubdued all their Enemies in *England*. However, all Things were in a moſt wretched State, all had ſubmitted to the Tyranny of the Army, which had introduc'd a deſpotick Government. The King was kept Priſoner, the Parliament curb'd, the People cruelly oppreſs'd, and Religion fallen into Confuſion; though by the League and Treaties between the two Nations, the King's lawful Authority was not to be diminiſh'd, nor his Perſon unworthily treated; beſides, the Privileges of Parliament, and the Liberties of the People, were to be maintain'd: In fine, though the Treaties mention'd nothing of the Political Government of the three Kingdoms, yet it is expreſly ſtipulated, that the Uniformity of Religion, according to the Covenant, ſhould be eſtabliſh'd: Which never had been done in any one of the Treaties between *France* and the *United* Provinces. 1647.

† It may likewiſe be obſerv'd, by that Anſwer, how much the Covenanters of *Scotland* were wanting to their own Intereſts, when they deliver'd the King's Perſon to the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of *England*; for they had then a powerful Army, they were Maſters of *Newcaſtle*, *Tinmouth*, and of the ſtrong Towns of *Carliſle* and *Berwick*, which are the Keys of *England*, towards *Scotland*. They had a Hand in all Affairs. In ſhort, they were belov'd by the City of *London*, and by all the Presbyterians of the Kingdom; inſomuch that had they come to an Agreement with the King and the Royal Party of *Scotland*, they would have been able to raiſe another Army, ſet the King upon his Throne again, with Drums beating, and ſhare, with the *Engliſh*, all the great Offices of the Court, to cauſe a Regiment of *Scots* Guards to be kept about his Perſon, and to reſtore the ancient Borders of *Scotland* to the State they had formerly been in. The Parliament of *England* dreaded that very much, and it was for that Reaſon only, that as ſoon as they had made their Treaty at *Newcaſtle*, they alter'd their way of managing Buſineſs, and ſent thither this Declaration, "That though "the two Kingdoms were join'd in the Propoſitions, yet they did not "mean, that one of the Kingdoms was to have any Hand in, or Power "over the private Concerns of the other; and that though their Appli-"cation for Peace was common, yet both the one and the other might "make or repeal Laws about all Things mention'd in the Propoſitions, "according as each ſhould judge it convenient for the Good of its State, "without being found fault with by the other." Beſides that, they made a Bridge of Gold to the Covenanters Army for returning to *Scotland*; and ſince the Partiſans of the Army bore the Sway in the two Houſes, they boldly upbraided the Commiſſioners of *Scotland*, that though they declar'd, in all the Meſſages they had deliver'd to the Parliament of *England*, that they did not pretend to incroach upon their Authority; on the contrary, that they had no other Thought but to keep within their own Bounds: yet they had been meddling with every Thing, having a mind to ſhare the Authority with the two Houſes, under Pretence of the Covenant, and the League between the two Nations: In which they acted like thoſe, who having diſtinguiſh'd the

1647. Spiritual Things from the Temporal, yet, *in Ordine ad Spiritualia*, had a mind to be Maſters of both. To conclude: It may be ſeen by that ſo plain an Anſwer to the Commiſſioners of *Scotland*, that Rebellion is afraid in the Beginning to ſhew itſelf openly; that it grows bold in Time, and having made its Progreſs, it has the Impudence to go about bare-faced, to mount the Throne, and at laſt to pretend that the Authority it hath uſurp'd is a lawful Power. And though it ſprings from Darkneſs, and is form'd of the Vapours of the Earth, it flatters itſelf, by its Proſperity, that it is of a more noble Origine, and that Heaven authorizes it; though it be true, that God ſuffers not ſuch horrid Diſorders, but in order to puniſh the Ingratitude and Folly of Men.

THE two Houſes had diſcover'd nothing of the Treaty between the Commiſſioners of *Scotland* and the King, which they had induſtriouſly kept ſecret, and as cunningly manag'd, if they had us'd the ſame Diligence in concluding it. It was ſign'd the 26th of *December* at *Cariſbrook* Caſtle, and the Subſtance of it was, "That his Majeſty not "doubting but the Intentions of the Covenanters were real, for the Pre- "ſervation of his Perſon and Authority, and no ways to diminiſh his "juſt Power and Grandeur, he was content, as ſoon as he could, with "Freedom, Honour, and Safety, to be preſent in a free Parliament, to "confirm the Covenant by Act of Parliament in both Kingdoms, for "the Security of all who had, or ſhould ſign it; provided, nevertheleſs, "that none ſhould be conſtrain'd to ſign it. That the King ſhould "likewiſe confirm, by Act of Parliament in both Kingdoms, Presby- "terian Government, the Directory, and the Aſſembly of Divines at "*Weſtminſter*, for three Years; provided that his Majeſty, and his "Houſhold, ſhould not be hinder'd from uſing that Form of Divine "Service he had formerly practis'd; and that during thoſe three Years, "there ſhould be a Conſultation with the Aſſembly of Divines, to "which twenty of the King's Nomination ſhould be added, and ſome "from the Church of *Scotland*; and thereupon it ſhould be determin'd "by his Majeſty and the two Houſes of Parliament, what Form of "Government ſhould be eſtabliſh'd after the Expiration of thoſe three "Years, as ſhould be moſt agreeable to the Word of God: That an "effectual Courſe ſhould be taken by Act of Parliament, and all other "ways needful or expedient, for the ſuppreſſing the Opinions and "Practices of Anti-Trinitarians, Arians, Socinians, Anti-Scripturiſts, "Anabaptiſts, Antinomians, Arminians, Familiſts, Browniſts, Separa- "tiſts, Independents, Libertines, and Seekers, (who are all poſthumous "Children of *Luther* and *Calvin*), and, generally, for the ſuppreſſing "all Hereſy, Schiſm, and all ſuch ſcandalous Doctrines and Practices as "are contrary to the Light of Nature, and to the known Principles of "Chriſtianity, whether concerning Faith, Worſhip, or Converſation, "or the Power of Godlineſs, or which may be deſtructive of Order and "Government, or of the Peace of the Church or Kingdom. That in "the next Seſſion of Parliament, after the Kingdom of *Scotland* ſhould "declare for his Majeſty, in purſuance of this Agreement, he ſhould in "Perſon, or by Commiſſion, confirm all the Acts paſs'd in the laſt Par- "liament of that Kingdom; and that he ſhould then give Aſſurance, "that neither he, nor his Succeſſors, ſhould quarrel, call in queſtion, "or command the contrary of any of them, nor queſtion any for giving "Obedience to the ſame. And whereas after the *Scots* Army had "retir'd from *England*, the two Houſes having reſolv'd to disband the "Army under the Command of Sir *Thomas Fairfax*; on the contrary, "that

*The Subſtance of the Treaty ſign'd the 26th of* December 1647, *between the Commiſſioners of* Scotland *and the King.*

" that Army had engag'd themſelves not to part with their Arms, a " Detachment of it had taken the King by Force from *Holmby*, where " he was, and had put him into the Power of the Army, 'till he found " Means to make his Eſcape into the Iſle of *Wight*. That ſince that " Time, both his Majeſty, and the Commiſſioners for the Kingdom of " *Scotland*, had very earneſtly deſir'd, that the King might come to " *London* in Safety, Honour, and Freedom, for a Perſonal Treaty with " the two Houſes and the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, " which could never be obtain'd. That the Army had, in violent " manner, forc'd away divers Members of both Houſes from the Diſ- " charge of their Truſt, and poſſeſs'd themſelves of the City of *London*, " and all the Strengths and Gariſons of the Kingdom. That by the " Strength and Influence of that Army, and their Adherents, Propoſi- " tions and Bills had been ſent to the King, without the Advice and " Conſent of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, contrary to the Treaties which " are between the two Kingdoms, and deſtructive of Religion, his Ma- " jeſty's juſt Rights, the Privileges of Parliament, and Liberty of the " Subject; from which Propoſitions and Bills the Commiſſioners of *Scot-* " *land* had diſſented, and proteſted againſt. And foraſmuch as the " King is willing to give Satisfaction concerning the Eſtabliſhment of " Religion, and other Matters in Difference, as is expreſs'd in this " Agreement, the Kingdom of *Scotland* doth oblige and engage itſelf, " firſt, in a peaceable way and manner, to endeavour that his Majeſty " may come to *London* in Safety, Honour, and Freedom, for a perſonal " Treaty with the Houſes of Parliament and the Commiſſioners of *Scot-* " *land*, upon ſuch Propoſitions as ſhould be mutually agreed on between " the Kingdoms, and ſuch Propoſitions as his Majeſty ſhould think fit " to make; and for this End, all Armies ſhould be disbanded; and in " caſe that this ſhould not be granted, that Declarations ſhould be " emitted by the Kingdom of *Scotland* in Purſuance of this Agreement, " againſt the unjuſt Proceedings of the two Houſes of Parliament " towards his Majeſty and the Kingdom of *Scotland*; in which they " would aſſert the Right that belong'd to the Crown, in the Power of " the Militia, the Great Seal, beſtowing of Honours and Offices of " Truſt, choice of the Privy Counſellors, and the Right of the King's " negative Voice in Parliament. And that the Queen's Majeſty, the " Prince, and the reſt of the Royal Iſſue, ought to remain where his " Majeſty ſhall think fit in either of his Kingdoms, with Safety, " Honour, and Freedom. That, upon the iſſuing out this Declaration, " an Army ſhould be ſent out of *Scotland* into *England*, for the Pre- " ſervation and Eſtabliſhment of Religion, and for Defence of his Ma- " jeſty's Perſon and Authority, and reſtoring him to his Government, " to the juſt Rights of the Crown, and his full Revenues; for Defence " of the Privileges of Parliament, and Liberties of the Subject; for " making a firm Union between the Kingdoms under his Majeſty and " his Poſterity, and ſettling a laſting Peace. In Purſuance whereof, " the Kingdom of *Scotland* ſhould endeavour that there might be a free " and full Parliament in *England*, and that his Majeſty may be with " them in Honour, Safety, and Freedom; and that a ſpeedy Period be " ſet to the preſent Parliament. And that they would order Matters " ſo, that the Army which they ſhould raiſe, ſhould be in the Field " before the Meſſage and Declaration ſhould be deliver'd to the Houſes. " That all ſuch in the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, as ſhould join " with the Kingdom of *Scotland* in Purſuance of this Agreement, ſhould " be protected by his Majeſty in their Perſons and Eſtates; and that

1647.

1647. " all his Majeſty's Subjects in *England* or *Ireland* who ſhould join with " him, in Purſuance of this Agreement, might come to the *Scots* Army, " and join with them, or elſe put themſelves into other Bodies in *Eng-* " *land* or *Wales*, for Proſecution of the ſame Ends, as the King's Ma- " jeſty ſhould judge moſt convenient, and under ſuch Commanders, or " Generals of the *Engliſh* Nation, as his Majeſty ſhould think fit: And " that all ſuch ſhould be protected by the Kingdom of *Scotland* and " their Army, in their Perſons and Eſtates; and where any Injury or " Wrong is done to them, they would be careful to ſee them fully " repair'd, as far as it ſhould be in their Power to do, and likewiſe when " any Injury or Wrong is done to thoſe who join with the Kingdom of " *Scotland*, his Majeſty ſhall be careful of their full Reparation. That " neither his Majeſty himſelf, nor any by his Authority or Knowledge, " ſhould make or admit of any Ceſſation, Pacification, or Agreement " whatſoever for Peace, nor of any Treaty, Propoſitions, Bills, or any " other ways for that End, with the Houſes of Parliament, or any " Army or Party in *England* or *Ireland*, without the Advice and Con- " ſent of the Kingdom of *Scotland*; and, reciprocally, that neither the " Kingdom of *Scotland*, nor any having their Authority, ſhould make " or admit of any of theſe any manner of way, with any whatſoever, " without his Majeſty's Advice and Conſent. And that, upon the Set- " tlement of a Peace, there ſhould be an Act of Oblivion to be agreed " on by his Majeſty, and both his Parliaments of both Kingdoms. " That his Majeſty, the Prince, or both, ſhould come into *Scotland*, " upon the Invitation of that Kingdom, and their Declaration, that " they ſhould be in Honour, Freedom, and Safety, when poſſibly they " could come with Safety and Convenience; and that the King ſhould " contribute his utmoſt Endeavour, both at Home and Abroad, " for aſſiſting the Kingdom of *Scotland* for carrying on this War by " Sea and Land, and for their Supplies by Monies, Arms, Ammunition, " and all other Things requiſite, as alſo for guarding the Coaſts of " *Scotland* with Ships, and protecting all their Merchants in the free " Exerciſe of their Trade and Commerce with other Nations: And " likewiſe, that his Majeſty was willing, and did authorize the *Scots* " Army to poſſeſs themſelves of *Berwick*, *Carliſle*, *Newcaſtle* upon *Tyne*, " with the Caſtle of *Tinmouth*, and the Town of *Hartlepool*, thoſe " Places to be for Retreat and Magazines: And that when the Peace of " the Kingdom ſhould be ſettled, the Kingdom of *Scotland* ſhould " remove their Forces, and deliver back again thoſe Towns and Caſtles. " That according to the Treaty between the two Nations, *England* " ſhould pay the Remainder of that brotherly Aſſiſtance which was yet " unpaid, with the two hundred thouſand Pounds, which remain'd ſtill " due upon the laſt Treaty made with the Houſes of Parliament, for " the Auxiliary Army which the Kingdom of *Scotland* ſent into *Eng-* " *land*: And alſo, that Payment ſhould be made to the Kingdom of " *Scotland*, for the Charge and Expence of their Army in this future " War, with due Recompence for the Loſſes which they ſhould ſuſtain " therein; and that due Satisfaction, according to the Treaty on that " Behalf betwixt the two Kingdoms, ſhould be made to the *Scots* Army " in *Ireland*, out of the Lands of that Kingdom, or otherwiſe: And " that the King, according to the Intention of his Father, ſhould en- " deavour a compleat Union of the two Kingdoms, ſo as they may be " one, under his Majeſty and his Poſterity; or if that cannot be " ſpeedily effected, that all Liberties and Privileges, concerning Com- " merce, Traffick, Manufactures, peculiar to the Subjects of either " Nation,

" Nation, ſhall be common to the Subjects of both Kingdoms without " Diſtinction; and that there be a Communication and mutual Capacity, " of all other Liberties of the Subjects in the two Kingdoms: That " a competent Number of Ships ſhould be yearly aſſign'd, and appointed " out of his Majeſty's Navy, which ſhould attend the Coaſts of *Scotland*, " for a Guard, and Freedom of Trade of that Nation; and that his Ma- " jeſty ſhould declare, That his Succeſſors, as well as himſelf, are ob- " lig'd to the Performance of the Articles and Conditions of this Agree- " ment; but that his Majeſty ſhall not be oblig'd to the Performance of " the aforeſaid Articles, until the Kingdom of *Scotland* ſhall declare for " him, in Purſuance of this Agreement; and that the whole Articles, " and Conditions aforeſaid, ſhall be finiſh'd, perfected, and perform'd, " before the Return of the *Scotiſh* Army; and that, when they return " into *Scotland*, at the ſame time, *ſimul & ſemel*, all Armies ſhould be " disbanded in *England*. 1647.

MOREOVER the King declar'd, " That, to let the *Scots* know the " Affection he had for his native Country, and how ſenſible he was of " the good Will, which the Subjects of that antient Kingdom had ſhewn " him in the Extremity of his Affairs, as he was deſirous to give them " Marks of his Favour, which might be tranſmitted to their Poſterity, " he was reſolv'd to take care, that as well himſelf, as his Succeſſors, " ſhould employ thoſe of the *Scotiſh* Nation, equally with the *Engliſh*, " in all foreign Employments and Negotiations; and that a third Part " of all the Offices and Places about the King, Queen, and Prince, ſhould " be conferr'd upon ſome Perſons of that Nation; and that the King and " Prince, or one of them, will frequently reſide in *Scotland*, that the " Subjects of that Kingdom may be known to them. "

HIS Majeſty farther declar'd, " That by the Clauſe of confirming " Presbyterian Government by Act of Parliament, he is neither oblig'd " to deſire the ſettling Presbyterian Government, nor to preſent any Bills " to that Effect; and that he likewiſe underſtands, that no Perſon what- " ſoever ſhall ſuffer in his Eſtate, nor undergo any corporal Puniſhment, " for not ſubmitting to Presbyterian Government; his Majeſty underſtand- " ing that this Indemnity ſhould not extend to thoſe who are mention'd " in the Article againſt Toleration. " His Majeſty having thus explain'd himſelf to the Earls of *Loudon*, *Lauderdale*, and *Lenrick*, they ſign'd as Witneſſes only to this Declaration, not as Aſſenters.

THUS was the Treaty between the *Scots* and his Majeſty concluded, but not altogether as they would willingly have had it; for they could never get the King to conſent to certain Things, which they had very much preſs'd upon him, concerning the Covenant. Whence *Argyle* took Occaſion to cauſe the Treaty to be cry'd down by the moſt zealous Miniſters of *Scotland*, who retarded Duke *Hamilton*'s Expedition into *England* four Months; and that Delay was the Ruin of all the Parties that appear'd for the King in that Kingdom, and alſo of the Duke's Army, before it had made any conſiderable Progreſs there.

THE Day being come, that the King had promis'd to give his Anſwer to the Commiſſioners of the two Houſes of Parliament, he ſent for them, and ask'd the Earl of *Denbigh*, who was the chief of the Commiſſioners, " If they had not Power to alter ſomething in the Articles. " He having anſwer'd, No, the King gave him his Anſwer. *Denbigh* having ſtepp'd a little

1647. a little aſide with the other Commiſſioners, return'd towards his Majeſty, fell into a Paſſion, becauſe he had ſeal'd his Anſwer, and behav'd very diſreſpectfully to him, he particularly, who ow'd all to the King, his Maſter and Benefactor. After a very ſharp Debate, the King was ſo good as to open the Packet. But that Opening made the Matter worſe, it made the Commiſſioners yet more angry; the Governor took Part with them, and they retir'd to the Town of *Newport*, about a Mile from the Caſtle, there to conſult what they ſhould do. The King began then in good earneſt, but too late, to contrive his Eſcape; and reſolv'd to take Shipping that very Evening, or very early the next Morning. That Deſign was prevented by two inſuperable Difficulties. The firſt was, that at that very Inſtant, the Wind, which had been for a long time favourable, chang'd, and became quite contrary; and the ſecond was no leſs ſo; for the Governor came back to the Caſtle in a great Paſſion, and order'd the Guards to be doubled, and the Gates to be ſhut. He did not go to Bed that Night; and early the next Morning, he caus'd all the King's Servants to be put out of the Caſtle, and afterwards out of the Iſtand, without ſtopping any where. Thoſe Servants taking leave of his Majeſty, told him, That the Captain of the Frigat, and two faithful Gentlemen of the Iſland, would aſſiſt him to make his Eſcape, if it was yet poſſible.

UPON their Arrival at *Newport*, they were like to have been arreſted there. For one Captain *Burly* order'd a Drummer to beat to Arms, and having put himſelf at the Head of the People, who flock'd together without Arms, he ſaid he would lead them to the Caſtle, and reſcue the King from his Captivity. The Governor of the Iſland having Notice of it, and believing that the King's Servants had been the Cauſe of that Commotion, ſent Orders to the Governor of *Cowes*, to arreſt them, and ſend them Priſoners to *London*. But they made their Eſcape, and croſs'd over in all Haſte to the other Side of the Water; where having waited ſome time expecting the King, but ſeeing that he came not, they retir'd. The two Companies of Foot, which the Parliament had ſent to the Caſtle of *Carisbrook*, were already got thither: and *Rainsborough*, at the Deſire of the Council of War, being acquitted, had Orders from the Houſe of Commons, notwithſtanding the Oppoſition of the Peers, to ſail with a Squadron of Men of War, and to lie before the Iſland; ſo that it was no longer in the King's Power to make his Eſcape. The Parliament likewiſe deſir'd the General to ſend a Commiſſion to the Governor to try Captain *Burly*, who, very ſoon after, was hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd at *Wincheſter*. In order to ſecure the City of *London* yet more, they ordain'd, That not one of thoſe who had been of the King's Party, or who had ſign'd the League in *London*, which they had declar'd criminal, or who had contributed to the Violence that had been done them the 26th of *July*, ſhould be admitted into the Common Council of the City. And they likewiſe order'd, That all *Roman* Catholicks, and all thoſe who had carry'd Arms againſt them, ſhould depart *London* in twenty-four Hours.

AFTER all that, *Berkeley* return'd to *France*, to give the Queen an Account of his Negotiation. His Conduct had been both faithful and prudent; and it may be ſaid, That it would likewiſe have had better Succeſs, if the King had not truſted more to other People than to him, and if the ill Fortune that attended him, had not defeated all that had been undertaken for his Safety and Service. 'Tis very ſurpriſing, the King was, for a long time, at full Liberty to prepare for his Eſcape; and Fortune having left him nothing elſe, he could not have manag'd it with too much

much Care. A Ship was ready waiting him, the Wind was fair, the Queen, whoſe Intreaties were ſo prevailing upon him, very affectionately begg'd of him to come away, *Berkeley*, who knew beſt the Danger his Majeſty was in, added his Tears thereto. The King was fully inform'd of the fatal Deſign of his implacable Enemies. After all that, that great Prince put off taking care of himſelf from Day to Day; he could not reſolve, he was undetermin'd; the more he was preſs'd, the more he would defer, and ſeek for Reaſons to prolong thoſe Delays. What ſhall we conclude, but that there is ſome Fatality in all human Things, and that there are Misfortunes, which, tho' foreſeen, are not the leſs inevitable for that? 1647.

*The END of the* EIGHTH BOOK.

# THE HISTORY OF THE TROUBLES OF *GREAT-BRITAIN.*

## BOOK IX.

THE King's Anſwer was read in the Houſe of Commons the third Day of *January*; after which, *Ireton* declares the Sentiment of the Army. He was the Oracle then: So that as there was always amongſt the *Jews* a Scepter hung up in the Middle of the *Sanhedrim*, which ſerv'd as a Memorial of *Jacob*'s Royal Prophecy, the Sword ought likewiſe to have been hung up in the Middle of the Houſes of Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, as a Sign that they were enter'd into a true Iron Age, and that all Power was then lodg'd in the longeſt Sword. This Commiſſary-General ſaid, "That the King "having refus'd to paſs the four Acts, it was plainly declaring, that he "would no longer protect his People. That being the Caſe, they were "no longer his Subjects, and ought to govern the Kingdom without him. "That ſince their long Patience had avail'd them nothing, all the "World was expecting now, that they ſhould take ſome vigorous Re-"ſolution. That they ſhould never forſake thoſe gallant Men who "commanded the Army, and who had engag'd themſelves ſo far in their "Intereſt, that there was no room left for retracting; in ſhort, that "they ſhould never deſert the Parliament, if the Parliament did not "deſert them firſt." Then *Cromwell* made a Speech; and after having 1648. Ireton's Speech.

1648. having very much cry'd up the Valour, Affection, and Piety of the Army, he ſaid, " That it was now expected that the Parliament ſhould, " for the future, govern and defend the Kingdom by their own Autho- " rity, and by the Forces which depended upon them ; and that there " were no Hopes of perſuading the People any more to expect their Secu- " rity from an obſtinate Man, and whoſe Heart God had harden'd. " That thoſe who had hitherto ſupported them at the Expence of their " Blood, would ſtill aſſiſt them in that noble Reſolution, with all " manner of Fidelity and Courage, in ſpite of all Oppoſition. Let " not the Parliament, by neglecting to conſider ſeriouſly of the Con- " cerns of the Kingdom, wherein thoſe of the Army were compre- " hended, give Occaſion to the Army to think, that they have a mind " to betray them, and leave them expos'd to the Fury of an irrecon- " cilable Enemy, whom they have ſubdued for their Sakes, and whoſe " Government, for that Reaſon, would be inſupportable to them, now " that Juſtice muſt give way to Revenge : becauſe Deſpair might " oblige the Army to think of ſome other Means for ſecuring them- " ſelves, than by adhering to them, who would be wanting to them- " ſelves ; and he left it to them to judge of what dangerous Conſe- " quence that would be to them all, ſince he could not think of it " himſelf without Shuddering. " So he concluded, putting his Hand upon the Hilt of his Sword, which then began to be *Cromwell*'s laſt Reaſon.

*Cromwell's Speech.*

SUCH was the Language of thoſe fighting Saints, who had humbled themſelves before God at *Windſor*, griev'd for having carry'd themſelves too diſobediently to the Parliament, and for having march'd too inſolently to *London*, in order to force the two Houſes to be of their Minds, and to make them ſpeak as the Eagle did in the Viſion of *Eſdras*, where that Author ſays, that the Voice did not come out of the Head of the Eagle, but out of the Middle of his Body. They had acted that Farce, leſt the whole Kingdom being incens'd againſt them, becauſe of the Affront they had put upon the Parliament, ſhould have join'd with the two Houſes to bring them to Reaſon. At laſt, for a Proof of their Repentance, they reſolv'd to keep within their own Sphere ; that is to ſay, to act only as Soldiers ought to do, and to leave the Care of the Affairs of State to the two Houſes. The Affair then having been taken into Deliberation, the Houſe declar'd, " That they would make no more " Addreſſes to the King, nor have any more Correſpondence with him. " That no Perſon whatſoever ſhould converſe with his Majeſty any " more, without the Conſent of the two Houſes. That ſuch as ſhould " do otherwiſe, ſhould be guilty of Treaſon. Laſtly, That they would " receive no more Meſſages from his Majeſty ; and they likewiſe pro- " hibited all Perſons whatſoever to bring any ſuch to either of the " Houſes. " Theſe inſolent Reſolutions having been carry'd to the Peers, the Houſe was divided upon them. The Lords, who abhorr'd that way of Proceeding, oppos'd them with great Warmth. But the Commons having order'd a Letter to be written to the General, without acquainting the Peers, to ſend a Regiment of Foot to gariſon *Whitehall*, and another of Horſe to the King's Stables in the *Meuſe*, that was ſooner done than demanded, becauſe the Troops had already begun to march towards the City. The Army having likewiſe at the ſame time thank'd the Commons for the Reſolutions they had taken againſt the King, promis'd to live and die with them : So that the Balance very ſoon inclin'd

*Votes for no more Addreſſes from the Parliament to the King.*

to

to their Side in the Houſe of Peers, where the Affair was carry'd openly by Majority of Votes. 1648.

To the End that that Houſe might conceive no Jealouſy, the General wrote to the Lords, That the Report which was ſpread abroad, that the Army deſign'd to ſubvert the Authority of the Peers, was falſe; and aſſured them, that, on the contrary, they would maintain the Peerage of the Kingdom in all its Rights and Privileges. This ſerv'd to amuſe them for ſome Time: And in order to heighten the Courage of the two Houſes, and ſtir them up to cauſe their Reſolutions to be put in Execution, the Army prevail'd upon ſome of the Counties, that were already much in their Intereſt, to ſend them Addreſſes of Thanks for the vigorous Reſolutions they had taken.

It was likewiſe thought fit, that the Committee of Safety ſhould ſit again in *Derby-Houſe*, where it had formerly, in the Month of *January* 1643, been appointed to meet, the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners, having been then order'd to communicate to thoſe of *Scotland* all the Orders they ſhould receive from the two Houſes, for carrying on the War, and entertaining the good Correſpondence, ſo neceſſary to be kept up with Foreigners. But now that Power was given to the Commiſſioners of the two Houſes alone, without Limitation of Time, whereas before it was wont always to be limited to three Months; and beſides giving them a Power, without limiting the Time, they likewiſe enlarg'd their Commiſſion, which extended to give them Power to ſuppreſs all Inſurrections that ſhould be made in the Counties, and alſo to give Orders to all the Troops and Militia of the Kingdom. The Peers, who were of this Committee, were the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Warwick*, *Kent*, and *Mancheſter*; the Lords *Say*, *Wharton*, and *Roberts*: And the chief Men of the Houſe of Commons, were *Cromwell*, who was of all Committees, the two *Vanes*, *St. Johns*, the Sollicitor-General, Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, Sir *William Armyne*, and Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*, who had been made Governor of *Newcaſtle*, upon the Recommendation of the Army.

The *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners, who were making ready to return to *Scotland*, being inform'd of the Reſolution of the two Houſes concerning the King, wrote to them, that they deſir'd to argue the Caſe with them, and to know if, by their Reſolution, they pretended to hinder the *Scots* from having Acceſs to his Majeſty, and if he had no longer Power to execute his royal Authority in *Scotland*. The two Houſes gave no Anſwer while they ſtaid in *London*; but when they were gone, they declar'd that the *Scots* might freely have Acceſs to the King, as had been promis'd them, when they put his Majeſty's Perſon into the Hands of the two Houſes, upon Condition, however, of having Permiſſion for it. That as for his Authority in their Kingdom, they might do in that, as they ſhould think fit, or rather, as they could, when he ſhall be among them. And, to ſay the Truth, as for *England*, the Parliament did not think that he was in a Condition any more to do great Matters there. At the ſame time the two Houſes ordain'd, that ſix Commiſſioners ſhould be ſent to *Scotland*, in order ſtill to keep up the Peace between the two Kingdoms; there being already ſome Miſgiving, that the Affairs they had to clear together, would certainly bring them to an open Rupture.

1648. NEVERTHELESS, whatever ſhould happen, they reſolv'd, that a Part of the two hundred thouſand Pounds, which was ſtill owing the *Scots*, muſt be paid, and whereof there were fifty thouſand Pounds, which ought preferably to be paid to ſeveral of the Nobility and Gentry, who had advanc'd their Money to haſten the raiſing of the auxiliary Troops, and that *Argyle*, who had been the moſt zealous, muſt particularly be conſider'd. Whereupon ſome having propos'd, that they ought with Pleaſure to pay back again what was due to that Nobleman, who alone, with his Party, of which all the Clergy of the Kingdom were, ſupported the Intereſt of the two Houſes there, and to whom they were more particularly oblig'd, than to all the reſt of the Nation together; as they were almoſt all coming in to that Propoſition, ſome of the moſt judicious repreſented, that the Matter deſerv'd to be more maturely conſider'd of; and if that Reſolution ſhould be taken, inſtead of putting *Argyle* in a Condition to ſerve, it would rather make him be ſuſpected by the Parliament of *Scotland*. After the Matter had been a long time debated, it was at laſt reſolv'd, that the half of the principal Sum ſhould be paid immediately; and that as for the other half, the Intereſt of it ſhould be paid at the Rate of 12 *per Cent.* until the actual Payment. But that Money, by the means whereof the Parliament of *England* thought that the Peace might have been ſecur'd, if it had come in Time; on the contrary, it would have ſerv'd to ſtrengthen the Sinews of that War, in ſpite of all that *Argyle*, their good Friend, could have done, as Matters then ſtood.

AND becauſe all that the two Houſes had reſolv'd againſt the King, had been generally diſapprov'd of by the People, and that ſo extraordinary a Thing juſtly fill'd their Minds with Jealouſies and Fears, that ſome fatal Change might happen, the Houſe of Commons caus'd a ſcandalous Declaration to be publiſh'd againſt the King, in order to juſtify the laſt Reſolution which the Parliament had taken. They had therein collected all the Reproaches the Parliament had caſt upon the King, in their Declarations and Remonſtrances, of having broke in upon their Privileges, and ſtruck at the Liberties of the People: To which the King anſwer'd very fully, as may be ſeen in the firſt Part of this Hiſtory. And his Majeſty would have clear'd himſelf from Things yet more odious, with which they had the Impudence to charge him in that defamatory Libel: But the King being ſhut up in a Dungeon in *Carisbrook-Caſtle*, and knowing very well that the Way betwixt the Priſon of Kings and their Grave is very ſhort, he entertain'd himſelf with no other Thoughts but thoſe of Death, for which he prepar'd himſelf with a Conſtancy and Firmneſs of Mind altogether wonderful.

IF all Men were not naturally diſpos'd more eaſily to receive bad than good Impreſſions, and if Calumny did not find more free Acceſs into their Minds than Truth, though it be infinitely more amiable, it would be needleſs to enquire into it upon this Occaſion; the heinous Things with which the King is charg'd, being ſo groſly forged, that they fall to the Ground of themſelves. But that it may be ſeen that his Innocence triumphs over the Malice of his Enemies, the Truth of it muſt be repreſented without the leaſt Diſguiſe, as well becauſe this Cauſe ſtands not in Need of it, as that Hiſtory cannot bear Diſſimulation.

THE firſt Thing, wherewith theſe Gentlemen charg'd the King, was, That his Majeſty, in his publick Speeches, and in his printed Declarations,

tions, had laid this Foundation of Tyranny, and this pernicious Maxim, (theſe were their own Words) ——*That he was accountable for his Actions to God only; and that the two Houſes of Parliament, either ſeparately, or jointly, had no Power to make a Law, nor to put Gloſſes upon thoſe already made.* The King had ſaid that, eighteen Years ago, in the Parliament which met the third Year of his Reign, without having been found Fault with in the leaſt by any Body ſince; far from being taken for the Foundation of Tyranny, as thoſe who exerciſe it ſo openly now, would have it believ'd. And then what Probability is there, that what ſo many great Men have written theſe many Ages, and what the Lawyers of *England* eſpecially have always taught publickly, could have been taken for pernicious and tyrannical Maxims? Now, thoſe great Men have all maintain'd the firſt Part of that Maxim which the King advanc'd, That his Majeſty depended upon none but God. *Tertullian* alſo eſtabliſheth it in his Apologetick; ſo likewiſe does S. *Ambroſe* upon the Words of the 50th *Pſalm, Tibi ſoli peccavi.* And it may likewiſe be ſeen what has been the general Practice of it amongſt the primitive Chriſtians, in the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, which that learned and worthy Prelate, Meſſire *Antony Godeau*, Biſhop of *Graſſe* and *Vence*, hath lately publiſh'd. Amongſt our Moderns, *Grotius* boldly maintains it, in his Book *De Jure Belli*, which may juſtly be call'd the Maſter-piece of all his Works. The learned *Philip Codurc* ſpeaks of it in the ſame Manner and Senſe, in his Treatiſe of Obedience. Amongſt the Proteſtants, *Claude de Saumaiſe*, and *Samuel Bochart*, both of great Reputation in their Communion, ſhew that they are of the ſame Opinion, one with a profound Learning, and elaborate Reaſons, in his Apology for this great Prince; and the other more ſuccinctly, in his excellent and learned Letter to Dr. *Morley*, one of his Majeſty's Chaplains. 1648.

I DO not think, after that, but it muſt be own'd, that the ſaid Maxim is a Chriſtian Maxim, which all good Men ought to learn with their Catechiſm; and ſo much the rather, that we ſee that Jeſus Chriſt does not ſeparate the Duties we are oblig'd to render to God, from thoſe we owe the Prince, but that he joins them together; as they are both learnedly explain'd by that great Man, *Theophilus Brachet de la Milletiere*, who has ſo boldly defended the Chriſtian Faith. Beſides, the ſecond Table of God's Commandments begins with the Honour which is due to ſuperior Powers, which the Apoſtle calls the firſt Precept, for which God promiſeth Rewards, becauſe the Obedience that Men pay thereto, draws down all Sorts of temporal Bleſſings upon them. But, at the ſame time, they muſt know, that it ought neither to be out of a Motive of Hopes, nor of Fear, that they ought to ſubmit to Princes; but that it ought to be for the Diſcharge of their Conſcience, becauſe all Powers are ordain'd of God. So thoſe who reſiſt the Power, reſiſt the Ordinance of God, and draw Damnation upon themſelves; as may be ſeen more at large, in the Epiſtles of S. *Paul*, of that excellent and exact Tranſlation made of them, by that illuſtrious Perſonage, Monſieur *de Marolles*, Abbot of *Villeloin*.

'TIS not our Deſign, in this Place, fully to treat of this Subject. We are writing an Hiſtory, and confining ourſelves within the Compaſs of the Laws of the Kingdom. We intreat the Reader to mind what we have ſaid upon it already, and what we ſhall yet ſay in the Sequel of this Hiſtory, according as the Subject ſhall require; that he may ſee in what Manner thoſe Men, who had ſworn a Covenant for the Defence of the Laws,

1648. Laws, and the royal Authority, have themſelves trampled upon all the Laws, and murder'd their King.

CHANCELLOR *Egerton*, in the Treatiſe which he compos'd *de Poſt Natis*, whereby he means the *Scots* who are born after the coming of King *James* to the Crown of *England*, ſays, "That, according to the Civil "Law, the King is the ſpeaking Law; and that his Majeſty alone has "Right to paſs his Judgment upon all Things, that have not been de-"cided by the Law:" And adds, "That he ſhould wrong the Muni-"cipal Law of the Kingdom in particular, if he thought that it did not "allow as much Power and Authority to the Kings of *England*, their "Sovereign Lords, as the Civil Law gave to the Emperor." At laſt, he quotes the great Lawyer *Bracton*, Lord Chief Juſtice of *England*, in the Time of *Henry* III. who ſays, "That it belongs not at all to private "Men, not even to the Judges, to diſpute Letters Patent; and that they "have no Right to explain them. If there be any Difficulty found in "them, or any Clauſe that may admit of ſeveral Senſes, that the King "may explain them as he ſhall think fit." The ſame *Bracton* likewiſe ſays elſewhere, "That all the Subjects are below the King; and that the "King has none above him but God alone." The Law of *Præmu-nire*, which was made in the ſixteenth Year of *Richard* II. for ſetting Bounds to the Eccleſiaſtical Immunities, was founded upon this Maxim, That the Crown of *England* was never ſubject to any Power upon Earth, having been ever immediately ſubject to God, in all Things that concern the Government. But without producing any more Quotations, 'tis enough to ſay, That the King having been declar'd, by the Oath of Su-premacy, the only ſupreme Governor of the Kingdom, could not be it, if he was to be accountable for his Actions to any other but God. Now, all the Members of the Houſe of Commons had taken that Oath, and if there had been any one of them that had not taken it, he could not have ſat in the Houſe, nor been look'd upon as a Member of Parliament, ac-cording to the Act made in the 5th Year of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign.

As for the other Part of the Maxim, to wit, that the two Houſes, of themſelves, could neither make Laws, nor explain thoſe already made; that has always been the Senſe both of the Laws, and of the Parliament. So in that which was held the ſecond Year of the Reign of *Henry* V. it was ſaid, That it depended upon the King to grant or reject ſuch Requeſts as he ſhould think fit. The Parliament likewiſe, which met the firſt Year of King *James*'s Reign, ſignify'd to his Majeſty, in asking his royal Aſſent for the Validity of an Ordinance that had paſs'd the two Houſes, that they did not underſtand, that, without his Aſſent, the Ordinance could have his Authority, or be in Force for binding Poſterity. The ſame Parliament alſo, at the Time when their Pretenſions ran very high, acknowledg'd, however, that the Power of making Laws was lodg'd in his Majeſty, and the two Houſes. The Laws ſpeak no otherwiſe of it. In the 34th Year of the Reign of *Henry* VI. according to *Dyer*, they call'd the King the Head, the Lords the principal Members, the Com-mons the inferior Members; and that of them all the Parliament was com-pos'd. 'Tis ſo that the Author of *The Manner of holding Parliaments* ſpeaks. And Sir *Edward Coke*, whoſe *Inſtitutes* have been publiſh'd by Order of the Houſe of Commons, in the Chapter *Of Parliaments*, writes, That no *Act* can be valid, which is not made by the Votes of the Lords and Commons, and by his Majeſty's royal Aſſent.

THERE

1648.

THERE is no Fallacy that has ſo much deceiv'd the People, as that whereby they have been made to believe, that the Parliament was the ſupreme Court of Juſtice, and ſo, that it belong'd to them to explain the Law. The Houſe of Commons had never pretended to that Power 'till the Year 1641 : beſides, they can neither take an Oath from, nor tender an Oath to any Perſon, as the very meaneſt Court of Juſtice can do. Nor is the Houſe of Peers a Court, but by Virtue of the King's Commiſſion, as we have already ſaid ; or elſe when, by a Bill of Review, that Houſe reviſes ſome Law Suits which are preſum'd to be wrongfully decided by the ordinary Judges. And all the Lawyers maintain, that 'tis by Virtue of thoſe royal Letters, which are got from the *Chancery*, that the Peers have the Power of Judging. The King very well obſerv'd, in the Anſwer made to the Parliament's Declaration of the 19th of *May* 1642, when his Majeſty ſaid, That he did not diſagree but that they might explain, and even apply the Law, in certain doubtful and difficult Caſes that may be brought before them, provided they obſerv'd the Forms : but that they were miſtaken, if they thought they could aſſume the Power of Declaring the Senſe of the Laws in general ; and that he could not bear that they ſhould exerciſe that Power, without ſubjecting his Subjects to an arbitrary Government. So that to judge aright of the Matter, the Authority which the Peers have to paſs Sentence upon a particular Fact, is rather a Power to give their Opinion about what ought to be done in that Caſe, than abſolutely to declare the Senſe of the Law. For if they happen to repeal the Sentence of any Judge, by giving a contrary Decree, yet that Decree is not a Law which the Judges are obliged always to follow : On the contrary, they may, in an Affair of the ſame Nature, judge as they had done before, without being found fault with. Which plainly ſhews, that none but the Ordinary Judges are lawful Interpreters of the Laws made by the Prince, though the Parties, who have remov'd their Cauſes before the Peers, be oblig'd to ſtand to their Sentence, becauſe there is then no Appeal from them.

BESIDES, 'tis not reaſonable that any other Men ſhould take upon them to interpret the Laws, but ſuch as have ſtudy'd them, and ſworn faithfully to explain them. 'Tis a Thing likewiſe worthy of Obſervation, that the Peers of the Kingdom have at all times ſhewn ſo great a Reſpect to the Ordinary Judges, that they have almoſt always affirm'd their Decrees, in what concern'd the Obſervance of the Laws. And it will not be found, before this laſt Parliament, that the Peers have ever taken upon them to explain any Law againſt the Sentiments of the Judges, who are their Aſſiſtants in the Houſe, for ſuch Occaſions only. Among many Inſtances which I could alledge, this ſhall ſuffice : When the Commons of *England* demanded of the Parliament which was held the twentieth Year of the Reign of *Henry* VI. that *William de la Pole*, Duke of *Suffolk*, ſhould be impriſoned, for many Crimes of which he was guilty : The Lords not knowing what Anſwer to give them, ask'd Advice of the Judges, who were of Opinion, that the Duke ought not to be arreſted, becauſe the Accuſations brought againſt him were indefinite and general. Their Advice was follow'd, ſo that the Duke's Affair was dropt, 'till about a Fortnight after, that the Commons having brought Informations, wherein there were particular Charges againſt him, and, among others, this, that he kept a Correſpondence with the *French*, for invading the Kingdom, then he was ſent to the *Tower*.

1648. If the Parliament ſhould once invade the Authority to be able to declare the Senſe of the Laws, that alone would be ſufficient for ruining the King, and all his Subjects, whenever they ſhould think fit to play with their Lives and Fortunes, of which they would be Maſters. That will appear very plain, by what they have done ſince they have uſurp'd that Authority. When the King caus'd *Hotham* to proclaim'd a Traitor, for having ſhut him out of *Hull*, and reſiſted him with open Force, in defying his Majeſty, who call'd that Reſiſtance *High Treaſon*; the King grounding what he did upon the Act made in the twenty-fifth Year of *Edward* III. the Parliament declar'd, that *Hotham* had not ſhut him out in order to defy him; but quite contrary, that it was to obey him, and that that Act was to be underſtood only of thoſe who took up Arms againſt the Royal Authority: That that Authority was lodg'd in them, and that they alone could interpret the Laws. So that, in their Opinion, thoſe who ſhould take up Arms by Authority of Parliament, though it were contrary to the King's Prohibition, would not be liable to the Puniſhment of the Act, which, in their Senſe, reach'd only thoſe of his Majeſty's Retinue. The King, for the better Information of his Subjects, put them in mind of the Act which was made the eleventh Year of the Reign of *Henry* VII. whereby it was decreed, That no Perſon that ſhould be in the Army attending the King's Perſon, or ſuch as ſhould be employ'd elſewhere by his Order, could either be accus'd or convicted of High Treaſon. To which the Houſes anſwer'd, That by theſe Words, *By the King*, which were in the Act, muſt be underſtood the Parliament. That if it be ſaid, that the King is the Head and ſupreme Governor of all Perſons within his Dominions, and they have acknowledg'd him as ſuch, by the Oaths they have taken; they declar'd, that that ought to be underſtood only of Perſons in particular, and not of the Courts or collective Bodies of the Kingdom in general.

Many other Inſtances might be produc'd, where they have play'd with the Laws, as Occaſion offer'd, in order to ſupport their Power, and forward their Deſigns. They contradicted themſelves no leſs in the Petition they preſented the 14th of *December* 1641, wherein they declared, that the King was not to give his Opinion about any Matter under Debate in the two Houſes, but muſt wait 'till it ſhould be determin'd there, in order to be preſented to him. Nevertheleſs, a little after, they deſir'd, that the King would be pleas'd to join with them, in order jointly to deprive the Biſhops of their Votes in Parliament, though that Affair was then under Debate in the Houſe of Peers, where it met with great Oppoſition. So the Commons declar'd, by their Vote of the 3d of *January* 1642, That if any Perſon whatſoever ſhall offer to arreſt or detain the Perſon of any of their Members, without firſt acquainting the Houſe, that it is lawful for ſuch Member, or any Perſon to aſſiſt him, to ſtand upon his or their Guard of Defence, and to make a Reſiſtance, according to the Proteſtation taken, to defend the Privileges of Parliament. But, in their Declaration of the 2d of *November* following, they deny'd that they had ſaid ſo, and own'd, that for Treaſon and Felony a Member might be impriſon'd, in order to anſwer before the Parliament. There are a great many other Things, without mentioning thoſe wherein the two Houſes debating upon the Matter of the Laws, have not always been of the ſame Mind.

They likewiſe charg'd the King with ſome ſecret Articles of the Treaty of his Marriage with the Infanta of *Spain*, and of that with the Lady

Lady *Henrietta Mary*, the Daughter of *France*, which (ſaid they) were prejudicial to Religion, the Laws, and the Peace of the Kingdom. They alſo call'd to mind a Letter which the King wrote to the Pope, when he was in *Spain*, about the Subject whereof they left many Things to be gueſs'd at. But theſe Articles having been concluded with the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, by the late King *James*, his Majeſty's Father, they could not be imputed to King *Charles*, his Son. Now, that none of theſe Things have been prejudicial to the Kingdom of *England*, appears both by the Experience that has been had of its flouriſhing State in every reſpect, ſince that Time, to the Meeting of this Parliament, and by their Warineſs, for ſo long a Time, in producing ſome particular Complaints on Account of thoſe Articles. But the moſt ſurprizing Thing of all, and which makes it the more plainly appear, that all their Complaints are nothing but mere Calumnies, is to ſee, that having loſt all manner of Reſpect for their King, and having the Papers in their own Hands for making them good, they would not have fail'd to produce them, if they had thought that they could have made the leaſt Advantage in the World of them. 1648.

As to the Letter which they ſaid the Prince wrote to the *Pope*, of which they had not 'till now complain'd, the Occaſion of it was as follows: The King, being then but Prince of *Wales*, having, by Order of the King, his Father, travelled into *Spain*, in order to conclude there the Marriage, that for a long Time had been treating about between the two Crowns, he thought that he ought to neglect nothing, to which he imagin'd that Decency and good Manners oblig'd him, for bringing about his Deſign. And as the King of *Spain*'s Council judg'd, that a Diſpenſation for the Marriage muſt be had from *Rome*, though the Prince made not the leaſt Step towards obtaining it, however, in Prudence, he was oblig'd to omit nothing that might render the getting of it more difficult. And then the *Pope* having written a very civil Letter to the Prince, which his Nuncio, reſiding at *Madrid*, preſented to him with a great deal of Reſpect, it would have been too great a Neglect, and might have been taken for a Contempt, if at that Juncture of Time the Prince had not return'd an Anſwer to his Holineſs's Letter. Therefore it was reſolv'd that the Prince ſhould write: but it was no eaſy Matter in what Terms the Letter ſhould be conceiv'd. Thoſe who preſs'd it the moſt, having drawn a rough Draught of it, they carry'd it to the Prince, who, with his own Hand, ſtruck out ſomething, which ſeem'd to him not to be agreeable to the Religion he profeſs'd. Then his Highneſs caus'd it to be written over again as he had corrected it, and order'd it to be ſent away. There had been ſome Copies taken of it before it had been revis'd by the Prince, and it was from one of thoſe Copies that it was printed in the *French Mercury*; and from thence lately tranſlated into *Engliſh*, in order to ſcatter it amongſt the People. But when the Worſt comes to the Worſt, though the Prince, adapting himſelf a little to the Humours of thoſe he had to do with, had ſent the firſt Letter without having alter'd any thing in it, what could have been reaſonably inferr'd from thence, the Prince having always expreſs'd a great deal of Steadineſs and Affection for the Proteſtant Religion? The Authors of the Declaration were about making another altogether new: And if the ſtrict Friendſhip that is between them and the Corſairs of *Algiers*, whom they ſuffer freely to enter their Ports; and the Letters, ſo full of Civility, which they have caus'd to be publiſh'd, between them and the *Baſſa* of *Algiers*, were to be inſiſted upon, it would put one to a Stand, what

1648. what Name to give it, now that they are in a Sort of Neutrality with reſpect to Religion.

In the third Place, they added a Story about the Death of King *James*, wherein having mention'd a Charge that was given in againſt the Duke of *Buckingham*, to the Parliament that met the ſecond Year of the King's Reign, they told, That the King came to the Houſe of Peers, and that he examin'd the Charge brought againſt the Duke, and ſaid, That he could bear Witneſs, that the Duke was innocent of all the Articles of the Accuſation; and that, ſoon after, the Parliament was diſſolv'd. They conclude this Relation, leaving to all the World to judge who were the Accomplices and Cauſes of that Death. 'Tis a manifeſt Truth, that King *James* was never ſo much delighted with any Thing in his Life, as he was with the Piety and Dutifulneſs of his Son, who had never diſpleas'd him while he liv'd. That wiſe Prince died, in the 59th Year of his Age, of an intermitting Fever, of which he had ſeveral Fits, and which at laſt turn'd into a continual Fever, which is almoſt always deadly to aged and corpulent Perſons, ſuch as the King was. The firſt Year after his Death, King *Charles* call'd a Parliament; during which, there never was any Perſon that ſeem'd to have the leaſt Thought, that the King died otherwiſe than of a natural Death; tho' there were many Perſons therein, even of great Quality, who did not like the Duke of *Buckingham*, and who would not have fail'd to heighten the very leaſt Circumſtances, that could have made it be ſuſpected that he had been poiſon'd.

About the Time that the Parliament met the ſecond Year of the King's Reign, *George Egilſham*, a *Scots* Man, and Phyſician, went over to *Flanders*, from whence he ſent a Libel in Form of a Petition, which he addreſs'd to the Parliament in his own Name, wherein he accus'd the Duke of *Buckingham* of having poiſon'd King *James*, and the Marquis of *Hamilton*. That Libel was handed about over all the City of *London*; and the Houſe of Commons, who were then very much incens'd againſt the Duke of *Buckingham*, caus'd to be inſerted, in their Remonſtrance againſt him, that Paſſage of the Libel concerning King *James*, "That "the Duke of *Buckingham* had the Boldneſs to give the King a Potion "during his Sickneſs, and to cauſe a Plaiſter to be apply'd to his Breaſt." This was printed in the Declaration which we are anſwering; which was properly accuſing the King himſelf. Seeing that the Duke's Accuſation had been ſhewn, it was not juſt to conceal his Anſwer; and every Body would have known, that the King had taken nothing, but what he himſelf had deſir'd with great Earneſtneſs, and which had not been given him but by the Advice of his Majeſty's Phyſicians; becauſe thoſe Remedies are of the Nature of ſuch, as are commonly made Uſe of every where, and which the Phyſicians themſelves agree, that they are made Uſe of, after all others have been try'd to no Purpoſe; becauſe they know very well, that if thoſe Remedies do but little Good, at leaſt they do but little Harm. The Parliament ſat eight Days after this Anſwer was given, without any Perſon appearing to be diſſatisfy'd with it, in that Seſſion particularly, wherein the King could declare what he knew of the Truth, for the clearing of a faithful Servant, who was accus'd of ſo wicked an Attempt in his Majeſty's Preſence. After the breaking up of the Parliament, all poſſible Means were us'd for diſcovering what could have given Ground for that Calumny; the Author whereof died very ſoon after, having expreſs'd a great deal of Grief, for having been guilty of ſo baſe and abominable an Action.

The

THE Year after, there was another Seſſion of Parliament, which was not more favourable to *Buckingham*, than the former had been. They continu'd ſitting a long time before his Death. Sir *Dudley Diggs*, and *John Elliot*, who were nam'd in the Declaration, were always the moſt active there; and yet, in all the Remonſtrances they made, they never mention'd that wicked Calumny, which has always been confeſs'd to be the worſt-grounded, and the moſt groſs that ever was invented. In the Beginning of the Parliament which met under an unlucky Planet, when Sedition was ſpoken and preach'd openly, it was whiſper'd about amongſt the Heads of that miſchievous Cabal, who have ruin'd the State, That they would enquire into the Affair of King *James*'s Death. After the King had retir'd from *London*, and that the Parliament had taken upon themſelves to command as Maſters, *Egilſham*'s Libel was printed, and ſold publickly in the Streets. As it was all the Town-talk, one of the moſt powerful and zealous of the Faction happen'd to ſay, with ſome Emotion, to one of the Secretaries of State, That King *James*'s Death was too freely ſpoken of in publick; and that he would ſend him a Clergyman, who would let him know a great many Circumſtances of it. That Clergyman went that Evening to wait upon the Secretary; and told him, "That "there was a Man, who liv'd not far from *London*, who had offer'd to "prove, whenever he ſhould be call'd upon, that King *James* had been "poiſon'd." The Secretary having no mind to give him an Anſwer immediately, deſir'd him to come back the next Morning; and having caus'd the Council to be call'd, he gave an Account there of what had been told him the Day before, and intreated them to conſider what was fitting for him to ſay. That Information ſo little affected the moſt Part of the Council, that the Perſon himſelf, who had firſt ſpoken of it to the Secretary, ſeem'd to be the more vex'd, that the Matter had been thus blaz'd abroad. The Secretary, who, as ſoon as he had got the Information, had diſpatch'd an Expreſs to the King, reſolv'd to wait his Majeſty's Orders about it, eſpecially having obſerv'd, that the Council minded it but very little. In the mean time, he gave an Order for arreſting the Perſon, who had undertaken to prove the wicked Attempt; but he could not be found without the Help of the Clergyman, who was deſir'd to aſſiſt thoſe, to whom the Secretary had given the Order, there being none but he, that knew the Place of his Abode. The King wrote that very Day to his Secretary, That, all other Buſineſs being laid aſide, he would have his Council to ſet about inquiring narrowly into that Affair, and to neglect nothing that could be uſeful in clearing it to the very Bottom. The King's Letters having been read in Council, he deſir'd to be inform'd about it; but little Regard was had to that, for no Information was ſent him, and in a very ſhort Time that Calumny was again dropp'd; thoſe who had reviv'd it, not mentioning it any more; Becauſe (ſaid they) that, at another Time, they might make Uſe of it to better Purpoſe for their wicked Deſigns. 1648.

As thoſe that are a drowning, take Hold, if they can, of Briars, and graſp at every Thing they meet with, even the very Things that float upon the Water; and thoſe weak Supports likewiſe ſinking with them, they give Jerks as long as they are able, and do their utmoſt for prolonging their Lives, were it but for a Moment: So the Authors of that Declaration, having run headlong into the moſt terrible Gulph of Rebellion, and not knowing how to free themſelves from the ſhameful Reproaches, which all the World would caſt upon them for that ignominious Revolt, nor how they could prevent their being deteſted and abhorr'd among all

1648. honeſt Men, they laid hold of, and were bent upon whatever Reproach, Rage, and Deſpair could prompt them to, how abſurd ſoever it might be, for blemiſhing the Reputation of their Sovereign, in order, if poſſible, by thoſe weak Efforts, to leſſen the publick Hatred they had ſo juſtly drawn upon themſelves.

HAVING thus diſturb'd the Aſhes of King *James*, they croſs'd the Sea, in order to charge the King with the Loſs of *Rochelle*, and accus'd him of having ſent ſome Ships of the Royal Navy, with other Merchant Ships, to be employ'd againſt their Brethren, whom they ought to have aſſiſted. But *Rochelle* found its Safety in what they call'd its Loſs, ſo as all the other Towns did, which have been brought under the Obedience of the King, their Maſter. Neither is it true, that the King ought to have aſſiſted the *Rochellers* againſt their lawful Prince, even though they had been of the King's Religion; which they were not, as may be ſeen in the *Firſt Book* of this *Hiſtory*. Beſides, his Majeſty never ſuffer'd the Princes, his Children, to aſſiſt at the Exerciſe of the Religion of the *Rochellers*. As for the Ships, the Truth of the Matter is as follows: Of all the Royal Navy, there was only one Ship, call'd the *Van-guard*, that had been lent to the King of *France*, and which he had ſent back long before *Rochelle* was beſieg'd, and near two Years before it was ſurrender'd. That Ship was lent about the Time of the King's Marriage, when his Majeſty being at War with *Spain*, and having but juſt confirm'd the Alliance betwixt *France* and *England* by ſo ſacred a Tie, that Motive, and all manner of Reaſons of State, which are beyond the Reach of the People, into which they ought neither to enquire nor examine, oblig'd him to lend the moſt Chriſtian King (who had then ſome Deſigns upon *Italy*, and had receiv'd a particular Diſobligation from the Republick of *Genoa*) that Ship call'd the *Van-guard*, and to allow the Agents of *France* to hire ſix or ſeven Merchant Ships, for ſerving in the *Mediterranean*; on Condition, however, that they ſhould not be employ'd againſt the Proteſtants of *France*. After that thoſe Ships had join'd the *French* Fleet, in which there were twenty *Dutch* Men of War, commanded by Admiral *Hauthain*, and his Vice-Admiral *Dorp*, it attack'd that of *Rochelle*, and defeated it. The King having had an Account of that Fight, complain'd of it openly, by his Ambaſſador, to the King of *France*; who anſwer'd, "That the Blame of all that Action ought to "be laid upon the Proteſtants, who, out of Wantonneſs, had begun the "War, Monſieur *de Soubize* having ſeiz'd all the Kings Ships at *Blavet*, "when all was peaceable in the Kingdom. That thoſe were the very "Ships, which his Fleet had juſt now deſtroy'd. That the King of "*Great-Britain* ought to be diſſatisfy'd with the Proteſtants, and ought "to ſhew them his Reſentment of it, ſince they had broke the Peace, "which had been granted them by his Mediation and Procurement." However, the King did not fail forthwith to require that the Ships might be ſent back again; and ſoon after, having enter'd into a War with *France*, the Duke of *Buckingham* did not neglect to inſert in the *Manifeſto*, which he caus'd to be publiſh'd after his landing in the Iſle of *Ré*, as one of the Cauſes of that Rupture, that the King his Maſter's Ships had been employ'd againſt the Proteſtants, contrary to the Promiſe that had been given him, that they ſhould not be made uſe of againſt them. Thus the Authors of the Declaration have made but a bad Voyage to *Rochelle*.

BEING

1648.

BEING return'd Home, they call'd to mind likewiſe the great *Spaniſh* Fleet that came into the *Downs* in the Year 1639, of which they had no mind to ſpeak any thing, leſt they ſhould have been miſtaken; though they inſinuated artfully into the Minds of the People, that it was a Deſign againſt *England*; in which they were as far out, as in every thing elſe: For 'tis very certain, that that Fleet was going to *Flanders* with Money for paying the Army there. There were alſo aboard of it ſome new-rais'd Soldiers, the Number whereof was ſo much the greater, becauſe the *Spaniards* had a mind to tranſport from that Country a great Part of their old Soldiers to *Catalonia*. But thoſe new-levy'd Men, which had been put on Shipboard, were there without Officers, and the Fleet was ſo ill provided for any warlike Expedition, that, by skirmiſhing only with that of *Holland*, all their Powder was ſpent before they reach'd the *Downs*, and they were forc'd to buy ſome in *London*, where, in Juſtice, it could not be deny'd them, they paying for it, the *Dutch* themſelves having offer'd them as much as they pleas'd for ready Money.

THEY likewiſe complain'd, that for ſeveral Years the King had not call'd a Parliament; and added, that after the breaking up of ſuch as had met, ſome Members thereof had been thrown into Priſon, where ſome of them had died. Theſe Complaints were then very needleſs, ſince the King had long before taken Care of that Grievance, if that Delay may be call'd a Grievance, having, for the time to come, granted Triennial Parliaments; beſides, that the People had more Reaſon to complain of the Continuance of thoſe Parliaments, than that the King had not call'd them oftener. For, during twelve Years that no Parliament had met, there was not a People on the Face of the Earth, that enjoy'd a more ſettled Peace, or greater Proſperity, than thoſe of *England*, did then; nor, on the contrary, that have been more miſerable, and more diſtreſs'd, ſince Parliaments began to meet again. Which they ought to take for a Warning, that 'tis good to make uſe of Parliaments as they make uſe of Phyſick, which turns to Nouriſhment, if it be too often taken; and if too ſeldom, it works too violently, and has a dangerous Effect upon the Oeconomy of the Health. As for the Members, who, they ſaid, had been impriſon'd, they were at liberty to complain of it, and to have Recourſe to Juſtice; in doing whereof, they would have been told, that the Perſon who died in Priſon, had been put there by Virtue of a Sentence of the *King's-Bench*: So they ought to have remember'd a Maxim of the Law, which they themſelves have ſometimes quoted, and which they have made uſe of, upon Occaſions, *That the King can do no Wrong to any Perſon*; and if any be done, that's prejudicial to the State, the Council ought to be anſwerable for it; if it be done in the Courts of Juſtice, the Judges, in like manner, are accountable for it.

THERE remain'd nothing more to reproach the King with, but the Commiſſion, which, they ſaid, he had given to Colonel *Cochran*, for going to *Denmark* to demand Troops; though his Majeſty had affirm'd, that he had never thought of it; and that, in the Inſtructions he had given that Colonel, his Majeſty had expreſs'd, that he expected Aſſiſtance from all the neighbouring Princes, and from all his Allies. But that Colonel was not ſent to the King of *Denmark*, 'till after the War had been begun, and when the Earl of *Eſſex* had march'd his Army againſt his Majeſty. Beſides, his Inſtructions contain'd nothing elſe, but that

1648. that he was to preſs that Prince to aſſiſt the King with Money, Arms, and Ammunition, becauſe the two Houſes of Parliament had ſeiz'd upon all his Magazines. They, indeed, likewiſe contain'd, that he would be pleas'd to ſend them in ſome of his own Ships, becauſe the Parliament had made themſelves Maſters of all the Royal Navy, and which they made uſe of as a Guard, to prevent his Majeſty from receiving any Aſſiſtance from his Neighbours. The King ſought no Troops at that time, and, with Truth, ſaid, that it was a falſe Report, given out by his Enemies, becauſe his Majeſty truſted to his Subjects. But after that the Revolt was ſo great, that the *Scots*, who, of all Men, were moſt oblig'd never to have ſeparate Intereſts from thoſe of his Majeſty, had ſtrengthen'd the Rebellion in *England*, by their unhappy Relapſe; The King might, and even ought to have call'd for foreign Troops to his Aſſiſtance; and, perhaps, the not having calld for ſome, was the greateſt Fault he committed during his whole Reign. It was to be preſum'd, that the King might reaſonably have expected Aſſiſtance from all the Kings and other Princes, his Allies, who he thought, in Reaſon, ought not to ſuffer Royal Majeſty to be ſo unworthily treated in his Perſon, and which reflected upon their own Crowns, without they ſhould contribute towards ſuppreſſing the Rebellion, which had ſo horribly diſhonour'd it in *England*. For who can doubt but all Princes ought to have join'd together for ſtifling that Monſter, and removing ſo dangerous an Example from the Sight of their People? And God grant they may never have reaſon to repent of not having reſented the Outrages done to Royalty, and of not having turn'd their Arms againſt the Enemies of Kings.

At length, puff'd up with their great Succeſs, they upbraided the King, that even after he had been diſarm'd, and forc'd to diſguiſe himſelf, in order to get into the *Scots* Army, they had preſented to him the ſame Propoſitions of Peace, that they had offer'd when he had Armies in the Field, and Poſſeſſion of Towns; which the King having always obſtinately rejected, God, by the Victories he had given them, had viſibly decided in their Favour. That inſolent Language, however, prov'd nothing elſe, but that the Propoſitions were ſo extravagant, from the firſt time that they had the Impudence to preſent them, that it was ſcarce poſſible to propoſe worſe. And, indeed, to examine them thoroughly, they contain'd nothing, in ſhort, but a Demand, which the Members of the two Houſes made to the King, that he would be pleas'd to give up to them his Crown, his Sword, and his Scepter, to ſave them the Trouble, that they might well imagine it would coſt them to wreſt them from him; which God, however, has permitted them to do, being pleas'd to make uſe of them, as Inſtruments of his Juſtice and Wrath, for chaſtiſing the Iſlands of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*. But nevertheleſs, his Love and Hatred are not to be meaſur'd by the good or bad Succeſs of worldly Things. One would think that thoſe zealous Reformers of Religion ought not to be ignorant of that Truth, which is expreſly contain'd in the Word of God, nor of the Royal Prophet's declaring, that he had been tempted by *the Proſperity of the Wicked, until he went into the Sanctuary*, where he underſtood that *God had ſet them in ſlippery Places*. It was juſt ſo with theſe proud Conquerors, who applauded themſelves, took a Pride in their Rebellion, and imagin'd that God always favour'd their Undertakings; like thoſe poor People, who offer'd Cakes to the Queen of Heaven, the Work of their own Hands, indulg'd themſelves in their Idolatry, and boaſted

that

that they had been ſucceſsful in every Thing, while they had continu'd thoſe Sacrifices. In ſhort, theſe petty Tyrants imitated *Denys* the Tyrant, who ſailing before the Wind, in returning from the Pillage of the Temple of *Proſerpine*, fancy'd that the Gods countenanc'd his Sacrilege. 1648.

YET if theſe Rebels had more narrowly conſider'd the Conduct of God in their Revolt, they would have plainly ſeen, that he was ſo far from deciding in their Favour, that he has not ſuffer'd them to carry Things ſo high, but in order to make their Fall the more ignominious, and to reſerve to himſelf the Glory of throwing them down headlong into the bottomleſs Pit: For Heaven often ſuffers the Wicked to be ſucceſsful, and even to enjoy a long Proſperity, that they may be the more ſenſibly affected with their Fall, when God has a mind to puniſh their Pride, and that by a ſudden and unforeſeen Change, he fills them with Shame and Confuſion.

IF Mr. *Hambden* had not acted with ſo much Forwardneſs in the Affair of the Militia, as Reaſon and Prudence ought to have diſſuaded him from acting ſo vehemently as he did, the Judgment of God would not have appear'd ſo viſibly upon him, that he loſt his Life in the ſame very Place, where he had firſt executed the Ordinance of the Militia. If Sir *John Hotham* had not ſhut the King out of *Hull*, as Civility, his Duty, and the Oath of Fidelity which he had taken, oblig'd him not to do it, the Judgment of God would not have been ſo viſible as it was, after he had declar'd, that he wiſh'd God might confound him and all his Poſterity, if he did not ſhew himſelf faithful to the King, and that at the very Time that he caus'd the Cannon to be pointed againſt his Majeſty: For both he and his Son were put to Death, by Authority of the two Houſes of Parliament; which, had it not been for his baſe Treaſon, never would have had that Power over him, who, having it in his Power to ſerve the King, and would not do it, afterwards loſt his Head, for having had a mind to do it, at a time when it was no longer in his Power to keep his Word. And if it be remember'd what Spite Sir *Alexander Carew* ſhew'd againſt the King's Party, and how much he extol'd the Treachery of a Servant, as if he had ſerv'd the Kingdom, on that Occaſion, in violating his Faith to the King, his Maſter; and if it alſo be conſider'd, that Sir *Alexander* himſelf having afterwards been betray'd by his own Servant, had his Head ſtruck off, by Virtue of a Sentence pronounc'd againſt him, by thoſe very Men who took Advantage of his Treaſon againſt his Majeſty: it cannot be doubted but the Judgment of God has been much more viſible, than if that Man had never ſwerv'd from his Duty.

IN ſhort, If it be conſider'd, that after the Parliament had made themſelves Maſters of all the King's Forces, and had got the abſolute Command of the whole Kingdom, yet they did not find themſelves in greater Security, but, on the contrary, they were more frighted, than when they had to do with his Majeſty's Troops; the Judgment of God appears more remarkable therein, than if the King had brought them again to their Duty by the Force of Arms, which might have been expected, as well from the Juſtice of his Cauſe, as from the uſual Fate of Rebellion. That the City of *London* has been expos'd to all manner of Contempt and Danger, by the Change which the Army caus'd to be made in its Militia, which before was the Support of that proud City,



3

1648. the chief Seat, and nurſing Mother of the Rebellion; and that the ſame Method of acting that it practis'd by Petitions, which encourag'd the Tumults that made the King retire from it, has been practis'd by the Army, to the Reproach and Ruin of the City. That the Members of Parliament, who were the chief Incendiaries, the moſt violent Perſecutors of ſuch as were not of their Sentiments, and the greateſt Promoters of the ſeditious Inſurrections, which oblig'd the King with all his Servants to leave *Weſtminſter*, have themſelves been perſecuted, on Account of their Sentiments, and driven out of the ſame Place, by thoſe whom they had maintain'd there: And as, in order to render the King odious, they gave out, That he favour'd the Rebellion of *Ireland*; ſo, to render themſelves odious to the People, they have been accus'd of having diverted the Relief of *Ireland*. That thoſe who caus'd it to be told the King, That, if he ſhould perſiſt in refuſing them the Command of the Militia, the Kingdom would be in ſo great Danger, that his Ruin was inevitable; ſo that, if his Majeſty ſhould not be pleas'd to aſſure their Commiſſioners, That he conſented to their Demands, they would be oblig'd to diſpoſe of the Militia by Order of the two Houſes; and it was upon that Account they began the War againſt the King. That thoſe Men, I ſay, have been treated in the ſame Manner by the Officers of their own Army, whom they had kept in Pay; who boldly ſent them Word, That what they ow'd to the Parliament, and the whole Kingdom, ſufficiently authoriz'd them, by extraordinary Means, to take care of the Neceſſities of the State; and for that End, they would lay Hold of all the Means that ſhould be in their Power, if, within 24 Hours, the two Houſes did not grant them what they had demanded. That their Army had revolted againſt them, grounding their Revolt upon the Principles of their own Declarations, when the Council of War wrote to them, That they always ſubmitted to the Equity of the Laws, yet diſpenſing with keeping to the literal Senſe of the ſame Laws, when the publick Safety was in Danger, and giving them to underſtand, that all Authority had its Foundation in the Office, the Miniſtry whereof was committed to Perſons: So that they did not think they reſiſted the Civil Magiſtrate, when they obſerv'd the Laws of Nature and Nations. Such was the Language of the two Houſes, and ſuch was the deſtructive Foundation of the Rebellion. To conclude, this unjuſt Declaration, by which they thought to have oblig'd the People to join with them, in all their miſchievous Deſigns that they could have contriv'd againſt the King, has, on the contrary, incens'd all the World againſt them, and quite alienated the Affections, which the People formerly had for the Parliaments of the Kingdom, which, before, they had ſo much reſpected. This is, truly, after what Manner God has decided all Things in their Favour.

'Tis very certain, nor were they ignorant of it, that the greateſt Part of the Counties, from which they boaſted of having had Addreſſes of Thanks, tho' ſome of them had been begg'd for, and the reſt extorted by Force or Cunning, had proteſted againſt all their Incroachments; and that even ſuch as had given Way to that unworthy Action of addreſſing them, began to deteſt it, and to abhor the two Houſes. Which oblig'd them to give Power to three of each Committee of the ſeveral Counties, to arreſt ſuch as ſhould appear to them to have a Deſign of forming any new Party in the State, or ſhould be ſo bold, as to ſpeak or publiſh any Thing againſt the Honour of the Parliament. They allow'd thoſe three to ſequeſtrate the Eſtates of the Parties accus'd, without any other Form of Proceſs, tho' the two Houſes had very often propos'd to ſuppreſs

thoſe

1648.

thoſe Committees, who ravag'd the Counties, and that the Laws had, with great Caution, taken care of what concern'd the Lives, Liberty, and Goods of the Subject. For it had been expreſsly ordain'd, That no Perſon could be put in Priſon, nor have his Goods ſeiz'd, but by Virtue of a Sentence pronounc'd with all the Forms of Juſtice. They had given this Power, in order to prevent the Inſurrections they were afraid might be made in the Counties; and they found a Pretence for ſecuring the City of *London*, where they were always afraid that ſome Party might be form'd for the King.

THE Pretence which they made Uſe of, was, That having a mind, by Force, to prevent the Apprentices from playing in the publick Places on *Eaſter* Holidays, the Apprentices got together in a Body, and ſhut the Gates towards *Weſtminſter*; but not having plac'd Guards, nor done any Thing for defending themſelves, the next Morning the General ſent a Body of Horſe, which charg'd and routed them. And tho' it was but a youthful Folly, which did not deſerve to be ſo ſeverely puniſh'd, as to expoſe many innocent young Men to be butcher'd, yet that Action was ſo much cry'd up, that the Houſe of Commons having caus'd an hundred Pounds to be given to the Soldiers, for that warlike Exploit, order'd a thouſand Foot, and an hundred Horſe, to be put in Gariſon in the Tower. They caus'd the Gariſons of the *Meuſe* and *Whitehall* to be reinforc'd; and order'd, That there ſhould be five Boats, with fifty Muſquetiers in each, behind that Palace, in Readineſs to diſperſe the Meetings of the Watermen. That the Chains ſhould be taken from the Streets, and that Informations ſhould be given in againſt thoſe Apprentices, who thought of nothing then but diverting themſelves, according to the Cuſtom ever obſerv'd on Holidays. But their tortur'd Conſciences did not as yet ſuffer them to ſtop there. As they trembled, when there was no Occaſion of Fear, the Houſe of Lords likewiſe nam'd ſix of their Members, to be added to the Committee of Safety, and deſir'd the Commons to join twelve of theirs to them. Many of that Houſe oppos'd it, ſaying, That there were already in that Committee ſeven Lords, and fourteen Commoners; which was a Number more than ſufficient, for diſpatching the Affairs thereof both ſecretly and ſpeedily. That to add yet ſix Lords to it, would be making almoſt their whole Houſe of it; and that the Committee being compos'd of ſo many Perſons, and having thirteen Peers, and twenty ſix of the ableſt Commoners, would be in a Condition to give Laws to the two Houſes; and, if they had a mind, might veſt themſelves with all their Authority: So that they would no longer be able to maintain the Dignity of Parliament. That it would be more proper, for the Good of the Publick, to limit the Power of that Committee, and the Time of its Continuance, than, by truſting it with an unlimited and arbitrary Power, to betray the Confidence of the People, who expected their Peace and Security from the Parliament only. The Propoſal was thought reaſonable; but when the Matter came to be taken into Conſideration, ſome other was always artfully mov'd, which prevented that from being decided.

AND becauſe they were afraid of getting ſome bad News from *Ireland*, having by many Ways endeavour'd to break the Lord *Inchiquin*, in order to give the Command of the Army to the Lord *Liſle*, tho' *Inchiquin* had done them but too much Service; on the 13th of *April*, they gave Audience to ſome Officers that had deſerted, who gave an Account, that *Inchiquin* had told them, "That, if they had a mind, he

"was

1648. " was ready to declare againſt the Army, and Independent Party of " *England*, who had depriv'd both the King and Parliament of all Li- " berty: That he would make Uſe of his Arms, for reſtoring it both to " the one and the other, and for obtaining a free Treaty between the " King and Parliament, whence the Peace would infallibly follow: That " he hop'd all his Officers would join with him in ſo noble a Deſign; but " that he would have them ſwear, that they ſhould keep the Secret, be- " fore he would explain himſelf any farther." And they having an- ſwer'd, " That they could not take any Oath, until they were ſure they " might keep it with a ſafe Conſcience; and that they had reſolv'd to " be faithful to the Parliament:" He had reply'd, " That his Deſign " was to be faithful to it, as well as they; but that they ought to declare " plainly if they meant the pretended Parliament, and if it was to it they " deſign'd to be faithful; aſſuring them beſides, That he had a Corre- " ſpondence with all the Presbyterians both of *Scotland* and *England*, " and even with thoſe who were in the Parliament; and that he did not " doubt of ſucceeding in his Undertaking: That when the worſt comes " to the worſt, he would ſtill get good Conditions for himſelf and his " Party; and that he would make Peace with the Lord *Taffe*, as he " knew the Independents were endeavouring to do the ſame with *Oneil*, " who was a Man of the ſame Stamp, and who wanted only to ſee every " Thing in Confuſion, as well as they."

THE ſame Day, were read in the Houſe Letters from Vice-Admiral *Crowther*, who commanded in the *Iriſh* Seas, much to the ſame Purpoſe, and giving them an Account beſides, That he had block'd up *Inchiquin*'s Harbours. It was immediately propos'd, That, ſince that Lord had boaſted of having a Correſpondence with the Presbyterians who were Members of the Houſe, before taking into Conſideration the Enemies without Doors, they ought to diſcover thoſe within, by ſome new Oath, which the Members ſhould be oblig'd to take. In order to back that Propoſal, *Cromwell* added, That if they would be rul'd by him, ſuch as ſhould oppoſe it, and by that Means delay the Proceedings of the Houſe, ſhould have a Mark ſet upon them. The next Day, the Lord *Inchiquin*'s Son, who was but about eight or nine Years of Age, was arreſted, and ſent Priſoner to the Tower; after which the Father was declar'd a Traitor, his Commiſſion made void, and all Soldiers were forbidden to obey him. *Liſle* was declar'd General of the Army, in the Province of *Munſter*, and the Officers who had deſerted, were all rewarded. But when they came to reſume the Propoſal that had been made the Day before, which was, That all the Members ſhould be oblig'd to make it appear, by ſome League, or particular Oath, that the Parliament was free, and that they would live and die with it and the Army; there were ſome of thoſe who had preſerv'd ſome Remains of the dying Liberty of the Houſe, who ſaid, " That, by an Ordinance of the two Houſes, all the Members " being oblig'd to ſign the national League and Covenant, yet there were " ſeveral particular Members of the Houſe of Commons, who had al- " ways, with much Contempt, refus'd to do it; and that, for the ſame " Reaſon, Motions for new Leagues, made by thoſe, ought not to be " comply'd with. That this Houſe had no Power to tender an Oath to " any Perſon, much leſs to make a new one; and that, at leaſt, they " ought to grant to others the ſame Liberty of Conſcience, which they " take to themſelves. That *Inchiquin* had not only ſpoken of the Preſ- " byterians, but likewiſe of the Independents; and that both Reaſon and " Juſtice requir'd, that thoſe who had a mind to accuſe others, ought

" firſt

" firſt to clear themſelves from the Charges that had been brought againſt 1648.
" them. That, in ſhort, the true Touch-ſtone of the Cleanneſs of
" every Man's Conſcience, was, to make a ſtrict Enquiry after ſuch
" as had enrich'd themſelves by the Publick Calamities, and to diſtin-
" guiſh them from thoſe who were thereby impoveriſh'd and undone."
Though theſe Reaſons were allow'd to be good, yet, for all that, the Houſe would have gone on, without minding them, if the main Point had not been carry'd, that is to ſay, if *Inchiquin* had not been turn'd out of his Commiſſion; for it being out of his Power to hurt them, they had but little Reaſon to be afraid of all his Correſpondents.

NOTWITHSTANDING all theſe Precautions, they were not long without having great Concerns in Hand; and as they were afraid that the greateſt Miſchief was to come from the North, we are going to ſee the Behaviour of the *Scots* towards revenging the baſe Treatment which their native Prince had from the Parliament of *England*. The Commiſſioners being to return to *Scotland*, gave an Account of their whole Management to the Committee of Parliament, and told them in what Condition they had left the King in the Iſle of *Wight*. The Committee thank'd them for their Care; and as the ſecond Seſſion of the Triennial Parliament was drawing near, they referr'd that important Affair to be treated of there. In the mean time, the Committee of the General Aſſembly (for there was a Committee of the Clergy during the Interval of Aſſemblies, as there was another of the Parliament during the Interval of Seſſions) having been inform'd of what the King had granted in favour of the Covenant, in the Iſle of *Wight*, and having likewiſe receiv'd a very kind Letter from his Majeſty, the firſt Day of *March*, they made a Declaration thereupon. But theſe turbulent Spirits, whoſe Brains were over-heated with the Covenant, beyond what he imagin'd, alarm'd the whole Kingdom, and publiſh'd every-where, that Religion was in the utmoſt Danger, as well from the Faction of the Sectaries of *England*, as from the Malignants within their own Kingdom, and from thoſe alſo, who, in their Favour, had abated of that Ardour they formerly had: For in the Covenant (ſaid they) the Defence of the King's Perſon and Authority was not only added, but even ſubordinated to that of Religion and the Liberties of the Kingdom; and from the Beginning of that holy Union, more Care had been taken of Religion, than of all other Things: Nevertheleſs theſe Intereſts began to be parted, and many, to the utmoſt of their Power, endeavour'd to perſuade the People to eſpouſe the King's Quarrel, and to reſtore him to the Poſſeſſion of the Royal Authority, though he had not ſatisfy'd the Deſires of his Subjects of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, with reſpect to the Covenant. That there were alſo ſome, who declared openly, that his Majeſty had given all the Satisfaction to the Commiſſioners in the Iſle of *Wight* that could reaſonably be expected: So that if, at this Juncture, the Trumpet of *Sion* be not blown, ſo as to be diſtinctly heard, and if the Watchmen don't carefully warn the People of the Danger into which they are like to fall, their Blood will be required at the Watchmens Hands.

THEREFORE they thought that they were oblig'd to tell plainly, that the King had not at all given Satisfaction in what the Kingdom had demanded of his Majeſty concerning Religion, though what they had deſired was juſt. For, in the firſt Place, the King granted nothing in Favour of the Covenant, but ſo far as he gave Credit to the Covenanters Expreſſions of Fidelity, and as he believ'd that their Inten-



3

1648. tions being upright and ſincere for defending his Perſon and Authority, ſo they would not leſſen the reaſonable Grandeur of them. That he alſo promis'd, that as ſoon as he could, with Safety and Honour, be preſent in a free Meeting of Parliament, he would confirm the Covenant in both Kingdoms, in order to ſecure from the Laws, both thoſe who had ſign'd it, and ſuch as had yet a mind to ſign it, provided that no Perſon ſhould be forc'd to do it againſt his Will. That ſhew'd plainly, that his Majeſty did not like the Covenant, nor countenance it, but ſo far as it was neceſſary for his own Intereſt: beſides, that the mentioning an Act for ſecuring thoſe who had already ſign'd, and thoſe who had a mind to ſign the Covenant, ſeem'd to inſinuate, that thoſe who had done it, had tranſgreſs'd; and that as they could be call'd to an Account for it afterwards, they ſtood in need of an Act of Indemnity. Moreover, what his Majeſty promis'd, was only conditional, and ſuppos'd ſo many and ſuch Conditions, that it would have been no hard Matter for him to find ſome Evaſion, whenever he had ſtood in need of it; becauſe it would have been eaſy to have cavill'd, either upon the Expreſſions of the Covenanters, or upon the King's lawful Authority, his Honour, and Safety, or elſe upon what belong'd to the Freedom of Parliament. And though what his Majeſty had granted had been abſolute, it put the Covenant only among the Voluntary Obligations; which directly claſh'd with the Acts both of the General Aſſembly and Parliament, and the Declarations of both Kingdoms, in all which it was expreſly mention'd, that the King himſelf ſhould ſign the Covenant, and, by an Act of Parliament in both Kingdoms, ſhould ordain, that all his Subjects ſhould ſign it likewiſe, upon Pain of Diſobedience, or of any other that ſhould be agreed upon between the two Nations. So that this firſt Article chang'd intirely the State of the Queſtion, heighten'd the Courage of the Sectaries and Malignants, and introduc'd an abominable Indifference for the Cauſe of God. That as to what may be objected, That Mens Conſciences ought not to be forc'd, that was a Thing of no Conſequence: becauſe, as every Body was, of Neceſſity, oblig'd to ſubmit to the Covenant, the Pain impos'd upon the Diſobedient, forc'd their Conſciences no more, than the Pain, to which ſuch Subjects, as refuſe to take the Oath of Fidelity, are liable, forceth their Conſciences to keep the Fidelity they owe; or, as the Puniſhment inflicted upon Idolaters, Blaſphemers, and Seducers, of which mention is frequently made in the Scripture, could not be call'd a Force upon the Conſcience to fear God.

And ſince the King conſented to confirm the Presbyterian Government, the Directory, and the Continuance of the Aſſembly of Divines at *Weſtminſter*, for three Years, upon Condition, that his Majeſty and Family ſhould not be hinder'd to continue the ancient Form of Divine Service; and that twenty of his Majeſty's Divines might freely confer upon thoſe Matters, as well with thoſe of *Weſtminſter*, as with thoſe who ſhould be ſent from *Scotland*; to the End, that after that Conference, his Majeſty and the two Houſes might, after the three Years, ſettle the Eccleſiaſtical Government, which ſhould be judg'd moſt agreeable to the Word of God. But as it behov'd to ſuppoſe, that all the Conditions, which the King had demanded in the firſt Article, were underſtood in this, that was only a bare Toleration of Government in *England* for three Years, and contain'd nothing more in Subſtance, but what his Majeſty had formerly granted; beſides, that it contain'd a formal Approbation of the Liturgy in his Family. Moreover, that ſecond Article not only

only open'd a Door again to Epiſcopacy, but it likewiſe made no Account of the Progreſs that had been made in the Reformation and Uniformity of Religion. For if new Conferences muſt have been begun again with thoſe new Divines, all the Progreſs that had been made in that Affair came to nothing. That they had not heretofore refus'd the Conference with the Prelatical Party; but they could not conſent that the Foundations, which they had happily laid, of a holy Reformation, ſhould be deſtroy'd, as ſeem'd to be intended. And as his Majeſty declar'd, that he would direct what Eccleſiaſtical Government ſhould be eſtabliſh'd in *England*, that Clauſe made void all the moſt important Propoſitions in favour of Religion, upon which both Kingdoms had agreed, and jointly preſented to his Majeſty. For the King pretending to have the Negative Voice in Parliament, they never would be able to aboliſh Epiſcopacy; ſeeing, on the 16th of *November*, the King had written poſitively to the Parliament of *England*, that he could not conſent to it, without wounding his Conſcience, and being perjur'd, and that he had ſtill perſiſted in that Opinion, in the Anſwer he made the 28th of *December*, when their new Propoſitions were ſent to him. Theſe Things being thus, they thought they might ſay, that as the firſt Article deſtroy'd the Covenant, the ſecond no leſs ſubverted the Presbyterian Government, the Directory, and the Uniformity of Religion, which had been ſo holily eſtabliſh'd according to the Covenant. 1648.

LASTLY, They own'd, indeed, that the King ſhew'd his Readineſs to have all Sorts of Sects and Hereſies ſuppreſs'd, and eſpecially thoſe ſpecify'd in the Treaty, and all other Opinions repugnant to the Principles of Chriſtianity, and the Order and Peace both of the Church and State. But they found fault, that the *Eraſtians* were not therein particularly comprehended. The Presbyterians hated thoſe of that Sect above all others. They are call'd *Eraſtians*, from their Author *Eraſtus*, who deny'd that the Church had the Power of Excommunicating, which St. *Paul* had exercis'd upon the inceſtuous *Corinthian*. That Power is what the Puritan Miniſters are very covetous of, becauſe they make themſelves formidable, by Means of the Strokes they give with that Sword of Excommunication, with which they frequently lay about them, and threſh with both Arms, without making the leaſt Scruple, whenever the Whim takes them, to deliver up into the Hands of the Devil ſuch Perſons as they think fit. They likewiſe took it amiſs, that the Papacy and the Hierarchy had not been comprehended in the ſame Article, though the Covenant contain'd an expreſs Obligation for extirpating them both; ſo that they were afraid, that all that had been done might at laſt come to a Toleration of them both, the King having granted it to thoſe who ſhould not be willing to comply with the Preſbyterian Government.

HAVING thus diſcover'd the Danger, they likewiſe added their wholſome Advice, and exhorted all thoſe of their Communion, particularly the Lords, and other Members of Parliament, before all Things, to labour to make a ſerious Reformation of themſelves, and afterwards to take Care not to be led into Temptation in the Company of the Ungodly: That their having ſhunn'd one Evil, would be of no Stead to them, if, at the ſame time, they fell into another; and it was not to be doubted, but Religion would be in as great Danger from the Prelates and Malignants, as from the Sectaries. But, above all, it ſhould be conſider'd, that, beſides the open and declar'd Malignants, who had avowedly

1648. avowedly oppos'd the Covenant, there were others lying hid, who would cry it down in private, and who particularly found fault with the ſolemn League between the two Nations; in a word, who unty'd the Links of the Covenant, and ſeparated the King's Intereſt from that of Religion. Laſtly, They charg'd them to remember their former Zeal, to dread the Judgment' wherewith God threatens the Lukewarm, and ſuch as break his Covenant, and, by their Prudence, to prevent every thing that might breed Jealouſies between the two Kingdoms, which having been ſo happily united in the ſame Intereſts, their good Agreement could not be too carefully preſerv'd. Thus they continu'd with a loud Voice to give the Alarm; and had it not been that the Trumpet of *Moſes* happen'd to ſound louder than their pretended Trumpet of *Sion*, and that the Parliament made thoſe impertinent Preachers hold their Peace, it would have been altogether impoſſible for the Kingdom of *Scotland* to make the leaſt Attempt for delivering their Prince from the ignominious Captivity he was undergoing in *England*.

Now, the Parliament having been open'd at *Edinburgh* the 6th of *March*, all thoſe who had any Senſe of Honour, and whoſe Hearts were affected with a generous Paſſion, for maintaining the Intereſt both of their Prince and Country, took Part with the Duke of *Hamilton*, who receiv'd them with great Pleaſure. But *Argyle*, who, according to his Father's Prophecy, was born for the Ruin of both, oppos'd it with all his Faction, ſo far as to proteſt againſt it; and the Clergy, who were always of the miſchievous Party, join'd with him in all his Proceedings in full Aſſembly. The ſoundeſt Part of the Parliament, who got the upper-hand there at laſt, very much diſlik'd the Liberty which the Commiſſioners of the Clergy had taken, in publiſhing their Declaration. However, they did not ſtop there; for, on the 22d of *March*, they preſented a long Petition to the Parliament, which contain'd all their Demands. They deſir'd, " That before the War ſhould be reſolv'd " upon, the Parliament may cauſe a Declaration to be publiſh'd, that " may ſhew the Reaſons they had for ſo doing, in order to ſatisfy all " honeſt Men. That as the Breach of the Covenant by the Sectarians " of *England*, who had prevail'd, was manifeſt, ſo the Parliament " may as plainly ſhew what were the Infringements of the Treaty " between the two Nations, and that, before all Things, they may " demand Reparation. That they may not make uſe of any Reaſon for " making War, they may break the Union between the two Kingdoms, " or diſoblige the Presbyterians of *England*, who adher'd firmly to the " Covenant. That if it happen'd that the Faction of the Malignants, " Papiſts, and Prelates ſhould take up Arms, the Parliament's Army " may not join with them, but, on the contrary, may turn their Arms " againſt them all, becauſe they were no leſs Enemies to the Covenant, " than the Sectaries. That as the Intereſt of God ought always to go " foremoſt, the Parliament may be pleas'd to declare, that the King's " Offers, with reſpect to Religion, pleas'd them no better than they " had done the Church; and, by that Means, the Parliament may " ſtill more and more give Proofs of the Sincerity of their Intentions, " for the Good and Security of Religion. That they may not take their " laſt Reſolutions, until the King ſhould oblige himſelf by Oath, and " alſo give Aſſurance by Letters ſign'd by his Majeſty, and ſeal'd with " his Seal, as well for himſelf, as for his Succeſſors, that he ſhould " conſent to the Eſtabliſhment of Presbyterian Government, the Di- " rectory, and the Confeſſion of Faith according to the Covenant, in " all

*A Petition from the Clergy, to the Parliament of* Scotland.

" all his Dominions; and that he ſhould never oppoſe the Acts of Par- 1648.
" liament, which are, or ſhall be made for that Effect. And the Com-
" miſſioners of the Clergy deſir'd that ſo much the more, becauſe they did
" not ſee how Religion could be ſafe, if the King did not give that Se-
" curity, before he was reſtor'd to the Exerciſe of his royal Authority.
" That for that ſame End, there may be no Perſon admitted into their
" Committees, nor liſted in their Armies, of what Condition ſoever he
" may be, who had not perſiſted conſtantly faithful in the Cauſe of the
" Covenant, and was without Reproach; that they, the Servants of
" *Jeſus Chriſt*, may with the greater Confidence encourage their Flocks
" to join with the Parliament, and not to doubt of the Fidelity of thoſe,
" into whoſe Hands this important Affair had been committed. That no
" Perſon may be liſted without a ſolemn Oath, wherein the Church
" ſhould have the ſame Share, and the ſame Authority to draw it up, as
" ſhe had had in eſtabliſhing the Covenant. Laſtly, they hop'd, That
" after the Parliament ſhall have conſider'd their Demands, they will
" find them moſt reaſonable, and grant them in ſuch a Manner, as the
" whole Nation ſhould find themſelves oblig'd unanimouſly to approve
" of what ſhall be reſolv'd by the Parliament, as well for the Defence
" of Religion, as for the King's Honour, and for the Peace of all his
" three Kingdoms."

THE Parliament having deliberated upon the Demands of the Clergy, gave a categorical Anſwer to all the Articles, and declar'd, " That they *The Parliament's Anſwer.*
" ſhould ſhew, that the Cauſes of the War were ſo juſt, that all well-
" affected Perſons might reſt ſatisfy'd with them, and that there ſhould be
" no Preparations of War made during the Conference, which they de-
" manded between ſome of the Parliament, and the Commiſſioners of
" the Clergy, until a Report had been made thereof to the Parliament.
" That they were reſolv'd to repreſent the Breaches that had been made,
" in Things which concern'd the Treaties between the two Nations; and
" would give Directions to the Committee, which they had appointed
" for taking care of the Safety of the Kingdom, to conſider after what
" Manner Reparation of them ought to be demanded. That the King-
" dom of *Scotland* thought ſo little of entering into a War againſt the
" Kingdom of *England*, that if they ſhould take up Arms, it ſhould be
" only with a Deſign to ſtrengthen the Union between the two Kingdoms,
" and for encouraging the Presbyterians, and all ſuch as had good Inten-
" tions in *England*. That they agreed, in the main, to the fourth Ar-
" ticle; and referr'd to thoſe who ſhould be choſen for the Conference,
" to ſet down the State of the Queſtion, and likewiſe to explain it. That
" tho' the principal Things ſhould be agreed upon, the Parliament
" ſhould then openly declare, that the King's Offers did not ſatisfy the
" Kingdom of *Scotland*. That as Religion had always been, and ſhould
" ever be the firſt Motive of all their Undertakings, they ſhould take
" care, that the Engagement that ſhould be made, ſhould contain his
" Majeſty's Aſſurances, which the Clergy demanded. And as to what
" was added, That theſe Aſſurances might be given by the King, before
" he was reſtor'd to his Authority, they left it to thoſe who were nam'd
" for the Conference, to find out ſome ſofter Terms, and yet might give
" no leſs Security for Religion. That they ſhould take great Care, that
" no Perſon ſhould be employ'd either in the Committees, or Armies,
" whoſe Integrity and Affection for the common Cauſe were not well
" known. That, in ſhort, an Oath ſhould be added to the Engagement;
" and that the Church ſhould have ſuch a Share therein as was her Due."



3

1648. THIS Anſwer would have ſatisfy'd reaſonable Men. But the Miniſters ſhew'd, that they were but little pleas'd with it; and they repreſented to the Parliament, "That whatever they had anſwer'd to what they deſir'd "in their firſt Demand, yet it did not appear to them, that the Parliament "was fully reſolv'd to ſhew the Reaſons, for which they were under- "taking the War, before declaring it. That in the Anſwer, which the "Parliament had made to the ſecond Article of the Demands, the Clergy "did not ſee the leaſt Proof, that *England* had broke the Treaties between "the two Kingdoms, nor that the Parliament of *Scotland* had reſolv'd to "demand any Reparation. That the Parliament had chang'd their Pro- "poſition, in anſwering to their third Demand; and, inſtead of the "Presbyterian Party, who continu'd ſtedfaſt in ſupporting the Covenant, "they join'd to the Presbyterians, thoſe who were well-affected in *Eng-* "*land*; as if there were ſome well-affected, who were not Presbyterians, "or, at leaſt, were not engag'd in the Covenant. That the fourth Ar- "ticle of their Demand being not only juſt in itſelf, but altogether agree- "able to what was contain'd in the Covenant, and the Declarations of "both Kingdoms, they could not conceive why the Parliament deſir'd "to have it more fully explain'd, if it was not, that they had a mind to "treat the Malignants more favourably, than they had been heretofore, "or that the Parliament was willing to enter into a League with them, "as Friends of the common Cauſe. That as the Parliament of *Scot-* "*land* declar'd, That the King's Offers concerning Religion did not ſa- "tisfy the Kingdom, they could have wiſh'd, that they had, at that very "Inſtant, declar'd againſt them, without making Uſe of Delays. That "the Parliament having found the Expreſſions of the ſixth Article of the "Demands of the Clergy too harſh, without having ſignify'd what Mo- "dification could be made Uſe of, which, however, might abate nothing "of what the firſt contain'd, for the Security of Religion, that did not "anſwer, in the leaſt, to what they chiefly intended by that Demand. "That the Parliament had taken no Notice, in the Anſwer to their ſe- "venth Demand, of many Things they had deſir'd might concur in the "Choice of the Members of Committees, and Officers of the Army; "which made them afraid, that there might be Perſons found there, who "had not the Qualities which the Clergy had deſir'd they ſhould have. "That the Anſwer to the laſt Article being very ambiguous, and con- "ceiv'd in Terms which intimated even what was not deſir'd, would "give Occaſion to make it be thought, that the Church had concern'd "herſelf farther in the Covenant, than ſhe ought to have done, and even "than ſhe would have done, if ſhe had kept within the Bounds of her "Duty."

As the Commiſſioners of the Clergy had not receiv'd the Satisfaction they expected, they abſolutely refus'd to enter into a Conference with the Parliament; having a mind to abate nothing of their rigorous Demands, and puff'd up with that Pride, which they call'd the Liberty of the Mi- niſters of the Goſpel, they mutter'd Complaints againſt the Parliament, for having been ſo bold as to alter their Expreſſions, or leave out in their Anſwers the leaſt of their Words. Theſe Men, who had rail'd at the Biſhops, becauſe (ſaid they) they had intermeddled too far in temporal Affairs, and who had confirm'd in the Aſſembly of *Glaſgow* all the Acts of former Aſſemblies, which prohibited Eccleſiaſticks from having Acceſs to Secular Courts, nevertheleſs they would have the chief Direction thereof. They indeed ſcorn'd to have Acceſs to the Secular Courts, be- cauſe they thought it below them; but they would have their Influence there,

there, as the Stars have upon inferior Bodies. But what is moſt certain, they were true Comets: They ſeem'd to pretend to have the negative Voice in the Deliberations of Parliament: That it was their Buſineſs to explain the Treaties between the two Kingdoms, and, in like manner, to paſs their Judgment upon the Breaches: In a Word, they imagin'd, that they, who look'd upon themſelves to be ſpiritual Men, ought to be Judges of all Things: Nay, in their Opinion, the King was not to reign, upon other Conditions but ſuch as pleas'd them. That no Perſon was to be employ'd in the publick Affairs, nor even liſted in the Army, without he had their Approbation, and ſuch Qualities as they thought proper: In ſhort, that all Men, except themſelves, ought to be accounted but Heathens and Publicans. And, indeed, the Event ſhew'd plainly, that they went upon very ſure Grounds; and that it belong'd to them, with *Gideon*, to chuſe the Men of War, and to lead the moſt Valiant to the Battle. For when they were ſuffer'd to act, and raiſe an Army of their Saints, with how much Diſgrace and Loſs to the Kingdom did that Army fight at *Dumbar*, where even ſome of thoſe who wore the Ephod fell by the Sword, and where, it may be ſaid, that the *Philiſtines* carry'd away the Ark of the Covenant, and triumph'd over all the Hoſt of *Iſrael*. 1648.

THE Parliament, in order to undeceive the People, whom *Argyle* and the Clergy had incens'd againſt them, making their Proceedings odious every-where, on the 26th of *April* caus'd to be publiſh'd a Declaration, addreſs'd to all his Majeſty's good Subjects, concerning the Reſolutions they had taken for the Defence of Religion, the Preſervation of the King, and the Eſtabliſhing of Peace, according to the Covenant, in all his Kingdoms. The Tenor of the Declaration was as follows: *The Declaration of the Parliament of* Scotland.

" That having ſeen that the Diviſion and Miſunderſtanding betwixt the " King and the two Houſes of the Parliament of *England* were daily " increaſing, the Parliament of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, for theſe two " Years laſt paſt, had ſlipt no Opportunity to find out all poſſible " Expedients for putting an End to all their unhappy Differences in an " amicable manner: but that the Counſel of their Enemies having " always prevail'd, Matters had been brought to an open Rupture; ſince " which, many thouſands of Men on both Sides had fallen by the " Sword, and the flouriſhing Kingdom of *England* had become a Scene " of Blood and Confuſion. As they themſelves were thus tearing their " own Intrails in Pieces, and thruſting the Dagger into their own " Heart, the two Houſes of the Parliament of *England* ſaw themſelves " reduc'd to that Extremity, of deſiring the Aſſiſtance of the Kingdom " of *Scotland*. That this Parliament having conſider'd, that his Majeſty " had never made great Account of the Requeſts they had formerly " addreſs'd to him, for perſuading him to decide the Difference by ſome " more natural and gentle Method than that of Arms, and being like-" wiſe afraid that the Cataſtrophe might fall upon them, if thoſe who " had kindled that Fire happen'd to get the Upper-hand, they join'd " with the two Houſes in a ſolemn League for the Reformation and " Defence of Religion, for the Honour and Happineſs of the King, and " for the Peace and Security of all his three Kingdoms. That in order " to bring about that great Deſign, the Kingdom of *Scotland* join'd " their Arms with thoſe of their Brethren in *England*, fought many " Years in Conjunction with them; and God ſo bleſs'd their Arms after-" wards, that after many long and hard Labours, they defeated their " common Enemies, and alſo made the Guilty to be puniſh'd according

" to

1648. " to the Rigour of their Laws. That after ſuch great Succeſs, the *Scots*
" Army return'd to *Scotland*, after the Parliament of *England* had given
" Aſſurances, that the Treaties and Covenant ſhould be inviolably
" obſerv'd. But that Promiſe had been ſo ill kept, that there was ſcarce
" any one Article of the League and Covenant that had not been ſcan-
" dalouſly broke by the Faction of the Sectaries, and their Abettors,
" who had prevailed; inſomuch that the Covenant was alſo in Danger
" of being aboliſh'd, or, at leaſt, of being buried, as if it had never been
" ſpoken of. For whereas the Parliament of *Scotland* had reaſon to
" expect, that, according to the firſt Article of the Treaty between the
" two Kingdoms, which was made in 1643, the Covenant ſhould be
" eſtabliſh'd in *England* and *Scotland*; and that ſuch of the two King-
" doms as ſhould refuſe to ſign it, ſhould be look'd upon as Enemies
" of Religion and their Country, and that, as ſuch, ſhould be puniſh'd
" as declar'd Malignants: On the contrary, they found, that the ſaid
" Article had been left out in the new Propoſitions, which the two
" Houſes had ſent to his Majeſty in the Iſle of *Wight*. Beſides, the
" publick Orders for eſtabliſhing it over all the Kingdom, were not
" executed there; moreover, that many of thoſe who poſſeſs'd the chief
" Offices in the Army had not ſign'd it, and had not ſo much as been
" deſir'd to enter into it. That whereas the Reformation of Religion
" ought to be made according to the Covenant, it was therein ſtrongly
" contradicted. That Hereſy and Schiſm were tolerated; under which
" many horrid Blaſphemies were ſheltered, not to ſay publickly taught:
" Whereas the Privileges of Parliament ought to have been maintain'd;
" the two Houſes have been boldly diſobey'd, and threaten'd. Thoſe
" who ought to have been proſecuted, for having oppos'd the Reforma-
" tion of Religion, and fomented the Diſſention between the King and
" his People, and between the two Kingdoms, or for having alſo kept up
" Factions therein againſt the National League, have been protected
" and ſupported. On the contrary, ſuch as, according to the Covenant,
" ought to have been protected, have been perſecuted. No Body could
" be ignorant, that the two Kingdoms were bound, by the ſolemn
" League and Covenant, to preſerve his Majeſty's Perſon and Autho-
" rity, in the Defence of the true Religion, and the Liberties of his
" Kingdoms; and that, with a Deſign, that all the World, as well as
" their own Conſciences, might teſtify, that they had never thought or
" done any thing that might leſſen either the Power or Grandeur of the
" King. Beſides all that, the Kingdom of *Scotland*, when the King
" went from *Newcaſtle*, got the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of
" *England* to paſs their Word, that his Royal Perſon ſhould receive no
" bad Treatment: Yet his Majeſty was carry'd away by Force from
" his Houſe of *Holmby*, by *Joyce*, who commanded a ſmall Body of
" *Fairfax*'s Army. And though that *Joyce* was but a Taylor, yet he
" had the Boldneſs to perform that Action with Impunity: For *Fairfax*'s
" Army, who authoriz'd that Action, ever ſince kept the King near
" their own Quarters, 'till that his Majeſty ſeeing his Life in Danger,
" made his Eſcape from *Hampton-Court*, as he himſelf declar'd in the
" Letters he wrote at his going away. That the ſame very Army ſtill
" kept his Majeſty Priſoner in the Iſle of *Wight*, where he was con-
" tinually in Danger of loſing his Life, whereof they had Information
" from good Hands; beſides, that the two Houſes had forbid all Sorts
" of Perſons to have any Correſpondence with his Majeſty, upon Pain
" of Treaſon. The two Houſes did not as yet ſtop there, but they
" went to that Extreme, to declare, that they could no longer put any

" Truſt

1648.

" Truſt in his Majeſty ; ſo that not only thoſe whom the Parliament of
" *Scotland* ſent to the King, were kept from having Acceſs to him,
" contrary to the Promiſe which the two Houſes had given, the 27th
" of *January* 1647 ; but the Earl of *Lauderdale*, likewiſe one of the
" publick Miniſters of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, having, contrary to the
" Law of Nations, been affronted at *Woburn*, where the King then was,
" was oblig'd, by Force, to leave that Town, without ſeeing his Majeſty.
" And though the Committee of the *Scots* Parliament had ſeveral times
" complain'd of it, no Reparation had been as yet made ; and that their
" Commiſſioners had got no Anſwer to the Letter which they had
" written to the two Houſes, to know if their Vote of no more Ad-
" dreſſes to be made to the King, was extended to his Subjects of the
" Kingdom of *Scotland*. They did not ſo much as let it be known
" that they had heard of it, until about the End of *March*, that the
" Commiſſioners of the two Houſes had preſented a Declaration,
" directed to the Parliament of *Scotland*, wherein they plainly ſaid,
" that none but themſelves alone had Power to diſpoſe of the Perſon of
" the King of *England*. Nevertheleſs, the two Houſes were ſo much
" the more oblig'd to ſatisfy the Kingdom of *Scotland*, with reſpect to
" theſe Matters ; becauſe it had been agreed by the Treaty between
" the two Nations, That if the Subjects of either of the Kingdoms
" happen'd to take up Arms, and injur'd the Subjects of the neighbour-
" ing Kingdom, without the Conſent of the Parliament, upon which
" they depended, they ſhould be proſecuted as Traitors to the State,
" of which they were Subjects. The Parliament of *Scotland* have often
" demanded the Execution of that Article, and particularly on the 16th
" of *January* 1647, when the two Houſes promis'd, nine or ten Days
" after, that, as ſoon as the *Scots* Army ſhould be retir'd out of *England*,
" and ſhould have reſtor'd the Cautionary Towns, of which they were
" in Poſſeſſion, the two Houſes ſhould forthwith ſet about disbanding
" their Army. The Parliament of *Scotland*, with more Eagerneſs,
" repeated that Demand the 16th of *July* the ſame Year, after that the
" publick Miniſters of the Kingdom of *Scotland* were abus'd by that
" Army ; but the Power of the Sectarians was then ſuch, that they
" inſolently ſcorn'd ſo much as to ſalve the Appearances of ſo inju-
" rious a Rupture, and contrary to the Faith of Treaties : And though,
" by the eighth Article of the Treaty, it had been concluded, that
" neither a Ceſſation of Arms, nor Truce, nor Peace ſhould be made by
" either of the Kingdoms, or their Armies, but with the common
" Conſent of both ; yet it was certain, that the Army of the Secta-
" rians having drawn up Propoſitions quite contrary to the Covenant,
" they had preſented them to his Majeſty ; and that the two Houſes,
" being then domineer'd over, and kept under by that inſolent Army,
" having made no reckoning of the Propoſitions, about which the two
" Kingdoms were agreed, ſent other Propoſitions to the King, contrary
" to the Treaty ; againſt which the Commiſſioners of *Scotland* had
" publickly proteſted, becauſe they were directly contrary to Religion,
" the Rights of the Crown, and the Union betwixt the two Kingdoms.
" In fine, they had Reaſon to complain of the Breach of the Treaty,
" with reſpect to the Remainder of the Sums due to them on Account
" of the brotherly Aſſiſtance, and the Payment of their Army in *Ireland* ;
" to which, by an Account made up betwixt them, and agreed upon,
" in the Year 1643, the two Houſes were indebted to the Kingdom of
" *Scotland* near four hundred thouſand Pounds. But though they
" could not handſomly forſake the Intereſts of that Army, yet they did

1648. " not think themſelves obliged to mention them at that time; becauſe, " as it was out of no Advantage that they had taken up Arms, what- " ever their Enemies had ſaid to the contrary, they did not think it " handſome, in the preſent Juncture of Affairs, to add that Grievance to " the Number of their Complaints; their Motives being more noble " and important, ſince they concern'd the Honour and Glory of God " only, with the Peace of the three Kingdoms.

" THAT Things being come to this Paſs, and Religion and the State " equally in Danger of being overturn'd, they found themſelves in " Conſcience oblig'd, as Chriſtians, as Subjects, and as *Scots-men*, in this " unhappy Juncture, to give Proofs of their Affection to their Religion, " their Prince, and their Country, and to run to the Aſſiſtance of their " afflicted Brethren in *England*, though they ſhould loſe their own " Lives in the Attempt. However, they had a mind, before all things, " to endeavour to remedy ſo many Diſorders, and bring Matters to the " State they ought to have been in, according to the Covenant, and the " Treaties between the two Kingdoms, by the moſt gentle and reaſon- " able Methods they could think of. That, in order to make it appear, " they were reſolv'd to cauſe to be laid before the two Houſes theſe " Propoſitions, which, in their Opinion, were not only moſt reaſon- " able, but likewiſe moſt neceſſary. Firſt, That they may be pleas'd " to oblige, upon the Pains contain'd in the Treaty, all the Inhabitants " of *England*, immediately to ſign the Covenant, without farther Delay; " and having therein eſtabliſh'd the Uniformity of Religion both in " Doctrine and Diſcipline, purſuant to the Covenant, to extirpate " Schiſm and Hereſy, particularly the Socinians, the Arminians, the " Eraſtians, the Familiſts, the Browniſts, and the Independents, and " reſolutely make an End of altogether ſuppreſſing the Remains of the " Papacy, Epiſcopacy, and the *Engliſh* Liturgy. That the King be " brought back again with Honour, and in all Freedom, either to " *London*, or to one of his Houſes near the City, that the Parliaments " of his two Kingdoms may freely addreſs themſelves to his Majeſty, as " Occaſion ſhall require, in order to perſuade him to give his Royal " Aſſent to the Eſtabliſhment of Religion, and the Peace of the State, " according to the Covenant. That the Army of the Sectarians, which " was commanded by *Thomas Fairfax*, Baron of *Cameron*, be imme- " diately disbanded; and that no Perſon be admitted to command in " the Gariſons, that may be judg'd neceſſary to be kept up for the " Security of the Kingdom, but ſuch as have ſign'd the Covenant, or " ſhall come and ſign it; that all the Members of both Houſes, who " have continued faithful to the Solemn League, may return in all " Safety to perform their Duty. That the City of *London* be reſtor'd to " the Enjoyment of its Privileges; and the Parliaments of the two " Kingdoms be no longer kept from labouring jointly with the King, " for the happy Re-eſtabliſhment of Religion and Peace. Therefore " the Parliament of *Scotland* did not doubt but the two Houſes of the " Parliament of *England* would agree with them in the Reaſonableneſs " of their Demands, and, conſequently, would be diſpos'd to give them " the Satisfaction they deſir'd. And though it ſhould happen, being " ſurrounded by the Army of the Sectarians, that they ſhould not do " what was expected from them, yet that ſhould not induce them, " on their Part, to break the Union between the two Kingdoms, nor " to encroach upon the Rights or particular Privileges of the Subjects " of *England*, avoiding, above all things, to make a Quarrel between

" King-

1648.

" Kingdom and Kingdom. And in caſe they ſhould be oblig'd to take
" up Arms, they had reſolv'd never to do it but for maintaining Truth,
" and reſtoring Peace under his Majeſty's Reign, the Kingdom of *Scot-*
" *land* having never intended any Thing elſe in all their Enterprizes. That
" they ſhould likewiſe carefully avoid doing any Thing, which might
" in the leaſt diſpleaſe the Presbyterians of *England*, or aſſociating them-
" ſelves, in any Manner whatſoever, with any of thoſe who ſhould re-
" fuſe to ſign the Covenant. That, far from joining with the Popiſh,
" Prelatical, or Malignant Factions, if they ſhould take up Arms again,
" for oppoſing the Covenant, on the contrary, they ſhould employ their
" whole Strength, for bringing all thoſe People to Reaſon, with the ſame
" Hoſtility that they ſhould proſecute the Sectarians. Moreover, they
" declar'd, That no Perſon ſhould have any Command in their Army,
" but the Covenanters only, who had acted ſo faithfully for the Defence
" of the common Cauſe. And what Reſolution ſoever they had taken
" to ſpend to the very laſt Drop of their Blood, for obtaining their King's
" Liberty, yet they had no Thoughts of leaving him any Power in his
" Hands, that might endanger Religion, or prevent the intire Execution
" of the Covenant in all its Parts. On the contrary, not being ſatisfy'd
" with his Majeſty's Offers with reſpect to Religion, they ſhould not
" come to an Agreement with him, until he had firſt engag'd himſelf by
" a ſolemn Oath, and had likewiſe given Security for himſelf and Suc-
" ceſſors, under his Hand and Seal, that he ſhould conſent to all the Acts
" that ſhould be propos'd to him by the Parliaments of his two Kingdoms,
" for his Subjects entering into the Covenant, and for eſtabliſhing among
" them, in all his Dominions, the Presbyterian Government, the Di-
" rectory, and the Confeſſion of Faith; and that neither he, nor his
" Succeſſors, ſhould ever attempt to alter the leaſt Thing therein. And
" that the Sincerity of their Intentions might the more appear, they con-
" ſented to be bound by Oath to what they ſhould undertake; in the
" Form of which the Church ſhould have the Share that ſhe ought to
" have, ſuch as ſhe had had on the like Occaſions. They were alſo
" willing to have it known, that tho' their Intention was not to make
" War, till after having declar'd the Reaſons they had for taking up Arms
" again: So as all the Subjects, who had the Quiet and Happineſs of the
" Kingdom at Heart, might reſt ſatisfy'd with them, being likewiſe re-
" ſolv'd, by the uſual Ways, to cauſe Reparation to be demanded of all In-
" juries, and of the Infractions of the Treaty, which were already, or ſhould
" be agreed upon: Yet it would not be in their Power to anſwer the Expecta-
" tion of the People, and they ſhould fall ſhort of their Duty, if they did not
" make Uſe of their Authority in the preſent Juncture, for the Security of
" the Kingdom. For which Cauſe, they were reſolv'd to put the Kingdom
" quickly in a Condition to make War, as it was in the Year 1643. Ha-
" ving thus repreſented to all faithful *Scots-men*, the Danger that both
" Religion and the State were in, with a good Part of the Reaſons of the
" Reſolution they had taken to make Uſe of a ſpeedy and effectual Re-
" medy, they could no longer doubt, but the Eyes of all *Chriſtendom*
" would be fix'd upon them; and that all ſuch as had Zeal for Religion,
" Love for this antient Monarchy, and Compaſſion of the Sufferings of
" his Majeſty's ſacred Perſon, would be ſenſibly affected with the deplo-
" rable State into which they had fallen, and that they would offer them-
" ſelves, with all that depended upon them, in order to raiſe them up
" again. By that Means, all the World would ſee, that they had not
" forſaken the Principles of the Covenant and League between the two
" Kingdoms, wherein they had promis'd before God and the Angels,

" that

1648. " that every one, for his own part, ſhould apply himſelf to the Refor-
" mation and Uniformity of Religion in all his Majeſty's Dominions, ac-
" cording to the Word of God, and the Example of the beſt reform'd
" Churches. That they ſhould, in like Manner, maintain, to the Peril
" both of their Lives and Fortunes, not only the King's Perſon and Au-
" thority, in the Preſervation of the true Religion and Liberties of his
" Kingdoms; but that they ſhould likewiſe be always ready to eſpouſe
" all the Intereſts, wherein his Majeſty's Honour ſhould be at Stake, in
" order to act agreeably to the Laws of the Kingdom, and to the natural
" Duty of faithful Subjects. That they ſhould make it plainly appear,
" that the Defenders of Presbyterian Government were not at all againſt
" Monarchical Government, as their Enemies gave out every where.
" And that, particularly, the Kingdom of *Scotland* ſhould give Proofs of
" what they had ſo often maintain'd, that the Quiet and Happineſs of all
" the Inhabitants depended abſolutely upon the Security of the Perſon
" and Grandeur of the King, who was God's Vicegerent, as well for
" the Defence of Religion, as for the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, beſides
" (which yet more ſtrictly oblig'd them to be perfectly ſubmiſſive to him)
" that he was their native Prince, who was deſcended in a right Line from
" ſo great a Number of royal Anceſtors, that there was no Prince in *Eu-*
" *rope* that could equal his Birth. "

THIS Declaration would certainly have rais'd the Spirits, and ſtirr'd up the Courage of all *Scots-men*, if the Miniſters had not declar'd againſt it, and if, by their ſeditious Sermons, they had not poiſon'd the Minds of the People, and even incited whole Shires to revolt, and declare againſt the Engagement of the Parliament. The Parliament, in order to humour the Clergy, had explain'd themſelves much more freely in this Declaration, than they had done before in their Anſwer to the Demands of the ſame Clergy; and they had likewiſe very near agreed to them all, without altering any Expreſſion, that was conſiſtent with Honour and Decency. Yet that did not keep the Miniſters from bawling and bluſtering, nay making a Declaration againſt that of the Parliament, in which they ſupported, as much as in them lay, the Intereſts of the two Houſes of the Parliament of *England*. They ſtill continu'd, at their uſual Rate, to fret and fume in their Sermons; and never fail'd therein to diſplay all the Myſteries of S. *John*'s *Revelation*, and to make Uſe of all the Threatnings which the Prophets of old had pronounc'd againſt *Gog* and *Magog*. The Victory which they obtain'd, was not indeed without much Toil and Sweat; nor even without throwing a great deal of Duſt in the Faces of their Hearers, which they drove out of the Fore-part of their Pulpits, in beating upon it thro' Paſſion, and with great Rage, without taking Pity on it. The Eagerneſs, with which theſe zealous Miniſters acted, went to ſuch an Exceſs, that the Parliament thought themſelves oblig'd to cauſe the moſt ſeditious of them to be arreſted, and a Proclamation to be publiſh'd, forbidding all Sorts of Perſons to revile the Government, upon Pain of Death. They likewiſe forbad the Payment of Stipends to ſuch Miniſters as ſhould not comply with their Orders; and beſides ordain'd, that all ſuch as ſhould oppoſe them, whether of the Nobility and Gentry, or of the Commonalty, ſhould be impriſon'd, and their Eſtates ſeiz'd and ſequeſtrated. That if any Perſons in publick Employments did not obey, they ſhould be depriv'd of them for ever. Notwithſtanding all theſe Precautions, there were ſtill ſome Miniſters, who could not forbear prating, and who affected to become Martyrs of the moſt miſchievous and pitiful Cauſe in the World.

THE

THE Commiſſioners of the Parliament of *England* had repreſented to the Parliament of *Scotland*, That the two Houſes deſir'd to preſerve the Peace between the two Kingdoms, and that they were particularly labouring to ſatisfy them for the Service of their Armies, as well in *England* as *Ireland*. And becauſe a great Number of Gentlemen of the royal Party, beſides Captain *Wogan*'s Troop of Horſe, were come to *Edinburgh*, both from *England* and beyond Sea, in a *Dutch* Ship, wherein Sir *William Fleming* had caus'd Ammunition to be brought to the Port of *Leith*; the Commiſſioners requir'd in the Name of the two Houſes, That, according to the Treaty between the two Nations, Captain *Wogan*, Sir *Philip Muſgrave*, Sir *Thomas Glenham*, and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, ſhould be deliver'd into their Hands, together with the other Delinquents. The Parliament anſwer'd, That they did not look upon thoſe Gentlemen to be Incendiaries, or that they had any Deſign to ſow Diviſion between the two Kingdoms, or between the King and his Subjects. That as for the reſt, they were not at all ſatisfy'd with the Anſwer of the two Houſes. The two Houſes, to be even with them, likewiſe declar'd, That they were yet leſs ſatisfy'd with the Proceedings of the Parliament of *Scotland*; and at the ſame Time, gave Orders to their Commiſſioners ſtill to preſs that Demand. But they might preſs long enough; for at the ſame Time, Sir *Philip Muſgrave* and Sir *Thomas Glenham* ſurpriz'd *Carliſle*, and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale Berwick*, and *York* was like to have had the ſame Fate. The two Houſes having been inform'd of this, order'd their Commiſſioners to ask the Parliament of *Scotland* the Reaſon of it; but they would not take Notice thereof. 1648.

THE ſtrong Caſtle of *Pontefract*, in the County of *York*, was likewiſe ſurpriz'd ſome Time after, by ſome Soldiers under the Diſguiſe of Countrymen, pretending to go in with Horſes loaded with Proviſions, for ſupplying the Caſtle. The Horſes being enter'd, the Soldiers threw off their Diſguiſe, and preſently ſeiz'd on, and maſter'd the main Guard. At the ſame Time, being ſupported by a Party that was lying in Ambuſcade, they forc'd the Gariſon. *Scarborough* declar'd for this Party; and many other Caſtles in the neighbouring Counties were taken by ſome other Stratagem, or by open Force, by the royal Party commanded by Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, who did all he could likewiſe to ſeize the Caſtle of *Holy Iſland*, which is near the Mouth of the *Tweed*, and which was call'd *Holy*, from the Sanctity of the Monks who liv'd in it, whoſe Number was augmented by *Cedulph*, King of *Northumberland*, after he had reign'd eight Years. But Captain *Batten*, who commanded the Caſtle, refus'd to declare for the King. Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* likewiſe gave Commiſſions to ſeveral Gentlemen in thoſe Parts, who rais'd Soldiers for the King's Service; and performing all the Duties of a gallant and diligent Commander, in a ſhort Time, he rais'd a Body of Troops, conſiderable enough to join the *Scots* Army, when it ſhould enter *England*. But the raiſing of that Army going on but ſlowly, becauſe of the Diviſions that were in *Scotland*, and *Langdale* having to do with Major General *Lambert*, who commanded for the two Houſes in the *North* with the old Troops, as he could not be every where, and was taken up with getting Subſiſtence for his new Levies, *Lambert* beat up one of his Quarters, and took many Gentlemen of the royal Party Priſoners, without one Man being kill'd on either Side. The two Houſes having had an Account of this Victory, (at leaſt it was call'd ſo) caus'd *Te Deum* to be ſung, in order to ſpread abroad the Reputation of their Arms.

1648. As the City of *London* had a mind to take Advantage of the Juncture of Affairs, they took Occaſion to make uſe of an Information that one *John Everard* had given them; which was, That he had heard ſome Words at *Oxford*, which gave them Ground to preſent ſeveral Petitions to the Houſe of Commons; which, out of a Maxim of State, were all favourably anſwer'd. This *Everard* being call'd before the Common-Council of the City, depos'd there, upon Oath, "That on the 20th of "*April*, being lodg'd in an Inn at *Oxford*, and in Bed, he heard three "or four Officers of the Army, in the next Room to his, who having "begun to diſcourſe upon the Affairs of the Times, ſaid, That they "knew for a certain Truth, that the *Scots* were very ſoon to enter "*England* with an Army, and that the City of *London* would join with "the *Scots*; for the preventing of which, they found no way but to "diſarm the whole City, Friend and Foe: After which, all the Friends "of the Army ſhould be invited to the Camp, where they ſhould be "arm'd, and, by that means, ſhould be able to over-awe the City. "That the City ſhould be oblig'd to maintain the Army as long as ſhould "be judg'd neceſſary to keep it ſtanding. And as Money was the true "Sinews of War; with which if they were once provided, they would "not want Men; they were of Opinion, that after the City ſhould be "diſarm'd, it might be propos'd to them to advance a Million of "Money, otherwiſe the City ſhould be plunder'd." One of their Petitions contain'd this Depoſition, and likewiſe repreſented to the Houſe, that the Fears of the City were increas'd, as well by the Approach of the Army, as by the Number of Soldiers that had been ſent to gariſon the Tower; inſomuch that Trade was viſibly decay'd, and Proviſions were become extraordinary dear. The Mayor and Aldermen of the City, in the Demands of their Petition, moſt humbly begg'd the two Houſes, "That Orders may be given for quickly removing the "Army to a farther Diſtance. That a Committee may be appointed to "enquire into what had been depos'd by *Everard*. That the Chains of "the City may be ſet up again. That the Aldermen may be reſtor'd "to their Liberty; and that by an Ordinance of the two Houſes, the "Militia may be regulated according to the Privileges of the City, "with which the Parliaments of the two Kingdoms, in all the Treaties "they had begun with the King, concerning the Militia, had never "meddled: That, in ſhort, the Militia of *Weſtminſter* and the Suburbs "may be join'd again to the City, that they may be in a Condition to "take Care of their own Security, and that of the Parliament, to which "they were reſolv'd ſtedfaſtly to adhere, as they were bound to do by "their Solemn League and Covenant." All theſe Things were granted them, except the annexing of the Militia: And as the Petitioners had enter'd the Houſe, the Speaker having thank'd them for their good Affections, and Reſolutions to adhere to the Parliament, he acquainted them, "That the Occaſion of Part of the Army's being drawn ſo near, "was the late Tumults; and that they ſhould ſpeedily give Orders for "ſending the Army to ſuch a Diſtance, as the City ſhould no longer "be incommoded by them.

THEY were therefore authorized to name, and preſent to the two Houſes, Commiſſioners for the Militia of *London*, and to name an Officer capable of commanding in the Tower. Thus, by an Ordinance of the two Houſes, was the Militia put in the Hands of ſuch Commanders as were preſented to them by the Common-Council of the City, amongſt whom they ſlipt in Major-General *Skippon* unawares: For *Skippon* not being

being a Freeman of the City, he ought not to have been of the Militia. However, he got the Commiſſion to command it in Chief for the Defence of the City and Parliament, with Power to put all ſuch to the Sword as ſhould oppoſe him in the Execution of the Orders he ſhould receive from the two Houſes. Colonel *Francis Weſt* was likewiſe again made Lieutenant of the Tower; and the Soldiers who were there, with the Regiments in *Whitehall* and the *Meuſe*, which the General had order'd to return to the Army, after the Parliament had provided a Guard for themſelves, were all ſent away. The late Mayor and Aldermen were acquitted of the Accuſation that had been brought againſt them, as were likewiſe the Peers who had been impeach'd of Treaſon. And that this Pardon might alſo be extended to all ſuch as could be involv'd in the ſame Puniſhment, *Copley*, *Hollis*, *Maſſey*, *Clotworthy*, and *Long*, who were all Members of the Houſe of Commons, and who had been expell'd the Houſe, return'd, and took their Places. 1648.

All theſe Things were not ſo liberally granted to the City, but in order to unite them more ſtrictly with the two Houſes; and alſo to take them off from the *Scots*, who, in the Demands they had made to the two Houſes, did not forget the Concerns of the City: So that the two Houſes having ſent ſome of their Members to acquaint the Magiſtrates of the City with what they had done in their Favour, and to tell them, That, as an Acknowledgment of their Civility, it was expected they ſhould give ſome new Proofs of their Fidelity and Affection. The City anſwer'd, That it was their firm and conſtant Reſolution to adhere to the Intereſts of the two Houſes againſt the Common Enemy, and to live and die with them, to whom they had newly been ſo much oblig'd.

Impartial Men, conſidering Things narrowly, found that the City was acting contrary to its own Intereſt, and that its Magiſtrates did not enough weigh the Reaſons which they had to take quite another Courſe, rather than ſo blindly to join with the Heads of that Faction, who had the abſolute Command both in the two Houſes and the Army. They did not conſider, that, by the Courſe they were taking, they would be involv'd in all their Crimes, and inſenſibly be oblig'd to ſtand in Defence of them; which could not be done, but by committing yet much greater. For ſuch is always the Misfortune that neceſſarily attends the being engag'd in Crimes: And it was for that End, that *Cromwell* had openly propos'd in the Houſe, to re-unite the Intereſts of the Parliament and City with thoſe of the Army; that being all imbark'd in the ſame Bottom, they might likewiſe run the ſame Riſque; and that he and his Accomplices might eaſily bring the criminal Deſigns, which for a long Time he had been hatching in his Brains, to the laſt Puſh.

As little did they conſider, that there was no Security in joining with Men who had acted contrary to the Covenant, in every thing that concern'd Religion and the King, and who had broke the publick Faith of the Kingdom, which they had ſolemnly given the *Scots*; beſides, that they had never kept it to any Perſon, but ſo far as they ſaw that it ſuited with their own Intereſts. Now, the *Scots* not having been able to bring them to Reaſon by fair Means, had taken Arms, not againſt the Kingdom of *England*, but againſt thoſe perfidious Men who had enrich'd themſelves with the Spoil of the Kingdom, who ſuffer'd *Ireland* to be ruin'd, and who forc'd the two Houſes, with the Rod in their Hand, to authorize, by their Ordinances, all their Treaſon both againſt God

1648. God and the King, and all their Treachery. That being the Caſe, the Common-Council and Corporate Body of the City of *London* ought to have taken ſo much the more Care, not to engage in a Party againſt the *Scots*, who were their true Friends; becauſe nothing but the Fear of their entering *England*, had kept the two Houſes from cauſing the Heads of their Mayor and chief Aldermen to be ſtruck off. It ſeem'd they had forgot their unjuſt Impriſonment, and little reflected upon the Murder of their poor Apprentices, when *Cromwell*, exaſperating the Soldiers againſt them, cry'd out, *Put them all to the Sword, and ſet the City on Fire.* It likewiſe ſeem'd, that they were no longer afraid of the Threatnings that had been made to pillage their City; though when they complain'd of it to the two Houſes, and begg'd of them to call to an Account thoſe who had ſo threaten'd them, yet they were ſlighted. Beſides, the two Houſes took care not to meddle with that; for *Everard* had depos'd in his Examination, That the Officer who was talking to his Friends at *Oxford*, gave them to underſtand, that he had acquainted Commiſſary-General *Ireton* with it.

It was likewiſe Matter of Surprize, that the Magiſtrates of the City had not conſider'd, that their new Maſters had not ſet the Priſoners at Liberty, but becauſe they could not then do otherwiſe, and that they had granted them but a Part of the Militia; and beſides, it was that Part which depended abſolutely upon themſelves. They never would conſent that the Militia ſhould be join'd again into one Body, nor that the Soldiers ſhould march out of the Tower, until they had firſt taken out of it all the Ammunition and warlike Stores with which it was then well provided. The Magiſtrates were alſo become ſo inſenſible, that they had not ſhewn the leaſt Reſentment of the Contempt wherewith they were treated, when their Chains were reſtored to them; for that Contempt went ſo far, that one of the Leading Men of the Faction could not forbear telling them, That the Houſe had conſented that their Poſts ſhould wear Chains, as well as their Sheriffs, and that they equally deſerv'd them.

There was no Doubt to be made after that, but they, who had gratify'd the City in theſe Things, ſo much againſt the Grain, becauſe they ſtood in Need of it, would withdraw them whenever they ſhould think themſelves in a Condition to make Shift without the City. It was only when their Affairs were in a deſperate Condition, that they expreſs'd ſome pretended Friendſhip for it: But when they ſaw their Affairs go on according to their Wiſhes, they made it appear, that they were its real Enemies; ſo that there being nothing but Neceſſity that made them have Recourſe to the City, it ought never to have contributed any thing towards their Relief, for fear of loſing them, and falling into the ſame Misfortune with thoſe, who having kept a Snake warm in their Boſom, preſently felt its mortal Stingings: For they had not ſpoken one Word of their having the leaſt Thought of conſenting to the Disbanding of the Army, with which if they ſhould happen to beat the *Scots*, they might eaſily domineer over the City, and make themſelves Maſters both of the Tower and the Militia, whenever they ſhould think fit. And as they very well knew what the Power of that opulent City was, which alone had formerly ſuppreſs'd the Rebellion of *Wat Tyler*, in the Reign of *Richard* II. they were afraid of it, they hated it, and endeavour'd with all their Might to divide it, in order to weaken it. It was for that Reaſon, that they had perſuaded the two Houſes to change the Commanders

manders of the Militia, and to ſeparate *Weſtminſter*, *Southwark*, and the *Tower Hamlets* from it, and that they had likewiſe made it odious to the Counties; whence it was, that in the Remonſtrance which the Army made on the 7th of *December* 1647, they demanded Eighty three thouſand three hundred and thirty three Pounds, ſix Shillings, and eight Pence of the City, for indemnifying the neighbouring Counties of the Damage they had ſuſtained by the Army, who had been forc'd to live there at Diſcretion, becauſe of the Delays which had been us'd by the City in paying them. The Army had not propos'd that, but in order to make a *German* Quarrel between the Counties and the City, and that the Officers of the Army might be Arbitrators of it. 1648.

To conclude: The City likewiſe forgot, that the Heads of the Faction gave no Anſwer to what concern'd the Covenant. They, indeed, wrote to the *Scots*, who were going to fall upon them, that they would ſupport it. But the *Scots* were not ſatisfy'd with Words, ſeeing that the Effects were all contrary thereto, and that the Commanders of Towns, of the Fleet, and of the Army, laugh'd at it. They call'd it, openly in the Houſe, the Pretence of Rebellion; and ſaid, that the moſt Part of thoſe who had juſt taken Arms againſt the two Houſes had ſign'd it, but that thoſe who had refus'd it had done them good Service. That, in ſhort, the Covenant was not of Divine Right, and that it could be explain'd in ſo many different Manners, that it was hard to find out the true Meaning of it. 'Tis very certain, that the Covenant was not of Divine Right: But ſuppoſing it juſt, it was of Divine Right, that thoſe who had taken it ſhould keep it; becauſe God hath forbidden to offer him the Sacrifice of Fools. But if the Covenant was unjuſt, as it certainly was, the two Houſes had wrong'd the Subjects, when they oblig'd them to keep it; and beſides, it was acting contrary to all Juſtice, to uſe them like Traitors, for having kept it, as they dealt with the Mayor and Aldermen, who were put in the Tower, and with the ſeven Peers, whom they accus'd of Treaſon. For what they did, was not in order to begin a new War, but to defend the King, Religion, and the Laws, which was the Deſign of the Covenant. As for the different Conſtructions which might be put upon the Covenant, they put more and moſt abſurd upon the Holy Scripture, and, for the Reaſon which they alledg'd, they might alſo reject it. And as for the Services which they boaſted of having done the two Houſes, none but themſelves had ever got by them; and it did not look like ſerving them very well, nor owning them for their Maſters, to refuſe to lay down Arms by their Orders, nay, to engage themſelves not to do it; to carry away the King by Force from *Holmby*, in Spite of their Commiſſioners, and to treat them like Pupils ever ſince, rendering their Authority contemptible and ridiculous, by ſo many Remonſtrances and Declarations which they forc'd them to approve of.

*The Duke of York's Eſcape from Saint James's.*

However, the Satisfaction which the two Houſes receiv'd, from the Regard which the City had expreſs'd to have for them, was diſturb'd by the News they receiv'd in the Beginning of *May*, of the Duke of *York*'s Eſcape. That brave Prince, who, ſince he came to *France*, has acquir'd ſo great a Reputation in the Army, lodg'd then in St. *James's* Palace, where he had us'd every Evening, in playing with the Gentlemen of his Bed-chamber, to hide himſelf ſometimes in one Place, ſometimes in another, in order to make them ſeek for him. He had, for ſome time diverted himſelf in this manner, on Purpoſe the better to

1648. cover his Deſign, and not to give Suſpicion of what he ſhould do the Evening that he had reſolv'd to make his Eſcape. All Things being prepar'd for it, the Duke having hid himſelf as he us'd to do, went privately into the Gallery, and about nine o' Clock at Night from thence went down a private Pair of Stairs into the Garden, of which the Gardener, by his Order, had ſent him the Key an Hour before, under Pretence of having a mind to go a Hunting very early the next Morning. He boldly open'd the Door, where Colonel *Bamfield* was waiting for him without, who having given him a black Wig, and put a Patch upon one of his Eyes, conducted him to a Coach which Mr. *Trip* had brought for his Highneſs. From thence they went and took a Barge, which carry'd them to a Houſe very near the Bridge, where the Duke having put on Women's Apparel, went into the Barge again with *Bamfield*, and ſo down to *Greenwich*, where the Wind having chang'd, the Maſter of the Barge would go no farther, whatever Entreaties *Bamfield*, who knew him, could make him. He began to have ſome Doubts about the young Lady, and had ſeen through a Hole in the Cabin, where his Highneſs and *Bamfield* were, that the Duke was untying the Blue Garter which he had forgot to take off in the Houſe. That made the Waterman judge, that it was ſome Lord of that Order, and conſidering his Age, could be no other but the Duke of *York*. *Bamfield* conjuring him to continue his Way, becauſe the Lady had a preſſing Affair in *Holland*; the Waterman anſwer'd, ſmiling, That ſhe was the firſt Lady he had ever heard of, that had been a Knight of the Garter. Then the Duke diſcover'd himſelf to him, and having aſſur'd him, that he would make his Fortune, he obey'd his Highneſs, and coming near *Graveſend*, he order'd his Men to lie upon their Oars, and let the Barge go with the Current between the two Forts, without being perceiv'd by the Guards. Being arriv'd at *Tilbury*, the Duke went on Board a *Dutch* Ship, which lay at Anchor ready to receive him, and which carry'd him to *Middlebourg*. The News having been carry'd to the two Houſes, the Earl of *Northumberland*, who had the Charge of the Princes, was heard thereupon; and after they had conſider'd his Account of the Matter, he was clear'd from having been privy to the Duke's Eſcape, as, indeed, he had had no Hand in it.

In the mean Time, the Parliament of *Scotland* ſent their Demands to the two Houſes by Lieutenant Colonel *Marſhal*, whom they made the Bearer of the Letter which they wrote them, and gave him Orders to wait only a Fortnight for the Anſwer. On the 3d of *May*, the two Houſes receiv'd this Letter, which the Chancellor, who preſided in the Parliament of *Scotland*, wrote them in a very cold Style. And the two Houſes having already declar'd, "*That the Government of the Kingdom ſhould be* "*ſtill by King, Lords, and Commons*;" they anſwer'd the Parliament of *Scotland*, "*That they were reſolv'd to maintain the Covenant and Treaties* "*between the two Kingdoms; and that they will be ready to join with* Scot- "land, *in the Propoſitions preſented to the King at* Hampton-Court, pro- "vided his Majeſty ſhould conſent, before entering into a Treaty, That "the Presbyterian Government be eſtabliſh'd in *England* for three Years, "That all the Declarations publiſh'd againſt the two Houſes be recall'd, "and, That the Diſpoſal of the Militia be put into their Hands for ten "Years." The Parliament of *Scotland* having receiv'd this Anſwer, and not finding that it came up to their Demands, and that, on the contrary, it had eluded them all; beſides, ſeeing that their Prince was ſtill in Priſon; that the Covenant was trampled upon; that the Kingdom of

*Scotland*

*Scotland* was affronted in their publick Miniſters, and ſlighted in their Treaties; that the Parliament of *England* was oppreſs'd; that their Brethren were groaning under the Tyranny of the Sectarians; that the Foundations of Religion and the Monarchy were ſo much ſhaken, that they were ready to be overturn'd; reſolv'd to run quickly to the Breach, to ſtop the Courſe of all theſe Miſchiefs, to be reveng'd of all theſe Injuries by Arms, and not to make their Demands otherwiſe than upon the Points of their Swords. 1648.

THE Parliament therefore having ſent Money, and an Order to Major General *Monroe* to bring back a Part of the *Scots* Troops from *Ireland*, and having choſen the Duke of *Hamilton* General of the Army, and Governor of the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, the Earl of *Callender* Lieutenant General of the Horſe, and *Baylie* Lieutenant General of the Foot, put an End to this firſt Seſſion, the 15th of *June*, and adjourn'd themſelves to the Year 1650, that the Nobility and others might retire to the Country, and there haſten their Levies. But before they adjourn'd, by an Act of the 10th of the ſaid Month, they declar'd, That this Meeting of Parliament had always been, and ſtill was free and lawful. In like Manner, That they engag'd themſelves upon their Honour, and as they deſir'd to be thought to have a Love and Regard for Religion, the Laws, and the Liberty of their Country, faithfully to contribute, with all their Might, to the punctual Obedience of all that has been ordain'd in this Seſſion, being ſatisfy'd, that the Execution of thoſe Things was, without Doubt, the ſureſt Means for maintaining Religion, the Laws, and the royal Authority. They likewiſe ordain'd, That this Act ſhould be ſign'd, before the 1ſt of *Auguſt* next, by all the Members of Parliament, as well by ſuch as were preſent, as by thoſe that were abſent, by all the Lords, Gentlemen, Burgeſſes, and generally by all the Subjects and Inhabitants of the Shires and Towns of the Kingdom; as they ſhould more particularly be requir'd by the Committee of Parliament, which ſhould remain at *Edinburgh*. Laſtly, they determin'd, That all ſuch as ſhould refuſe, or delay to ſign this Act, ſhould be reputed, and treated as Enemies to Religion, the King, and Kingdom.

ALL theſe Acts were proclaim'd at *Edinburgh* by Sound of Trumpet, over the Croſs, by the Heralds in their Coats of Arms, as uſual. And the Committee of Parliament having immediately caus'd this laſt Act to be printed, ſent Copies of it over all the Kingdom; and at the ſame Time, order'd the Lieutenants of Shires, and the Magiſtrates of Towns, to ſee that it be ſign'd by all the Inhabitants, and to ſend a Report to them of what Obedience ſhould be paid to the Orders of Parliament. It was thus that all the *Scots* who preferr'd Honour to all other Intereſts, got over all the Objections ſtarted by their troubleſome Miniſters, and the People whom they had impos'd upon. They made this laſt Effort, in order to recover themſelves from the Precipice into which they had fallen, conſidering that wiſe Men, who have acquir'd Honour in the World, when they find a Door open for getting off honourably, loſe no Opportunity of running to it, for fear of falling into ſome Misfortune, which might blemiſh the Glory of the fine Actions of their paſt Life; how much more do they act ſo in Affairs, when, having gone thro' ſome very difficult and troubleſome, Fortune offers an Opportunity ſuch as they could wiſh for getting rid of them? they do not heſitate to get free of them, and take care not to engage in them a ſecond Time.

Now,

1648. Now, the Marquis of *Argyle*, the Earls of *Caſſils* and *Eglington*, having retir'd ſome Time before, and the Earls of *Loudoun* and *Lothian*, who had not conſented to the War, having likewiſe left the Town, with a Deſign to join them, *Callender* and *Middleton*, both great Officers, and gallant Men, were ſent with a Body of Horſe to bring them back. They eaſily diſpers'd their Forces, and forc'd themſelves to ſubmit to the Parliament. But tho' they had ſubmitted, and what Haſte ſoever Duke *Hamilton* made, who acted with great Vigour, and ſpar'd nothing to make the Parliament be obey'd, and to put the Army in a Condition to march, he found ſo much Oppoſition in a great Part of the Nobility, Gentry, and People, ſome of which had been practis'd upon, others terrify'd, by *Argyle*'s Partiſans, and the Emiſſaries of the Clergy, that it was already the Month of *July*, before the Army could enter *England*.

The War was already broke out again there, in *Kent*, *Eſſex*, and the Principality of *Wales*; *Fairfax* was beſieging the Town of *Colcheſter*, and *Cromwell* that of *Pembroke*. But becauſe it was this Lieutenant General that fought the *Scots* Army, we muſt firſt ſpeak of the military Expedition he made in *Wales*, before we mention any Thing of what paſs'd in the aforeſaid two Counties. The Occaſion of it was this. Colonel *Fleming* having had Orders from the Parliament and the General, to take Poſſeſſion of the Government of *Pembroke* Caſtle, and to remove Colonel *Poyer* from it, *Fleming* being got thither about the Beginning of *March*, and having acquainted *Poyer*, That he had Letters for him from the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons and General *Fairfax*, the Governor anſwer'd him, That he could not go out of the Caſtle; but gave him his Word, that if he would come in, he ſhould have free Ingreſs and Regreſs. *Fleming* being enter'd, and having deliver'd the Letters he had for the Governor, the Governor promis'd to give him an Anſwer next Morning. However, three or four Days paſs'd without giving any Anſwer. In the mean Time, the Governor having Correſpondence with Major General *Langhorn*'s disbanded Troops, invited a Part of them to enter the Caſtle, and was preparing to ſtand a Siege.

*FLEMING* being gone out of the Caſtle, and having ſent an Account to the two Houſes of all that had paſs'd there, they declar'd *Poyer* and all his Adherents Traitors, if within twenty four Hours, he did not deliver up the Caſtle, with all the Arms and Ammunition, according to the General's Orders, who, by the ſame Ordinance, was deſir'd to reduce it by Force, in Caſe of Reſiſtance, and then to deliver the Governor into the Hands of Juſtice. The Ordinance having been carry'd to the General, he ſent it to *Fleming*, with Orders to let the Governor ſee it, and to tell him, That he would not fail to bring him to Reaſon, if he did not ſurrender within the limited Time; and for that End, he order'd ſome Troops that were at *Glouceſter*, to march and join *Fleming*, and wrote to *Rainsborough* to ſend ſome Men of War, to block up the Port that was before the Caſtle.

*FLEMING* having ſent the Ordinance to the Governor by a Drummer, he read it before his Gariſon, and gave for Anſwer, "That if he "and his Soldiers might have their Arrears, Diſburſements, and Indem-"nity, they ſhould give up the Caſtle; but otherwiſe, that they were "reſolv'd to keep it for the King and Parliament, purſuant to the Cove-"nant they had taken." As he did not doubt of being reliev'd, he put on a good Countenance, and ſometimes ſaluted the Committee of Parliament

liament, that was ſitting in the Town, with all his Artillery. On the 16th of *March* he put four or five of the handſomeſt of his Soldiers in the beſt Apparel he could get, and by Break of Day made them go out by the Sally-Port, and, with great Ceremony, ſome Hours after, receiv'd them in again at the great Gate of the Caſtle, cauſing ſome Volleys of Cannon to be fir'd for welcoming thoſe Gentlemen, whom, he gave out, to be Officers which the Prince of *Wales* had ſent him from *France*, and who were very ſoon to be follow'd by a great many more. 1648.

He was not deceiv'd in his Expectation: For a few Days after, a Company of *Langhorn*'s Foot having ſeiz'd upon the Parliament's Commiſſioners, who were buſy in the Town disbanding thoſe Forces, and having very much abus'd them, threaten'd to ſend them Priſoners to the Caſtle. Theſe Soldiers embark'd in the Night-time, and got into the Caſtle by Sea, from whence, the next Morning, having made a furious Sally, they cut all *Fleming*'s Guards in Pieces, and took two Pieces of Cannon, which they brought into the Caſtle. Thus did *Poyer* make himſelf Maſter both of the Caſtle and Town, and declar'd open War againſt the Parliament.

But as he knew very well that Matters would not ſtop there, and that he ſhould quickly have to do with much ſtronger Forces, he made ready for a Defence, cauſing the Inhabitants to be arm'd, and raiſing Contributions in the beſt Parts of the County. Colonel *Powel* join'd him with his Regiment; and many Soldiers of *Langhorn*'s Troops, after having receiv'd their Money from the Parliament, likewiſe took Part with him. *Poyer* having got this Re-inforcement, took the Field, whither Colonel *Fleming* being gone to take Poſſeſſion of a Paſs with one Troop of Horſe, and two of Dragoons; and finding that the Royaliſts had left it, march'd on, hoping to be able to beat up ſome of their Quarters: but he had not gone very far when he met with *Poyer*, who attack'd him, and after the firſt Shock, very well maintain'd, in which a great many of both Sides were kill'd upon the Spot, he puſh'd him ſo fiercely, that he was forc'd to get into a Church. Then *Fleming* in all Haſte ſent to Colonel *Horton*, who commanded the Foot, for Aſſiſtance; but as he was four Miles from him, he could not get there ſoon enough: The Church was forc'd, *Fleming* kill'd, if he did not kill himſelf, as has been ſaid, and an hundred of his Men were made Priſoners. *Horton* had likewiſe taken ſome Priſoners in *Brecknockſhire*, where many had declar'd for the King; and having ſent a Drummer to make an Exchange, the Drummer gave an Account, that the moſt Part of the Royaliſts wore blue and white Ribbons in their Hats, which were the King's Livery, with theſe Words, *We long to ſee our King*.

General *Fairfax* having had an Account of this Defeat, and of the State of Affairs in *Wales*, where the Nobility and Gentry were generally Royaliſts, gave Orders to *Cromwell* to march with two Regiments of Horſe, and three of Foot, in order quickly to defeat that Party which had riſen for the King, and to bring *Pembroke*, *Tenby*, and *Chepſtow* Caſtle, in the County of *Monmouth*, which Sir *Nicholas Kemeys* had ſurpriz'd, under the Parliament's Subjection. But before *Cromwell* got there, *Horton* was reveng'd: For on the eighth of *May*, *Langhorn* having gone to reconnoitre, with a Deſign to fight him before he ſhould join the Troops which *Cromwell* was bringing him; they met between St. *Fagan*'s and *Peterſtone*: The *Welſh* were about eight thouſand Men,

1648. the half of which had no other Arms but Sticks tipp'd with Iron; and the *Engliſh* were about three thouſand Horſe and Foot together, but all old Troops. As *Horton* was endeavouring to make himſelf Maſter of an advantageous Poſt, between two Hills, the Country being mountainous every-where, and as he ſeem'd to be ſeeking an Opportunity to engage with *Langhorn*, Colonel *Butler* fell briskly upon his Rear-guard with nine hundred Horſe, and, perhaps, haſten'd the Battle too ſoon, which was obſtinately maintain'd for near two Hours. The *Welſh*, who are generally good Soldiers, ſtrove to compleat the Victory; and the *Engliſh*, on the other hand, who were enrag'd with the Loſs of *Fleming*, encourag'd one another to be well reveng'd of his Death. At laſt *Langhorn*'s Foot being at too great a Diſtance from the Horſe, theſe gave Ground, and were routed. *Horton* had then a good Bargain of the Foot, who were for the moſt part raw Soldiers, and ill arm'd. *Horton* was left Maſter of the Field of Battle, and of all the Ammunition of the *Welſh*, whereof he ſtood much in Need. Many Officers were taken Priſoners, with above two thouſand Soldiers, according to the Letter which *Horton* wrote to the two Houſes, who having had a more particular Account of the Action by Major *Beſhel*, ordain'd, that ſolemn Thanks ſhould be return'd to God, in all the Towns of the Kingdom. For as they were afraid of a general Inſurrection, they did ſo upon the leaſt Advantage which their Troops gain'd over thoſe that had declar'd for the King, in order to diſcredit that Party, and likewiſe to diſcourage ſuch as had a mind to join them: And in order to frighten them altogether, they ſent a Commiſſion into the Country for trying the Common Soldiers that were Priſoners: They alſo ordain'd, that the General ſhould ſend for the Officers that had been taken, in order to try them in the Council of War.

*CROMWELL* having enter'd *Wales*, on the 11th of *May* arriv'd at *Chepſtow*, where having found the Town in a Poſture of Defence, he order'd Colonel *Pride*'s Regiment to break open the Gate: Which was done with ſo much Vigour, that he ſoon made himſelf Maſter of the Town, where he made ſome Priſoners, and oblig'd thoſe that were under Arms, to fly into the Caſtle. There was in it good Store of Ammunition and Proviſions for a Month; ſo that when it was ſummon'd by *Pride*, the Gariſon laugh'd at his Summons, and fir'd upon the Drummer. Now, as this Colonel attempted to force his Entry into the Caſtle, he found a much more vigorous Reſiſtance there, than what had been made at his entering the Town: His Major, *Grieg ſon*, was kill'd, with five or ſix Soldiers. Then they were oblig'd to attack it regularly: So that *Cromwell* having left Colonel *Ewre* to carry on the Siege with ſeven Companies of Foot, and two Troops of Horſe, and having ſent to *Glouceſter* for ſome Pieces of Cannon, he continu'd his March to *Pembroke*, which he had a mind to beſiege in Perſon.

BEING arriv'd at *Cardiff*, two hundred and forty of the Soldiers, that had been taken Priſoners, were ſold to the Company of *Barbados* Merchants, for ſo much a Head; and Captain *Bardly*, with two others, who had formerly been in the Parliament's Service, were ſhot. The Militia of the Country were ſet at Liberty, having promis'd to riſe up in Arms no more. But Major-General *Stradling*, Colonel *Harris*, Major *Philips*, and the other Officers who had ſerv'd the Parliament under *Langhorn*, being brought by Sea to *Windſor*, where the Head-Quarters was, four of them were ſhot, one was hang'd, and ſeven others were

were condemn'd to die, by the Council of War. *Cromwell* march'd from *Cardiff* to *Carnarvon*, which the *Welſh* had deſerted, and having paſs'd near *Tenby*, which Colonel *Horton* had inveſted, on the 21ſt of *May* he himſelf beſieg'd *Pembroke*. 1648.

ON the 25th Colonel *Ewre* ſtorm'd *Chepſtow* Caſtle. As ſoon as ſome Cannon had been brought him, he caus'd a Battery to be erected againſt the Caſtle; then he offer'd *Kemeys* and his Soldiers Quarter, which they refus'd. Yet *Ewre* having diſmounted their Cannon, and made a ſufficient Breach, they in vain ſought the Quarter that they had refus'd, and which were refus'd them too: Therefore having no other Shift for their Safety, they carry'd a Boat, which they had in the Caſtle, down into the River, in order to make their Eſcape in it. But the Beſiegers having diſcover'd it, one of their Soldiers ſwam over the River, holding a Knife in his Mouth, with which he cut the Rope of the Boat, and brought it to the other Side of the Water. At laſt, as the Soldiers of the Gariſon, having deſerted *Kemeys*, who refus'd to ſurrender but upon Condition of having his Life and every Thing ſafe, had a mind to get out by the Breach, *Ewre* at the ſame time caus'd the Attack to be made, and enter'd the Caſtle pell-mell with them, where *Kemeys*, who had ſeiz'd it for the King, was kill'd, and a hundred and ſixty Officers and Soldiers were made Priſoners. *Ewre* caus'd them all to be put into a Church, 'till he ſhould have the Lieutenant-General's Orders.

THE taking of *Tenby* ſoon follow'd that of *Chepſtow*; for no ſooner had the Suburbs been taken by Storm, and a Breach made in the Caſtle, than Colonel *Rice Powel*, with all the other Officers and Soldiers of the Gariſon, ſurrender'd at Diſcretion; though the Place might eaſily have held out two Months, being ſufficiently furniſh'd with Proviſions, and there being thirty-five Pieces of Cannon in it, with twelve Barrels of Powder, and two Tons of Match. The Troops which beſieg'd it march'd preſently to reinforce the Siege of *Pembroke*, which was like to laſt much longer, the Town being ſtrong, well provided, and having in it three hundred Horſe, with *Poyer* and *Langhorn*, beſides Foot, all reſolute Men, and fit for Action: They gave great Proofs thereof, for they ſtood out the Siege 'till the 11th of *July*, and had neglected nothing that Men of Courage could do for making a gallant Defence, and haraſſing the Beſiegers. They made frequent Sallies, and often diſmounted their Cannon: They maintain'd Attacks upon the Breach, from whence they always drove back the Enemy with Loſs. *Poyer* himſelf went up and down between the Town and Caſtle, in order to hearten the Soldiers, and encourage the Inhabitants. But as they ſaw themſelves hemm'd in ſo cloſe, that they could no longer go a Foraging, they were forc'd to pull the Thatch from off the Houſes to give their Horſes to eat; and when their Proviſions began likewiſe to fall ſhort, he made every Body believe that they ſhould ſoon be reliev'd, ſometimes from the North by *Langdale*, ſometimes from the Sea by the Prince of *Wales*; inſomuch that when the Beſiegers made Bonfires, and fir'd all their Artillery, becauſe of a Victory which *Fairfax* had got in *Kent*, and that the Men of War had anſwer'd the Fire of the Army with their Cannon, he made the People believe that it was the Prince of *Wales*'s Ships caſting Anchor in the Road. At length, when they were reduc'd to a little Biſket and Ciſtern Water, they were forc'd to yield to Neceſſity, and ſurrender the Town and Caſtle, upon theſe Conditions: I. That Major-General *Langhorn*, Colonel *Poyer*, Colonel *Humphrey Mathews*, Captain *Philip Bowen*,

1648. *Bowen*, and *David Poyer*, ſhould yield themſelves to the Diſcretion of the two Houſes. II. That Sir *Charles Kemeys*, *Henry Stradling*, and many other Officers nam'd in the Article, ſhould leave the Kingdom within ſix Weeks, and ſhould not return for two Years, otherwiſe they ſhould forfeit this Favour. III. That the other Officers, Gentlemen, and Soldiers, who were not nam'd, ſhould have Liberty to go Home without being plunder'd, provided they ſhould ſubmit to the Parliament, and live peaceably: That the Sick and Wounded ſhould be carefully look'd after 'till their compleat Recovery: That the Inhabitants of the Town ſhould be free from Pillage, and enjoy all their Privileges: That the Town and Caſtle, with all the Arms, Cannon, Ammunition, and other Stores which were in them, ſhould be deliver'd up to Lieutenant General *Cromwell*, for the Service of the Parliament. Which having been performed the ſame Day, *Cromwell* ſent the Capitulation to the General, and the Committee of Safety, and wrote to them, That having heard that a foreign Army was entering the Kingdom, and that a contrary Wind had kept the battering Cannon from coming from *Briſtol*, he had been obliged to treat with the Beſieged upon better Conditions, than otherwiſe he would have done: That, however, he thought they will be found hard enough, if the Parliament ſhould treat the Priſoners as they deſerv'd of them; and that as ſoon as he had ſettled the Affairs of the Town, and adjuſted Matters in the County, where no Party had appear'd, ſince that of Sir *John Owen* had been defeated, and himſelf taken, and ſent to *Windſor*, he would march towards the *North*. That he had above 200 Miles to go; and that his Soldiers, whereof the moſt Part was Foot, wanted almoſt every Thing, but Courage to fight.

*The Duke of* Buckingham, *and the Earls of* Holland *and* Peterborough *take up Arms for the King.*

BEFORE that the great Cloud appear'd in the *North*, there aroſe a Storm towards the *South*, which laſted but a very ſhort Time. In the Beginning of *July*, the Duke of *Buckingham*, with the Earls of *Holland* and *Peterborough*, took up Arms; and having got together with 500 Horſe in the Neighbourhood of *Kingſton*, they wrote to the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of *London*, deſiring that they would declare for them, or at leaſt not to be againſt them, ſince they had no other Deſign but to join the Forces of *Surry* and *Eſſex*, for the King's Liberty, and the Peace of the Kingdom. The City having ſent this Letter to the Houſe of Commons, who had got Intelligence of the Matter from other Hands, they gave Orders for the Security of *Whitehall*, and the Palace of *Lambeth*; and appointed Guards on the *Thames*, and at the Ferries below *Kingſton*. And the Committee of Safety taking Occaſion from thence, let the Houſe know, That it was fit the Parliament ſhould have a Body of Horſe for their Guard; and that each Member ſhould give under his Hand, how many Horſe he was willing to maintain for ten Days. There were ſome who anſwer'd, That it was not very becoming, that the Houſe ſhould be tax'd by their own Committee; and that all the Members were not alike rich, there being ſome of them, who had got by the War, and others, who had loſt a great deal by it. That being the Caſe, it was not juſt, that the Loſers ſhould be as much burden'd as the Gainers, nor that the Poor ſhould contribute for preſerving the Rich in their Offices, and the Poſſeſſion of the Church-lands, which they had purchas'd for almoſt nothing; beſides, that this Propoſal might create Diviſion in the Houſe, and give Occaſion to the Rich, to make the Poor leſſen their Affection for the Parliament. That it would likewiſe make many of the Members, who could not conſent to this Propoſal, and who durſt not oppoſe it, to abſent themſelves from the Houſe, even at a Time when every one ought to be preſent,

ſince

since the Matter in Queſtion was, after what Manner the Parliament ought to treat with the King in Perſon. In ſhort, That they did not ſee how they could be ſure, that the Maintenance of this Body of Horſe would end with the ten Days. However, it was agreed to by the Houſe. 1648.

At the ſame Time, the Lords who had taken Arms, were declar'd Traitors; and it was ordain'd, That their Eſtates ſhould be ſequeſtrated, for the Maintenance of the Troops that were in the *North* of the Kingdom; and that all ſuch as ſhould join them, ſhould receive the like Treatment. On the 6th of *July*, Sir *Michael Leveſey* having gone with a Detachment to view them, found them on their March from *Darking*, in order to take Poſſeſſion of *Rygate*, which they had left the Day before; but having been prevented by Major *Gibbons*, who had got into the Town with two Troops of Horſe, they march'd towards *Kingſton*. As *Leveſey* was purſuing them, they drew up in Order of Battle betwixt *Kingſton* and *Nonſuch*. While their Foot were filing off to *Kingſton*, their Horſe boldly fought thoſe of the Enemy, and retir'd to the Town in good Order. The next Morning having march'd out of *Kingſton*, the Enemy enter'd it, and took ſome Baggage Horſes that had been left there, with ſome Priſoners who could not follow the main Body. *Francis*, the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Brother, was kill'd in this Skirmiſh. He was truly a well-accompliſh'd and promiſing Youth.

These unfortunate Beginnings were ſad Preſages of an unlucky Iſſue of this Undertaking, and gave Reaſon to believe, that this Handful of Men would not increaſe much, nor be able to ſtand their Ground very long. In Effect, Colonel *Scroop*, who had been detach'd from the Army before *Colcheſter*, having, with his Regiment of Horſe, join'd *Leveſey*, who was purſuing thoſe Lords cloſe at the Heels, overtook them at S. *Neot*'s; where, after a ſharp and bloody Engagement, they were defeated, ſo that the Duke of *Buckingham*, after having behav'd himſelf gallantly, retir'd towards *Lincoln* with about ſixty Horſe; *Peterborough* made his Eſcape to *Flanders*; the Earl of *Holland* was taken Priſoner, with many Officers, all Men of Quality; Colonel *Dalbeer*, who fought moſt gallantly, and Sir *Kenelm Digby*'s eldeſt Son, were kill'd upon the Spot. The Place where this Battle was fought, by the common People, is call'd S. *Need*'s; but the true Name of it is S. *Neot*'s, who was the Son of *Ethelwolph*, King of *England*, and who was ſo much taken with the Holy Scripture, in which he was well skill'd, that he would be Profeſſor of Divinity in the Univerſity of *Oxford*.

The Earl of *Holland* was carry'd to the Caſtle of *Warwick*, and from thence remov'd to his Houſe at *Kingſton*, the two Houſes having order'd, That no Priſoners of Quality ſhould be any more brought to *London*; becauſe, as the Lord *Molyneux*, who was diſcover'd and taken at *Iſlington*, near *London*, had been brought thither, the Apprentices having riſen, follow'd the Coach, and were like to have reſcu'd him from the Guards. But the Houſe of Lords having ſome Regard for the Duke of *Buckingham*, propos'd to the Commons to forgive him this Sally of Youth, provided he ſhould appear in a Fortnight, and acknowledge his Fault. But this Lord took a much more generous Reſolution than that; for very ſoon after, he found Means to make his Eſcape, and to go and join the Prince in the *Downs*.

1648. In the mean Time, *Cromwell* ſtill advanc'd towards the *North*; and complain'd, as he had done before, That his Foot were in a very ſorry Condition, and that all his Soldiers were almoſt barefooted. The Houſe of Commons preſently gave Orders to get ready for him 3000 Pair of Shoes, which his Army ſhould find in paſſing thro' *Northampton*. Upon his Arrival at *Nottingham*, where he left *Langhorn* and *Poyer* Priſoners, he wrote to *Lambert*, That he ſhould keep cloſe in his Quarters, and not engage in Battle, till he had join'd him. As he was a more fortunate than daring General, there was nothing ſo hard, but he thought he might be ſucceſsful in it by his Conduct and good Fortune. So, tho' this Attempt appear'd altogether raſh, yet his Succeſs was beyond his Expectation; becauſe the *Scots* had God Almighty againſt them, and who would not ſuffer, that the Hands which had ſign'd a criminal Covenant againſt the King's Authority, ſhould afterwards be the Inſtruments of his Liberty. Not that they bore a Hatred againſt him, much leſs againſt Monarchy. For *Scotland*, where every Body knows that the Nobility carry it very high, cannot endure any other than royal Government. But the Illuſion of their pretended Reformation had ſo blinded them, that they themſelves have ruin'd their own Country; and after having exhauſted it of its principal Strength, and ſacrific'd the moſt eminent Men to their Fury, at length they have made it fall under the Yoke of a foreign Government.

*Tantum Relligio potuit ſuadere Malorum!*

*The END of the* NINTH BOOK.

THE

# THE HISTORY OF THE TROUBLES OF *GREAT-BRITAIN.*

## BOOK X.

IN the Beginning of the Month of *July*, Duke *Hamilton* order'd his Army to rendezvous at *Annan* upon the Borders of *Scotland*, towards the South-Weſt, where having been oblig'd to ſtop for eight Days, waiting for ſome Troops, he enter'd *England*, and quarter'd at *Rocliff*. He had an Account there, that the *Scots*, who were to come from *Ireland*, were landed in *Galloway*, and were marching to *Dumfreis*. The next Day the Army got to *Carliſle*, whereof the Keys were deliver'd to the Duke: After which he went up to the Caſtle, and order'd the Ammunition of the Army to be brought thither. This was a certain Sign of the Confidence he had in the *Engliſh*, who held the Caſtle for his Majeſty. 1648.

THE two Houſes having receiv'd the News of the Entry of the *Scots* Army into *England*, they declar'd Traitors all the *Scots* who were already enter'd, or who ſhould afterwards enter in Arms into the Kingdom. But upon the Remonſtrance, which ſome of *Argyle*'s Friends made to them, That that Lord might raiſe all his Party in *Scotland*, and follow the Duke at the Heels; the Sentence was amended, ſo that no mention was made in it of the *Scots* that might for the future enter into *England*:

1648. *England:* It was only added, That all ſuch as ſhould keep a Correſpondence with the Duke, or give him Aſſiſtance, ſhould be proceeded againſt as Traitors and Rebels.

THE Duke having join'd Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* at *Thurſby*, order'd the Troops to march ſtreight againſt *Lambert*, who was then at *Penrith*; but *Lambert* finding himſelf not ſtrong enough for diſputing the Ground with the Duke, and having had Orders from *Cromwell* not to engage in Battle 'till he had join'd him, retir'd in all Haſte to *Appleby* Caſtle, by that Means leaving the River, which was very much ſwell'd, between the Duke and him. A Body of *Scots* Horſe, which was purſuing *Lambert*, being come to the Bridge, could not force it for want of Foot, who having very bad Roads to paſs, could not get forward; beſides, that the River, by the continual Rains, had ſo overflow'd its Banks, that the Horſe could not paſs it. But towards the Evening, ſome Regiments of Foot having join'd the Horſe, they endeavour'd to make themſelves Maſters of the Bridge, ſtill skirmiſhing with *Lambert*'s Troops 'till it was quite dark. In this Acton the Earl of *Callendar* receiv'd a very favourable Muſket-Shot in the left Side. On the Enemy's Side, Colonel *Harriſon* was ſlightly wounded; and a Lieutenant having been made Priſoner, the Duke ſent him back to *Lambert* the next Morning.

THAT ſame Night, *Lambert* having left a Gariſon in *Appleby*, croſs'd *Stainmore*, where are ſtill to be ſeen the Ruins of *Rei-Croſs*, that is to ſay, the Croſs of Kings, which *Malcolm* King of *Scotland*, and *William* I. King of *England*, had cau'd to be erected there, for marking the Boundary between the two Kingdoms. And as it was of great Importance to the Royaliſts to be Maſters of the Paſs to *Appleby*, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* laid Siege to the Caſtle, which he took in a few Days. During the Siege, the Duke gave a Commiſſion to Sir *Thomas Tildeſley* for levying Troops in *Lancaſhire*, and encamp'd a Fortnight at *Kirkby*, waiting the Cannon and Ammunition, which was to come to him from *Carliſle*: It was there that it was debated in a Council of War, if it was fit to order the Troops that were come from *Ireland* to advance and join the Army. Many gave their Opinion, that it was abſolutely neceſſary that they ſhould be order'd to come; becauſe, otherwiſe, the Enemy might, in a ſhort time, make it impoſſible for them to arrive. And as for the reſt, the little Help that could be expected from the Cannon, whereof there were but four ſix Pounders, and two twelve Pounders, was not worth the while to loſe Time in waiting it. Nevertheleſs, by an unlucky Fatality, nothing was reſolv'd at that time upon this important Affair, nor even, when, ſome Days after, Major-General *Monroe*, who had brought the Troops from *Ireland*, came himſelf to the Army, in order to receive the General's Commands. It was likewiſe debated, whether it was proper to purſue *Lambert* into *Yorkſhire*: but ſome having repreſented, that the Enemy had ruin'd that Country, it was reſolv'd to march into *Lancaſhire*, where there was great Plenty of every thing; beſides, that the Ammunition could be more ſafely brought thither, than to *Yorkſhire*.

THAT having been reſolv'd, the Army march'd from *Kirkby* to *Kendal*, and from thence to *Hornby* in *Lancaſhire*. On the 13th of *Auguſt* the Horſe lay at *Garſtang*; and on the 15th, Sir *Marmaduke* having been preſs'd by *Cromwell*, wrote to the Duke, that the Enemy was

was advanc'd to *Skipton*, and deſir'd that he might be allow'd to quarter his Troops nearer *Preſton*. Which having been granted him, the Duke gave Orders to ſuſtain him, in caſe he ſhould be attack'd, and to ſend him what Ammunition he ſhould ſtand in Need of. However, that Order was not put in Execution, nor even another for the Foot, which ought to have been already at *Preſton*, as it had been reſolv'd at *Hornby*; and to which, chiefly, may be attributed the Defeat of the Army, whoſe Safety depended upon the Quarters being near one another, and the joining of all the Bodies, the Enemy being ſo near as they were: For the Enemy, taking Advantage of the Diſtance that was between the Foot and the Horſe, got in betwixt them; ſo that having put them into Diſorder in marching to *Preſton*, (where, however, the *Scots* forc'd the Paſs) and then having made themſelves Maſters of their Ammunition, *Cromwell* very ſoon after took all the Foot, which conſiſted of four thouſand Men, at the Bridge of *Warrington*, without their ſtriking a Stroke: *Bailly*, who was their Lieutenant-General, ſurrender'd to the Enemy upon ſuch Conditions as he could get. Many Officers, however, not having agreed to them, join'd the Horſe at *Malpas* in *Cheſhire*. This Action of *Bailly* was ſo ſurprizing, and fell ſo far ſhort of what was expected from him, who was a very good Soldier, that the other General Officers could hardly believe it, when the News thereof was brought them. 1648.

After this horid Diſgrace, as the Horſe were marchig to *Whitechurch*, ſome Officers began already to ſay, That they plainly ſaw they would be forc'd to capitulate; becauſe, that beſides the Loſs of the Foot, all the Horſe were in great Diſorder, and haraſs'd by long and troubleſome Marches. There were others more conſiderate, who would not hear of that, and made it appear that they had a conſiderable Body of good Horſe, with which they might very ſoon be able to raiſe a Body of Foot; and added, That they were within a Day and a half's March of a Country, where they ſhould find all manner of Proviſions, and in perfect Safety. They deſign'd to have march'd into *Wales*; but having been told, that the Lord *Byron* had no Troops there, they reſolv'd to march into the North, where *Monroe* was with five thouſand Men, and where Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* had alſo three thouſand in *Weſtmorland*. It had been much better that theſe Troops had been order'd to advance and join the Army, when that joining was judg'd ſo neceſſary by the moſt experienc'd Commanders.

On the 21ſt of *Auguſt* they march'd towards *Uttoxeter*; and when they came near to *Stone*, the Duke receiv'd a Letter, written by the Committee of *Shropſhire*, offering him Quarter, provided he would lay down his Arms. The Duke let *Callender* and *Middleton* ſee the Letter, who were ſurpriz'd at the Aſſurance of thoſe Men, who having no other Troops but their Gariſons, were ſo bold, as to make ſuch a Propoſal to an Army. They were, however, upon the Brink of a Precipice, and their Misfortune was hanging over their Heads; for the next Day ſuch a Mutiny aroſe among the Horſe, that they ruin'd them all. Having refreſh'd themſelves a little at *Stone*, they continu'd their March to *Uttoxeter*, where, about three or four o' Clock in the Afternoon, a Party of the Enemy began to appear. *Middleton*, who was bringing up the Rear, having commanded to charge them, a great many of the Troopers anſwer'd, muttering, That it was not enough to command, but it was likewiſe his Part to act. *Middleton* reply'd, That it was not his Cuſtom to command any thing, but wherein he acted his



3

1648. Part too; and having put himſelf at their Head, charg'd the Enemy ſo vigorouſly, that they gave Ground; and he would have beat them back with greater Loſs, if his Horſe had not fallen under him, as he was upon the Declivity of a little Hill, which was very ſlippery, becauſe of the continual Rains; ſo that this excellent Officer was made Priſoner by the Enemy, and carry'd to *Stafford*, though Colonel *Lockhart* purſued them with great Eagerneſs, to make them quit their Priſoner. *Callander* being told of it, prepar'd himſelf to go to his Relief; but underſtanding that the Enemy had retir'd, he halted on a Heath, in order to rally the Rear-Guard, ſo that he could not reach *Uttoxeter* 'till it was dark Night, whither the Duke and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* had already gone.

THE next Morning the General Officers went to the Duke's Quarters, where, upon a Report that was given out amongſt the Troops, that there was a Deſign to enter upon a Treaty, Sir *Marmaduke* ſaid, If there was ſuch a Deſign, he took Leave of his Excellency; becauſe he knew very well, whatever Treaty ſhould be made, that there would be no Quarter for him; and that in caſe they ſhould treat, he had no other Choice, but to return Home. *Callender* adding, That he would take his Chance with Sir *Marmaduke*; the Duke anſwer'd, That as for himſelf, he ſhould not ſtay behind, however indiſpos'd he was, having a great Difficulty to ſtand up, becauſe of a Defluxion that had fallen down upon his Legs. At the ſame time the Captains of Horſe were order'd to mount on Horſe-back, and draw up their Troops upon a little Hill, which was on the other Side of the River, where the Rendezvous had been appointed. But very few obey'd, let their Commanders entreat them ever ſo much. *Langdale*, for his Part, being ready to march, ſent to acquaint *Callender*, who begg'd of him to wait a little while: but *Langdale* having ſent him Word that it was already late, and that he had a great March to make, he went away. *Callender* then not being able to prevail with the Horſe, gallop'd after *Langdale*, to take his Leave of him. In the mean time, the moſt Part of the Officers having gone to wait upon the Duke, he ſent for *Callender*, in order to determine what Courſe they had beſt to take, after ſo many Misfortunes that had ſtill attended them, with which the Duke was ſenſibly affected. *Callender* having return'd to *Uttoxeter*, he barricado'd the Avenues of the Town, and plac'd Guards upon them: Then he went in to the Council of War, where the Duke having told him that many of the Officers deſir'd to treat; he anſwer'd, That he had a mind to take another way than that, to get out of the Difficulty he was in. The Duke could do no more; the Diſobedience of the Troops had gone to ſuch an Height, that they obſerv'd no Orders. It being carry'd to Treat, by the Majority of Votes, a Trumpet and Hoſtages were ſent to the Enemy, who likewiſe ſent Hoſtages the ſame Day to *Uttoxeter*. They were no ſooner come, than a Party of the Horſe having appear'd in the Market-place, they went and took off the Guards that *Callender* had plac'd, and having ſeiz'd their Arms and Horſes, that ſame Party ſent to arreſt *Callender* himſelf in the General's Quarters. The Number of Mutineers having increas'd towards the Evening, ſome of them, with their Piſtols in their Hands, went up to the Duke's Chamber; who told them, That the Officers had never had any Thought of abandoning them; on the contrary, that they were fully reſolv'd to live and die with them. After that, *Callender* expreſs'd a great Reſentment of the Violence they had offer'd him; and gave them to underſtand,

ſtand, that ſuch a Behaviour was not the Way to get good Conditions from the Enemy. 1648.

THAT Night being paſs'd with a great deal of Buſtle, and many Alarms, the next Day, *Callender*'s Equipage was return'd to him; and without being comprehended in the Treaty, which was concluded the ſame Day, he immediately ſet out, accompany'd by the Lord *Livingſton*, his Nephew, with about 120 Troopers, in order to follow *Langdale*. Upon his Arrival at *Aſhborn*, he was told, That *Langdale* had disbanded his Troops, which made him reſolve to retire to *Pontefract*. But being attack'd by the Militia of *Derby*, in Places very inconvenient for Horſe, Colonel *Keith*, Brother to the Earl Marſhal, and ſome of *Callender*'s Men were taken Priſoners. And as, according to the Cuſtom of *England*, the Beacons had been lighted for raiſing the Country, they reſolv'd to ſeparate, and to make their Eſcape by different Routs, every one as he beſt could, it being no longer poſſible to march in a Body. The Lord *Grey* of *Groby* was charg'd with the Keeping of Duke *Hamilton*; and the Committee of the County diſpos'd of the other Priſoners of War, according to the Orders they receiv'd from the two Houſes. Thus was this Army pitifully ruin'd, which not only might have reliev'd *Colcheſter*, whither they ought to have march'd in all Haſte, but might likewiſe, if God Almighty had not been againſt them, have given Laws to the Kingdom of *England*, and reſtor'd their Prince, who, in the mean Time, was undergoing a hard Confinement.

THE News of this Victory was ſpread every where, before *Cromwell* had ſent an Account of it to the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons. He did not write him the Particulars of it till the 20th of *Auguſt*; and after having admoniſh'd him not to hate the People of God, who were as dear to him as the Apple of his Eye, and for whoſe ſake his divine Majeſty was pleas'd to rebuke Kings, he ended his Letter with theſe Words, "That "he could not write him leſs than what he had acquainted him with of "this Victory, there being ſo much of the Hand of God in it; and truly "he could not tell him more of it, there being ſo little of the Arm of Fleſh "in it."

THIS Letter having been read, the two Houſes appointed a Day of Thankſgiving for this Victory; and ſent Orders to *Cromwell* to purſue *Monroe*, who was in *Weſtmoreland* with 5000 Men, till he had driven him out of the Kingdom, and that the Towns of *Berwick* and *Carliſle* ſhould likewiſe be ſurrender'd. The Diſorders which happen'd during all this Time in *Scotland*, were the Cauſe of his ſo eaſily performing what the two Houſes requir'd from his Service. For *Argyle*'s whole Party having taken the Field under the Command of General *Leſly*, in order to oppoſe the Earls of *Lenrick* and *Lindſey*, who had rais'd Recruits to be ſent to the Army in *England*; theſe Earls recall'd *Monroe* after the Defeat of the Army, and generouſly invited all the King's Friends to take a firm Reſolution with them to be reveng'd of this Diſgrace, or not to ſurvive it. Theſe two Lords being join'd with *Monroe*, made about 6000 Foot, and 2500 Horſe. Having been inform'd that *Cromwell* was advancing in order to aſſiſt *Argyle*, they made all the Haſte they could, to make themſelves Maſters of *Stirling*, which is the beſt Poſt in the Kingdom. *Leſly* had 7000 Foot, but was very weak in Horſe, and the whole Body was only new Troops. As the Soldiers were raiſing in the adjacent Parts of *Edinburgh*, the Lords of the Committee of Parliament, who were

1648. were engag'd with the Duke of *Hamilton*, retir'd from thence; and thoſe of *Argyle*'s Faction, who had all the moſt zealous of the Clergy for them, put *Leſly* in Poſſeſſion of the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, and at the ſame Time, ſeiz'd the Government of the State.

On the 14th of *September*, the Royaliſts ſent Propoſals of Accommodation to the leading Men of *Argyle*'s Faction, rather indeed to amuſe them, than out of any Belief that they would accept of them. And truly they rejected them, ſaying, That they were contrary to the Articles of the Covenant, and the Union between the two Nations: But however, they would conſent to treat with them at *Wensburgh*, which was a Village mid-way between the two Armies. The Royaliſts having agreed to confer in that Place, as the Commiſſioners of the rigid Covenanters did not come at the preciſe Hour appointed, the Royaliſts took their Advantage; and advancing in all Haſte, made themſelves Maſters of the Bridge of *Stirling*; where having ſurpriz'd *Argyle*'s Troops, they kill'd ſome of them, and took 7000 Priſoners. *Argyle* himſelf narrowly eſcap'd: For one of *Monroe*'s Soldiers had taken him; but by the Misfortune that ſtill attended the Nation, he was taken from him.

In the mean Time, *Cromwell* being advanc'd to *Alnewick*, not far from *Berwick*, caus'd it to be ſummon'd, and wrote to *Lewis Leſly*, who was Governor of it, "That if he ſhould refuſe to deliver up the Town to
*Cromwell's Letter to the Governor of Berwick.*
"him, which had been taken from the two Houſes, in the midſt of Peace,
"contrary to the ſolemn Treaty betwixt the two Nations, he would a
"ſecond Time make his Application to God, who had but juſt now teſti-
"fy'd, that he did not approve of the unjuſt Invaſion which the *Scots*
"Army had made into *England*; and that he would rely upon his divine
"Aſſiſtance, for maintaining the Rights of that Kingdom, and recovering
*The Governor's Anſwer.*
"the Towns which belong'd to it." The Governor anſwer'd, "That
"the Committee of the Parliament of *Scotland* having truſted him with
"the Town, he would ſend his Letter to them, and afterwards he ſhould
"follow their Directions."

*CROMWELL* having written to that Committee, in the ſame Terms he had done to the Governor of *Berwick*, got a Paſſport from the Governor, for ſending the Letter by Colonel *Bright*, who had likewiſe Orders from *Cromwell* to aſſure *Argyle*, and the good Men of *Scotland*, of the Affection and good Will, which the Army had for them. But before the Letter was deliver'd, Sir *Andrew Ker* and Major *Strahan* came, and preſented him one from the Chancellor, dated at *Falkirk* the 15th of *September*, in Name of all *Argyle*'s Faction. This Letter was as follows:
*The Chancellor of* Scotland's *Letter to* Cromwell.
"That having had Advice of his drawing near the Borders of *Scotland*, in
"order to reduce *Berwick* and *Carliſle* under the Obedience of the Par-
"liament of *England*, they thought themſelves oblig'd to let him know,
"That above all Things, they deſir'd to keep up a good Correſpondence
"betwixt the two Kingdoms: That for that End, they had proteſted
"againſt the Duke of *Hamilton*'s raiſing of Forces, which had been car-
"ry'd by a prevailing Faction, contrary to the Sentiments of the Clergy,
"and againſt the Will of the moſt conſiderable Shires of the Kingdom.
"For the reſt, That nothing ſhall be wanting on their Part, for getting
"the two Towns, which he demanded, deliver'd up to him. And
"whereas thoſe, who commanded the Troops that were return'd from
"*England*, had deſir'd to treat with them, they aſſur'd him, That whe-
"ther they ſhould make Peace, or purſue the War, they ſhould always
have

" have as great a Regard for the Concerns of *England*, as for thoſe of the 1648.
" Kingdom of *Scotland*. In fine, That all their Actions ſhould ſtill every-
" where demonſtrate the Sincerity of their Intentions to maintain the
" Covenant, and the Treaties between the two Nations.

THE Meſſengers had it in their Inſtructions to let *Cromwell* underſtand, that *Lanrick* and *Monroe* were buſy levying new Troops; and that *Hamilton*'s Enemies being reſolved to oppoſe them, they never ſhould make Peace with them, 'till they ſhould firſt lay down their Arms, and ſtrip themſelves of the Authority which they pretended to have in the Kingdom, that both Peace and War may be manag'd by ſuch as had been againſt the Invaſion of *England*. They had it likewiſe in Charge to tell him, that if *Lanrick* and *Monroe* ſhould not diſarm, and that, on the contrary, they ſhould make any Attempt to purſue the War in *England*, the Covenanters hop'd that the Armies of the two Houſes would aſſiſt them againſt thoſe common Enemies of both the Kingdoms, whenever they ſhould be required ſo to do, as *Scotland* had aſſiſted the two Houſes againſt the Malignants of *England*.

*CROMWELL* having inform'd himſelf particularly about the State of the Affairs of the good Men in *Scotland*, (ſo he call'd *Argyle*'s Faction) as he had Difficulty to ſubſiſt on this Side of *Tweed*, becauſe of the Havock that *Monroe* had made there, and having a mind likewiſe to prevent the Governor of *Berwick* from throwing Proviſions into the Place, on the 20th of *September* he paſs'd the *Tweed*, and enter'd *Scotland*. Upon his entering, he cau'd an Order to be publiſh'd, forbidding as well Officers as Soldiers, under Pain of Death, either to demand or take Money from the People, to uſe them ill, or to take Horſes and Proviſions by Force, under the ſame Pain. He ordain'd, that each Colonel ſhould take a Copy of this Order, and that he ſhould alſo give one to each Captain, in order to cauſe it to be read at the Head of their Companies, that none might pretend Ignorance. Then he wrote an Anſwer to the Chancellor's Letter, to be communicated to the whole Party, and told them, in his uſual prophetick Stile, in Name of the whole Army, " That he bleſs'd God for the Goodneſs he had " ſhewn them; and that the Authority of the Kingdom was going to " be ſettled in the Hands of ſuch as had learn'd to ſeek the Glory of " God, and the Comfort of his People. That he was not afraid to tell " them ſincerely, as in the Preſence of God, who knows the Secrets of " all Hearts, that as they believ'd that Divine Providence had not per- " mitted the Enemies of God and of all Good to raiſe themſelves ſo " high in the two Kingdoms, but in order to make the Neceſſity of the " Union of thoſe who belong'd to him, in both Nations, appear the " more; ſo they hop'd that the glorious Diſpenſation of the happy Suc- " ceſs of their Arms againſt their common Enemies, would be a " ſure Foundation of that Union in Charity and Peace. That for what " concern'd them in particular, they promis'd, on their Part, to con- " tribute thereto, with God's Aſſiſtance, whatever lay in their Power; " and that they wiſh'd that this Promiſe might riſe in Judgment againſt " their Hypocriſy, if they ſhould ever fail in it. That God would " ſurely be reveng'd of it, even as he had made it appear upon Duke " *Hamilton*'s Army, who had attack'd them under the Cloke of Piety " and Juſtice: And as for them, they ſtill rejoyc'd with Awe, not daring " to act in that manner.

*Cromwell's Anſwer to the Chancellor's Letter.*

1648. THEN he gave them an Account of the Reaſons he had for entering *Scotland*, and told them, " That he hop'd his coming there, would be " of Uſe to them, for bringing their common Enemies to Reaſon, and " for obliging them to ſubmit to what ſhould be juſtly propos'd to " them." Then he promis'd, " That as ſoon as they ſhould underſtand " that their Enemies had ſubmitted, and that the Army of the two " Houſes had got Poſſeſſion of their Towns, they ſhould leave *Scot-* " *land*; and in the mean time, that they ſhould be more careful to " eaſe it while they were there, than *England* itſelf; and that if the " good Men ſhould ſtand in Need of them, they ſhould be always ready " to go to their Aſſiſtance, in what Part ſoever they might be.

SIR *Andrew Ker* and Major *Strahan* having carry'd this Letter to the rigid Covenanters, *Argyle*, the Lord *Elcho*, and Sir *John Scot* went to wait upon *Cromwell* in the Houſe of the Lord *Mordington*, Brother to the Marquis of *Dowglas*. *Argyle* ſent from thence to *Berwick*, to treat with the Governor about the ſurrendering of the Town; but he was waiting his Orders from *Lanrick* and *Monroe*, who having already made their Agreement with *Argyle*'s Faction, *Berwick* and *Carliſle* were ſurrender'd to *Cromwell* before the End of the Month. Both Parties agreed to the following Articles, which were ſign'd the 26th of *September*: " That all the Troops commanded by the Earls of *Lanrick*, *Lindſey*, " and Colonel *George Monroe*, which were on this Side of *Tay*, compre- " hending therein the Gariſons of *Berwick* and *Carliſle*, ſhould be diſ- " banded before the firſt of *October* following; and that all thoſe on the " other Side of that River ſhould lay down their Arms before the 10th " of the ſame Month. That General *Leſly*'s Troops ſhould be diſ- " banded within the ſame Time. That whatever concern'd the Re- " formation of Religion, ſhould be referr'd to the National Aſſembly; " and that the Differences upon the Account of Government, ſhould " be decided by the Convention of Eſtates, which ſhould meet before " the 10th of *January* 1649. That in order to prevent new Troubles, " and a Rupture between the two Kingdoms, all ſuch as had conſented " to Duke *Hamilton*'s raiſing of Troops, ſhould forbear meeting in the " Committee of Eſtates. That *Lanrick*, *Lindſey*, *Monroe*, and all their " Adherents, ſhould not be call'd to Account, either in their Perſons " or Eſtates, for whatever had paſs'd ſince the Invaſion of *England*. " That the Priſoners that had been taken on either Side ſince the " 25th of *Auguſt*, ſhould be ſet at Liberty." The Earls of *Lanrick* and *Glancairn*, not thinking fit to accept of theſe Articles, retir'd to *Holland*.

AFTER *Cromwell* had put Gariſons into *Berwick* and *Carliſle*, he was invited to go to *Edinburgh*, where, he ſaid, he had ſomething to communicate to the Committee of Eſtates. The Lord *Kirkendbright* and Major-General *Holburn* went, on their Part, to meet him, as far as *Seaton*, which is about ſix Miles from *Edinburgh*, where the Earl of *Murray*'s Houſe, the fineſt of the City, was fitted up for his Reception. As ſoon as he came there, the Chancellor, the Marquis of *Argyle*, the Earl of *Caſſels*, the Lord *Burleigh*, the Provoſt of *Edinburgh*, with many other Lords and Gentlemen, went to pay their Reſpects to him; and the next Day the Earl of *Caſſels* and Sir *Archibald Johnſton* of *Wariſton* went to viſit him on the Part of the Committee of Eſtates, to know what he had to ccommunicate to them. *Cromwell* preſented them a Writing, whereby he demanded, that, in order to keep *Hamilton*'s Party from being

being able to riſe up again in *Scotland*, where they might embroil the two Kingdoms, they would be pleas'd to order, that none of thoſe who had carry'd Arms under his Command, or who had conſented to the Invaſion of *England*, ſhould have any publick Employment in *Scotland*. The Committee granted him that Article, and added, That no Perſon ſhould be admitted into any, but with the Conſent of the Parliament of *England*. *Cromwell* was afterwards feaſted in the Caſtle, where *Argyle* receiv'd and entertain'd the Gueſts; and when he went out of it, he was ſaluted with all the Artillery thereof. But theſe good Men, ſo zealous for the Covenant, had not reflected, that having deny'd that Reception to their native Prince, they were diſcovering the Fortreſſes, and the State the Kingdom was in, to their mortal Enemy, and who, ere it was long, made himſelf Maſter of it. 1648.

THE Committee of Eſtates deſigning to keep up an Army of four thouſand Foot, all rigid Covenanters, they deſired *Cromwell* to allow Major-General *Lambert*, who was well belov'd in *Scotland*, to continue there ſome Time, with two Regiments of Horſe. To which *Cromwell* having conſented, a great many Lords accompany'd him out of *Edinburgh*, from whence, taking the *Berwick* Road, he march'd to reinforce the Siege of *Pontefract* Caſtle, which had not as yet ſurrender'd, nor thoſe of *Scarborough* and *Cockermouth*, which, however, ſurrender'd very ſoon after.

*LAMBERT*'s Regiments were quarter'd in the Shire of *Lothian*, where ſome of *Monroe*'s disbanded Soldiers ſtript and abus'd his Troopers, whenever they found them by themſelves. *Lambert* having complain'd of it to the Committee of Eſtates, they prohibited, upon Pain of Death, all Perſons, of what Quality or Condition ſoever, to attempt any thing upon *Lambert*'s Soldiers, or to refuſe them all manner of Neceſſaries for their Subſiſtence. And when he return'd to *England*, the Chancellor, in Name of the whole Committee, wrote to the two Houſes a long Letter of Thanks for the Aſſiſtance they had receiv'd from their Army; and teſtify'd the great Delight they had had, in the good, nay, the exemplary Behaviour of *Cromwell* and *Lambert*'s Troops in *Scotland*. We muſt now ſee if General *Fairfax* had as great Succeſs at *Colcheſter*, as his Lieutenant-General *Cromwell* had had in other Parts, who having compaſs'd all that he had undertaken, was returning in Triumph to *London*.

THERE was nothing more memorable happen'd in the Armies in *England*, than the famous Siege of *Colcheſter*, which can boaſt of having given Birth to *Conſtantine* the Great; which obliges me to give an exact Relation of all the Particulars thereof, and to reſume the Occaſion of it a little higher. Altho' the two Houſes had aboliſh'd all Holidays, and forbid them to be kept for the future, yet it was impoſſible to root out of the Minds of the People the Reſpect they had for thoſe holy Feſtivals, particularly that of *Chriſtmas*, which was always obſerv'd in *England*, even ſince its Separation from the Catholick Communion, with more Ceremony and Merry-making, than in any other Part of the World. There is alſo a Tradition amongſt the People, that the holy and religious Obſervance of that happy Day, upon which Heaven diſtill'd the Dew, and rain'd down the Juſt One, and when the Earth conceiv'd, and brought forth the Saviour, was yearly confirm'd by a very extraordinary Thing. For it was affirm'd, That every Year, on that Day that the Lily of the Valley ſprung out

1648. out of the Stem of *Jeſſe*, a white Thorn bloſſom'd in the antient Monaſtery of *Glaſtonbury*, which is ſaid to have been built by *Joſeph* of *Arimathea*, as the antient Monuments of the Houſe, and a Letter of S. *Patrick*, a Native of *Scotland*, and the Apoſtle of *Ireland*, who had led a monaſtick Life there for 30 Years, teſtify'd. For which Reaſon alſo, the *Engliſh* of old call'd this holy Place, the firſt Land of God, the firſt Land of the Saints in *England*, the Origin and Source of all the Religion which has flouriſh'd there ſince, the Tomb and Mother of the Saints, and in ſhort, the Houſe built by the Diſciples of JESUS CHRIST. It was rebuilt by *Ina*, King of the *Weſt Saxons*; who caus'd a magnificent Church to be erected there in Honour of JESUS CHRIST, S. *Peter*, and S. *Paul*; and who having founded a College at *Rome*, for the Inſtruction of the *Engliſh* Youth, oblig'd all the Houſes of his Kingdom to pay a Penny yearly, for maintaining that Seminary.

So then, on *Chriſtmas* Day laſt, 1647, a great Congregation of People of all Ranks met in S. *Andrew*'s Church in *Canterbury*, where the Parſon of the Pariſh, according to antient Cuſtom, preach'd a Sermon upon the Nativity of our Lord. That having diſpleas'd the New-reform'd, they got together under the Windows of the Church, in order to diſturb the Sermon by a great Noiſe. But the Sermon and divine Service being ended, notwithſtanding all their Noiſe, as the Mayor was going thro' the Town, endeavouring to make ſuch as had ſhut their Shops, to open them again, he flew out into ſuch a Paſſion, that he beat a Citizen. This Affront incens'd the whole Neighbourhood, who were more inclin'd to keep the Feſtival, than to ſell their Goods; inſomuch that a great Multitude conven'd, who fell upon the Mayor, and after having beat him ſoundly, oblig'd him to run home as faſt as he could. After that, the Tumult grew ſtill greater: Every Man betook himſelf to his Arms; and the whole Town was inſtantly in ſuch a Confuſion, that ſome were knock'd down with Muſquet-ſhot. Thoſe who at firſt thought of nothing but keeping themſelves from being abus'd, knowing well the Malice of thoſe, with whom they were ſure they ſhould have to do, ſeiz'd the Magazines, and plac'd Guards at the Gates of the Town. At length ſome Men of Character, who were of a peaceable Diſpoſition, having labour'd to appeaſe the Diſorders, were ſo ſucceſsful, that by a Writing ſign'd by both Parties, the Affair was made up, all Arms were laid down, and every Man retir'd peaceably to his own Houſe.

BUT tho', by the Articles of Agreement, it had been ſtipulated, That what had paſs'd ſhould be forgot, and that no Perſon ſhould ever be call'd to an Account for that Fact; yet at the Sollicitation of the Mayor, who had a mind to be reveng'd of the Affront he pretended to have receiv'd, a Month after the Affair had been made up, Colonel *Hewſon*'s Regiment of Foot was ſent to gariſon *Canterbury*. As ſoon as the Regiment was quarter'd, the Colonel, by Order of Parliament, ſeiz'd Sir *William Man*, Mr. *Lovelace*, Mr. *Savin*, and Mr. *Wills*, by whoſe Care the Tumult had been quieted. He caus'd them, with ſome poor Burghers of the Town, to be carry'd to the Caſtle of *Lyd*, near *Maidſton*; where having continu'd above two Months, thoſe who liv'd only by their Induſtry, and whom no Body durſt relieve, began to want all Neceſſaries of Life, as well as their Wives and Children, whom they had left at home. At length, at the Requeſt of thoſe of greateſt Note, they were all let out upon Bail, and return'd every one to his own Houſe: Whither they were no ſooner come, than the Mayor, not as yet ſatisfy'd with ſo ſevere an Impriſonment,

priſonment, and having Soldiers for the Miniſters of his Paſſions, had a mind, by all Means, that ſome of the Priſoners, of the meaner Sort, ſhould be whipp'd thro' the Town: But the Aldermen his Collegues, wiſer and better Politicians than he, gave him to underſtand, That he muſt take a more moderate Courſe than that, which perhaps might exaſperate the Minds of the People, and carry them into ſome other Extreme, worſe than the firſt. By that Means, all continu'd quiet in the Town till *Whit-ſunday*, that the two Houſes ſent thither Mr. *Wild* and Mr. *Steel*, both Sergeants at Law, with a Commiſſion to inquire into the Tumult, and to try the Authors of it, tho', to ſpeak the Truth, none were try'd but thoſe who had been injur'd in the Commotion; and the Authors thereof were either their Judges, or the Witneſſes that ſwore againſt them. 1648.

The Court ſat in the Caſtle of *Canterbury*, where many Gentlemen of the Neighbourhood were preſent, with the Deputy Lieutenant and Committee of the County, by Order of Parliament. The Judges being ſeated on the Bench, and the Priſoners appearing at the Bar, the Accuſations were read: Then, according to the Cuſtom of *England*, which we have explain'd elſewhere, the Jury retir'd in order to give their Verdict; and having conferr'd together, they return'd, and declar'd, That the Priſoners were innocent. The Judges, who had a mind to ruin thoſe Men, quite ſurpriz'd, were forc'd, againſt their Will, to acquit them; but with this Proviſo however, That after the Houſe of Commons ſhould be inform'd of the Affair, the Proceſs ſhould be revis'd. In the mean Time, they receiv'd Advice of the Defeat of the *Welſh*, near S. *Fagan*'s, in the County of *Glamorgan*, of which we have ſpoken in the preceding Book. No ſooner had they read their Letters, than one of the Judges getting up all of a ſudden, out of a Tranſport of Joy, ſaid to one of the Jury, That if this News had come a little ſooner, they ſhould have been oblig'd to bring in another Sort of a Verdict than they had done. The Gentleman boldly anſwer'd the Judge, That neither their News, nor their Threats, ſhould have oblig'd them to bring in a Verdict contrary to the Dictates of their Conſciences.

This Judge's Speech being ſpread amongſt all the Gentlemen, and others, who were preſent at the Trial, they recollected themſelves a little, and began in good Earneſt to reflect ſeriouſly upon the deplorable State to which the poor Kingdom was reduc'd, and to revolve in their Minds, by what Means they might be able to ſhake off the Yoke of Tyranny they were kept under by their Fellow-Subjects. At length, after many Propoſals that were made, they reſolv'd to begin their Complaints by a moſt humble Petition, which was drawn up at that very Inſtant, to be preſented to the two Houſes. This Petition contain'd: "That being "ſenſibly affected with their own Miſery, and that of all their Country-"men, they could no longer forbear making them theſe Requeſts, which "they thought moſt juſt: Firſt, that, aſſoon as poſſible, the King may, "with Honour and Safety, go to the two Houſes, in order to treat there "with them about Means for reſtoring Peace both in the Church and "State: That the Army, whoſe long Standing occaſion'd ſo much Diſ-"order and was ſo burdenſome to the whole Kingdom, may be quickly "paid, and then disbanded: That the free-born Subjects may hence-"forth be govern'd according to the Laws of the Kingdom: That agree-"ably to the fundamental Laws of the State, they may no more, for the "Time to come, be burden'd with any Impoſition whatſoever; and that "eſpecially they may be freed from the inſupportable Burden of the Exciſe.

1648. THIS Petition being generally approv'd of, as well by the Gentry, as by ſuch of the Clergy as were preſent in the Town, on the 11th of *May* it was ſign'd by two hundred Gentlemen. A great Number of Copies of it were written out, which ſome took upon them to diſperſe over all the County. They had caus'd to be written at the Foot of each Copy, That the Company deſir'd, that all the Copies that ſhould be ſign'd, may be carry'd to *Rocheſter* againſt the 29th of *May*; and that all ſuch as were willing to accompany the Petition, may be upon *Black-Heath* the next Day at nine o' Clock in the Morning.

SIR *Henry Heyman* and Sir *Michael Lucy* being in a different Intereſt from thoſe, took Poſt, in order to acquaint the two Houſes with what was doing. The Houſe of Commons having taken it into Conſideration, the Speaker, by Order of the Houſe, wrote to the Deputy-Lieutenants of the County, and told them, That having heard that there was a Petition drawing up, to be preſented to the Houſe, he charg'd them to do their utmoſt for cauſing it to be immediately ſuppreſs'd, and to cauſe to be arreſted all ſuch as had a mind to back it; and that, after having given the neceſſary Orders for the Security of all the Towns and Caſtles of the County, by all Means a Stop may be put to any more Meetings.

THESE Lieutenants having met at *Maidſton*, where the Committee of the County was ſitting, they caus'd an Order to be publiſh'd for ſuppreſſing the Petition, which they call'd ſeditious, and injurious to the Authority of the two Houſes; and commanded, that their Order ſhould be read in all the Pariſh Churches, that none might pretend Ignorance. This manner of proceeding produc'd a quite contrary Effect to what they intended: For thoſe who had not heard of the Petition, but by the Means taken to ſuppreſs it, had ſuch a Curioſity to ſee it, that in a Trice it was ſpread over all the County; and there was a great Number, as well of the Gentry as of the Clergy and Commonalty, who boldly join'd in it, and frankly offer'd to ſupport it to the utmoſt of their Power. It was, indeed, acting againſt all Form, to pretend to ſtop Petitions from being preſented to the two Houſes, ſince the Kings have always call'd them, in order to hear the Complaints of the People, and to redreſs their Grievances; and that the Commons being call'd there by the Prince, and choſen by the People, it could be for no other End, but that all the Counties might there, by their Repreſentatives, ſhew the Infringements made upon their Privileges, to the King and the Peers of the Kingdom, from whom alone they expect the Redreſs of their Grievances.

THIS Order of the Committee not having in the leaſt diſcourag'd thoſe who had ſign'd the Petition, they, on their Part, ſhew'd the Juſtice of their Reaſons, and of the Motive they had had to preſent their Petition, which, they clearly prov'd, did not contain any thing that was ſeditious, or contrary to the Authority of the two Houſes; and that, on the contrary, they demanded nothing but what was moſt juſt, nay, moſt neceſſary for the Peace of their County, and the Tranquillity of the whole Kingdom. They added, that their Intention was, to preſent it with Reſpect, as having no Thought of ſtirring up Tumults, or forming Factions that might diſturb the two Houſes: In a Word, that they were all reſolv'd to go on with it, at the Peril of their Lives and Fortunes, without ſtanding in Awe of their Threats: For having never

deſign'd

1648.

deſign'd to impoſe upon any Perſon whatſoever, under Pretence that their Petition had been approv'd of by ſome of the Committee, therefore they deſir'd that no Perſon might join with them, but ſuch only as were fully perſuaded, at the Bottom of their Conſciences, that what they demanded, was juſt, and grounded upon Reaſon.

THE Committee ſeeing that Threats did not in the leaſt frighten the Petitioners, the Militia was order'd to be rais'd: But what Diligence ſoever was us'd, ſcarce one Man appear'd to liſt himſelf. The Commanders were almoſt all in the Intereſt of the Petitioners, and the People likewiſe generally declar'd for them with a great deal of good Will. The Committee having complain'd of it to the Parliament, requir'd the Aſſiſtance of the Army. On the other hand, the Petitioners, ſeeing that the Army was to be employ'd againſt them, met every Day, in order to conſult what Courſe they ſhould take for ſupporting their Petition, knowing well that there was no room left for retracting what they had done, and that they muſt either die, or bring it to an Iſſue; firſt of all they publiſh'd a Declaration for juſtifying the Sincerity of their Intentions, and call'd the Committee in queſtion, accus'd them of Extortion, and openly complain'd of the Robberies that all the Members thereof had committed, by the exorbitant Taxes with which they loaded the County, without being authoriz'd by Parliament: And that whereas they were inform'd of the inſolent Violence that had very lately been offer'd to their Neighbours, for a Cauſe altogether ſuch as their own, they declar'd, that they were oblig'd to take up Arms for their Defence.

BY *their Neighbours*, they meant the Gentry and People of the County of *Surrey*, who, on the 16th of *May*, having come in great Numbers to *Weſtminſter*, in order to preſent a Petition to the two Houſes, which contain'd in Subſtance the ſame Complaints with thoſe of the *Kentiſh* Petitioners, though thoſe poor People had no other Arms but Sticks in their Hands, they were attack'd by the Soldiers, in paſſing by *Whitehall*, and were likewiſe driven back by the Guards at *Weſtminſter*. At length, having with great Difficulty got into the Hall, they were there ſurrounded by a Body of Horſe, which came from the *Meuſe*, and the Guards having begun to pick a Quarrel with them, as if Aſſiſtance was come to them from *Whitehall*, they fell upon them, and kill'd and wounded ſeveral of them, without any Diſtinction: The Gentlemen were diſarm'd, and ſhamefully turn'd out of the Lobby, and many of them alſo made Priſoners, after having been robb'd. The Soldiers, who had Orders to abuſe them, told them, that they were commanded thus to anſwer their Petition, and that they ſhould have no other. And, truly, the Lieutenant-Colonel, to whom this Office had been given, having perform'd this noble Action, was call'd into the Houſe, where he was thank'd by thoſe worthy Protectors of the publick Liberty, who caus'd an Ordinance of the two Houſes to be publiſh'd, forbidding any more Petitions henceforth to be preſented to them by above twenty Perſons, who ſhould behave themſelves modeſtly and peaceably; and that, in order to preſent their Petitions, they ſhould apply themſelves to the Repreſentatives in the Houſe of Commons, of the County or Town from whence the Petitioners ſhould come; it being, indeed, lawful, by the Right and Privilege of Subjects, to lay their Complaints before the Parliament, but that it muſt be done in a civil and ſubmiſſive manner.

THE

1648. THE Petitioners, therefore, having reſolv'd to defend themſelves, ſeiz'd all the Arms and Ammunition that were in *Aſhford*, *Feverſham*, and ſome other Parts; and Mr. *Hales*, having in a ſhort time drawn a good Number of Men together in his Neighbourhood, where he was much belov'd, on account of his Merit, made himſelf Maſter of Sir *Peter Bicot*'s Houſe, where he found a great Magazine full of all manner of Ammunition, which came very ſeaſonably to the Petitioners. At the ſame time, ſeveral other Parties met, and join'd them at *Rocheſter*, *Graveſend*, and in ſome other Places; ſo that the Committee was forc'd to retire to *London* in all Haſte. Captain *Lee*, and another Member of the Houſe of Commons, having preſently ſet out from *Weſtminſter*, went directly to *Rocheſter*, in order to make ſome Propoſals to the Petitioners; and as they were preſſing them to give over their Enterprize, and adviſing them to accept of a Pardon, they were immediately ſeiz'd, and oblig'd to treat for themſelves: For the Petitioners ſuſpected much in what manner the Pardon, that was promis'd them, would be worded, if they ſhould lay down their Arms.

ON the 23d of *May* the Petitioners had a great Meeting at *Canterbury*, where it was reſolv'd, that they ſhould march with their Petition in one Hand, and their Swords in the other. This Procedure would, indeed, have been criminal in Subjects, who ſhould have had the Boldneſs to appear in that Poſture before their King; becauſe Subjects ought never to make uſe of other Arms, than Tears, and humble Requeſts, for obtaining the Favours they ask of their Prince. But this was not done with a Deſign to force ſuperior Powers; though the two Houſes were no longer lawful Powers, being deſtitute, as they were, of the Royal Authority, and that they no longer govern'd by the Laws, but by the Orders of the Council of War. However, as they had ſtill ſome Reſpect, even for the Shadow of the two Houſes, they march'd in this Equipage, only in order to ſurmount the Obſtacles they expected to meet with in the Way, and likewiſe to break through the Oppoſitions which their Enemies might make.

*The Remonſtrance of the Kentiſh Petitioners.*

IN order to let all the World know, both Friends and Foes, the juſt Grounds they had to take up Arms, they caus'd this Remonſtrance to be publiſh'd: "That being reduc'd to chuſe one of two Extremes, either "to loſe their Liberties and Lives, or to die free, they were reſolv'd to "act the laſt Part of this Tragedy with Sword in Hand; but, however, "they would rather thruſt it into their own Breaſts, than ever to hurt "the Lovers of Peace. That they call'd all the World to Witneſs, if "they had not been forc'd to back with their Arms, a Petition full of "Charity and Reſpect, which ſome Perſons, without any Authority, "had had the Inſolence to thwart; and having declar'd themſelves "implacable Enemies to the Petitioners, had threaten'd them with an "inconceivable Malice, to that Height, that Sir *Anthony Welden* had "ſworn, that he would not ſo much as croſs one of the Streets of "*Rocheſter*, to ſave the Life of any of thoſe who had ſign'd the Peti-"tion, whatever they were; and that Mr. *Bell* had propos'd to cauſe "two of the Petitioners of each Pariſh to be hang'd. That it was im-"poſſible but ſuch Proceedings muſt ſtir up their Reſentment: Beſides, "that having ſeen that their long Patience had been the Cauſe of the "Ruin of their Affairs, if it was a Crime to make uſe of Petitions at "laſt, they had better die that way. That, in ſhort, they promis'd "before God, as heartily as they deſir'd his Aſſiſtance, to purſue, even

to

" to the Loſs of their Lives, all ſuch as ſhould take in hand to oppoſe 1648.
" them in the lawful Proſecution of their moſt humble Petition; and
" to protect one another with all their Might, in the Defence of this
" Cauſe. And in caſe it ſhould happen that any one of them in parti-
" cular ſhould be troubled on account of this Engagement, they pro-
" miſed to run all in a Body to his Relief, and to get him full Satiſ-
" faction for the Injury he may have ſuffer'd.

In the Afternoon of the ſame Day, the Petitioners gave Commiſſion to Colonel *Hammond* to raiſe a Regiment of Foot, and to *Hatton* to raiſe one of Horſe, for the Service of the County, that the general Petition thereof might the more quickly and ſafely be preſented to the two Houſes. Theſe were the Words of their Commiſſion; and *Hammond* having immediately caus'd the Drum to be beat, in a very ſhort time he rais'd three hundred Men, and before Night *Hatton* had got ſixty Horſe. This Readineſs ſhew'd plainly, with what Eagerneſs the People wiſh'd for the Liberty of the King, and of all the Subjects of the Kingdom. They furniſh'd them with Arms out of the Magazine of the Town, which the Petitioners had ſeiz'd the Day before; and the next Day they went to *Barham-down*, where the Militia was likewiſe to rendezvous. The Weather was ſo bad that Day, that there were but about 200 appear'd. A great many Gentlemen of the Neighbourhood of *Canterbury* and *Dover* met there. There were even ſome of the Lieutenants of the County, who took Part with them, but againſt their Wills, and with a Deſign to deſert them, whenever they ſhould find an Opportunity. They conſulted there about Means for levying Men, and Money for ſubſiſting them, eſpecially thoſe, who having left their Trades, and other Employments, had not wherewithal to maintain themſelves. The Gentry voluntarily, and with a good Grace, advanc'd conſiderable Sums of Money, for ſubſiſting the poor Soldiers, and ſupplying the other Neceſſities of the Party, every one taxing himſelf according to his Ability. Then the leading Men of the Meeting, who were charg'd with the Management of this important Affair, diſpatch'd Expreſſes over all the County, to invite the honeſt Men, in this preſſing Neceſſity, to give Proofs of their Fidelity and Affection to their Prince and Country; that they were not ignorant how much the King and the whole Kingdom were ſuffering; and that they were in a ſevere and ſhameful Bondage, which the brave *Kentiſhmen*, who never could be brought to yield to the Arms of *William* the Conqueror, ought even to be aſham'd to have undergone ſo long.

Upon the breaking up of the Meeting towards Evening, the Colonels *Hammond* and *Hatton* went to quarter near *Dover*; and Sir *Richard Hardreſs* and Sir *Anthony Aucher*, after having written to the Mayor of *Sandwich*, to acquaint him with their Coming, march'd directly towards that Town, with two Troops of the Horſe Militia, whom they had mounted after the Manner of Dragoons, upon Account of the bad Weather, tho' the Seaſon was fine; becauſe the Rains are frequent in *England* at all Times of the Year. They found the Gates of the Town ſhut, and Guards poſted in all the Avenues. *Matthew Carter*, who was at the Head of the Troops, having ſummon'd the Town, was refus'd Acceſs for ſome Time: But at length, an Officer having come to ask, if Sir *Richard Hardreſs*, one of the Lieutenants of the County, was amongſt them, and he appearing, the Mayor order'd the Gates to be open'd. The Petitioners having enter'd the Town in very good Order, and without uſing the leaſt Violence, drew up in the Market-place, and caus'd the Guards to be re-

1648. liev'd. Then they ſent for the Mayor, to whom they preſented the Petition to be ſign'd by him, and at the ſame Time, order'd him to raiſe a Sum of Money for the Service of the County. The Mayor receiv'd this Order very coldly, deſiring to be excus'd upon Account of the Poverty of the Town. The Officers of the Exciſe were likewiſe ſent for; but there was very little Money in their Office, ſo that the Petitioners ſaw there was but little Relief to be got in this Place.

HOWEVER, they found there a private Man, who did them more Service, than the whole Corporation could have done, tho' they had been as willing, as they were able. This was one *Keme*, who had been a Chaplain in the Fleet; and who afterwards having been a Major in the Parliament's Troops, made it appear then, that he was ſorry for having been engag'd in ſo unjuſt a Cauſe, that he could not enough expreſs how much it griev'd him. Having offer'd to join with the Petitioners, and to make Uſe of the Intereſt he had in the County for their Service, if they would do him the Honour to employ him; the Petitioners well knowing that he had been at Sea with the Earl of *Warwick*, and that he had good Acquaintances in the Fleet, thought fit to employ him, after he ſhould have ſign'd the Petition. And that very Inſtant, they wrote to all the Captains of the Men of War that were in the *Downs*; and in each Letter put a Copy of their Petition, and charg'd this Major with them; who that very Night went on Board the Admiral, and by a good Luck, which exceeded all their Expectations, he got the whole Squadron to declare for the royal Party.

THE next Day, the Petitioners ſent again for the Mayor and Aldermen, to know if they had rais'd any Money, and if there was Reaſon to expect any Thing from them that might forward the King's Service. For they had eſpecially given them to underſtand, That it was in order to reſtore his Majeſty to his Throne, and all the Subjects to their Liberties, that this Party had been form'd. But theſe Men not ſhewing the leaſt Sign of their being affected with that, the Royaliſts thought it not fit to truſt them any longer with the Militia of the Town. Therefore they made them deliver up the Commiſſions they had got for commanding it, and put it into the Hands of other Commanders, who were Inhabitants, and very honeſt Men, upon whom the Royaliſts could depend. At the ſame Time, they ſeiz'd upon the little Ammunition that was in the Town-houſe; and having put it upon a Cart for an Undertaking they were going to put in Execution, they made themſelves ready to march to *Dover*. Before they ſet out, they thought fit to ſee a ſham Prince, who gave out himſelf to be the Prince of *Wales*. On the 3d of *May*, this Cheat having come all alone to an Inn in *Sandwich* in a Beggar's Habit, ſaid he was the Prince, and that he had been forc'd to make his Eſcape out of *France*, in the Condition they ſaw him, becauſe the Queen his Mother had a Deſign to have him poiſon'd. The fooliſh Credulity of the People was then ſuch, that, by Order of the Mayor, he was conducted to Captain *Forſtal*'s Houſe, who was one of the Aldermen of the Town; whither they ſent Men to ſerve him, with Guards for his Perſon, till a very rich Suit of Cloaths ſhould be made for him, as ſoon as poſſible. Then they made a Speech to him; and on *Sunday* he went to Church, with the Sword carry'd before him, the Guards likewiſe marching before him bare-headed. The News of this having been ſpread in thoſe Parts, many Gentlemen of Note, and Abundance of Ladies went to kiſs his Hand, and make him Preſents. The whole Town had ſuffer'd themſelves to be ſo impos'd upon by this Cheat,

Cheat, who had already play'd this Part for a whole Week, that, as Sir *Thomas Diſhington*, whom the Queen and the Prince of *Wales* had ſent into *England*, was returning by *Dover*, he was very much ſurpriz'd, when he was told, for certain, that the Prince was at *Sandwich*. Sir *Thomas* having gone thither in all Haſte, and ask'd this Impoſtor, where he had left the Queen, and about ſome Particulars of what had lately paſs'd at the Court of *France*; he anſwer'd ſo impertinently, that it was very ſurprizing, that the People were not at that Inſtant undeceiv'd: Beſides, that the Manner in which he had ſpoken of the Queen, ſhould have oblig'd the Magiſtrates to put him in Priſon; as, without Doubt, they would have done, had it not been for their Blindneſs. Sir *Thomas*, not able to forbear calling him Names, this Cheat order'd the Mayor to make him Priſoner, for the Treaſon he had thereby committed. The Mayor forthwith obeying, ſent Sir *Thomas* to Priſon, where he remain'd very near two Days, whatever Sollicitations could be made for releaſing him. 1648.

THOSE who were for the King, being inform'd of all the Parts of this Comedy, and believing that ſome diſaffected Perſons made it to be acted after this manner, in order to put the County in Confuſion, reſolv'd to carry him away; and leſt any Commotion ſhould be made in the Town, where this ridiculous Idol was ador'd, they bethought themſelves of deſiring him, in a civil manner, to be pleas'd to put himſelf at their Head, and of cauſing an empty Coach to be brought for receiving him: But as they came near the Houſe where he was, he and his Companions having gueſs'd the Deſign, order'd the Door to be ſhut; and the Landlord ſtanding behind it, told them, That what he did, was by the Prince's Order, who had forbid him to let them in. Then the Royaliſts having reſolv'd to carry him away by Force, ſixty Musketeers were order'd to break open the Door; the reſt of the Soldiers putting themſelves in a Poſture of ſuſtaining them, and repulſing the Crowd of People that was flocking together on all Sides. In the mean time, this Impoſtor having run to a Window, fell a crying to the Burghers and Seamen to take Arms, and come to his Relief, at the ſame time throwing Handfuls of Money among the People, who were much griev'd, the Women crying for Fear that any Violence ſhould be offer'd to their Prince, and many alſo ſwearing that they would rather die, than ſuffer him to be inſulted in their Town, for which he had expreſs'd more Affection, than for any other of the Kingdom. While the Soldiers were forcing the Houſe, he made his Eſcape by a Back-Door, where ſome Watermen were waiting him, and who carry'd him over to the Iſle of *Thanet*. Some Men were immediately ſent into that Iſland, where he was found ſupping, ſtill like a Prince, in Mr. *Criſp*'s Houſe: From thence he was conducted to *Canterbury*, and at length to the Priſon of *Newgate* in *London*. This Rogue was a Native of *Marſeilles*, his Father was a *Welſhman*, and his Mother a *Provenſale*. Having continu'd ſome Time in Priſon, he found Means to make his Eſcape, in order to act the laſt Part of his princely Dignity upon ſome other Theater.

THIS Impoſtor has not been the firſt who has appear'd in this Quality in *England*. In the Reign of *Henry* VII. which began when the Kingdom was afflicted with a Sweating Diſeaſe, which many took for a Preſage that his Reign would be uneaſy: This great Prince, having wreſted the Crown from the Tyrant *Richard* III. was oblig'd to maintain

it

1648. it with the Sword againſt two Impoſtors, who, under borrow'd Names, had the Boldneſs to pretend to it. The firſt of theſe Cheats was the Son of a Baker, call'd *Lambert Simnel*, whom *Richard Simon*, a Prieſt of *Oxford*, brought up, and made him paſs for *Edward Plantagenet*, Nephew of King *Edward* IV. It having been reported amongſt the People, that he had made his Eſcape out of the Tower, where *Henry* had caus'd him to be put: The Prieſt having inſtructed his Pupil, went over with him to *Ireland*, where the Houſe of *York* was in great Veneration. The Gracefulneſs of *Simnel*'s Perſon, made every Body to be in love with him; and the Prieſt us'd ſo much Dexterity in ſhewing him, that the Earl of *Kildare*, who was then Lord-Lieutenant, was the firſt that welcom'd him: The greateſt Part of the Nobility and Gentry follow'd his Example, and the People were tranſported with Joy; inſomuch that *Simnel* was conducted to the Caſtle of *Dublin*, and very ſolemnly proclaimed King. King *Henry* having had Advice of it, in order to undeceive the People, order'd the true *Plantagenet* to be conducted through *London*, as far as St. *Paul*'s Church, and ſo order'd Matters, that many Perſons of Quality ſpoke to him as he paſs'd along. But that did not in the leaſt move the *Iriſh*; on the contrary, they retorted the Impoſtor upon the King, ſaying, that it was He who impos'd upon the People, having caus'd a young Man to be dreſs'd after ſuch a manner, as to reſemble the true *Plantagenet*, and having even prophan'd the Solemnity of a Proceſſion, in order to deceive the World. *Margaret* Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*, who was *Edward* IV's Siſter, being told by ſome *Engliſh* Lords what had paſs'd in *Ireland*, though ſhe very well knew that *Simnel* was nothing but a Cheat, yet the Hatred ſhe bore againſt the Branch of *Lancaſter*, of which *Henry* was come by his Mother's Side, induc'd this Princeſs to ſend two thouſand old *German* Soldiers to the pretended King in *Ireland*. The *Iriſh* having got this Supply, caus'd their King to be crown'd; and having rais'd an Army, brought him over to *England*. As they were advancing towards *York*, *Henry* gave them Battle, in which all their chief Officers were kill'd, and *Simnel* was taken Priſoner, who, after having been for a long time a Turn-Spit in the King's Kitchen, was made one of his Falconers. This was nothing but an Idol well deck'd, and who, truly, had a good Mien, and acted the Prince well enough: But the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy* very ſoon ſet up another, who was more ſprightly than *Simnel*, and who knew ſo well how to act his Part, that he charm'd all ſorts of Perſons that approach'd him, and had I know not what ſo engaging, that one could ſcarce forbear paying him Reſpect. The Dutcheſs of *Burgundy* had always endeavour'd to perſuade every Body, that the Parricides who murder'd the young King *Edward* V. having preſently teſtify'd their Regret, ſet *Richard* Duke of *York*, his Brother, at Liberty, for whom ſhe was in great Pain, not knowing what was become of him. She ſaid that, becauſe ſhe had given Orders to look for ſome Youth, whom, by the Conformity of Age, and ſome other Reſemblance, ſhe might, one Day, ſuppoſe for the Duke of *York*. At laſt, ſuch a one as ſhe wanted was brought her: This was the Son of a converted *Jew*, born in *London*, who was call'd *Perkin* or *Peter Warbeck*. The Dutcheſs found him ſo well adapted to her Purpoſe, that he was very ſoon taught to act his Part, and not to be ſurpriz'd, where-ever he ſhould appear. But becauſe the whole Secret would have been diſcover'd, if he had been ſeen coming directly from under the Dutcheſs's Management, ſhe ſent him privately to *Portugal*, where having ſtaid a Year, he took Shipping for *Ireland*. *Henry*, at the ſame time, having declar'd War againſt *France*,

King

King *Charles* VIII. ſent to invite *Perkin* to Court. He came there forthwith, with great Pleaſure, and was receiv'd as Duke of *York:* but he did not ſtay long there; for a Peace being made between the two Kingdoms, *Perkin* was deſired to retire. However, that did him no Prejudice; for the People ſaid, that two great Kings had made Peace, to the Coſt of a poor afflicted Prince. Then he went to the Dutcheſs in *Flanders*, who pretending never to have ſeen him before, began to interrogate him about all his Adventures: At length, ſhe made as if ſhe had been perſuaded of the Truth of the Thing, treated *Perkin* as her Nephew, and declar'd openly, that it was not to be doubted but he was the White Roſe of *England*. Many of the *Engliſh* Nobility went to attend him; but King *Henry* found Means to get ſome of them to leave him, who diſcover'd all his Partiſans in *England*; ſo that having a mind to attempt a Deſcent in *Kent*, he found a general Oppoſition there. From thence he went to *Scotland*, where King *James* IV. not only gave him an honourable Reception, but carry'd him twice at the Head of an Army into *England*, where no Body, however, ſhew'd any Willingneſs to eſpouſe his Intereſt. That having made *James* ſuſpect that he was an Impoſtor, he retir'd again into *Ireland*, where having heard of the Revolt in *Cornwall*, he went thither in all Haſte, and, with ſeven thouſand Men, that join'd him, laid Siege to *Exeter:* But not having been ſo bold as to wait the King, who was marching againſt him, he got into a Sanctuary: But the King having aſſur'd him of his Life, he came out of it, and follow'd him to *London*, where having, for ſome time, been a Laughing-ſtock to all the Court, he fled, in order to go beyond Sea. At laſt he was catch'd, and put in the Tower, where having perſuaded *Edward Plantagenet* to bribe his Guards, and pretend to the Crown, the Deſign was diſcover'd; and having been both brought to their Tryals, *Perkin* was hang'd at *Tyburn*, and *Edward Plantagenet* had his Head ſtruck off on *Tower-Hill*. 1648.

THE Royaliſts having left ſome of their Men in *Sandwich* for the Security of the Town, and given their Orders to the new Officers, whom they had pitch'd upon for commanding the Militia, they march'd to *Dover*, where having found the Regiments of *Hammond* and *Hatton* more in Number by half than before, with ſome Companies of the Militia of the Neighbourhood, drawn up before the Caſtle, they were receiv'd with great Joy into the Town, which preſently took up Arms for aſſiſting them in their Undertaking. Having ſummon'd the Caſtle to ſurrender for the Service of the King and County, he, who commanded within, refus'd abſolutely to do it, what Conditions ſoever they could offer him. The Gariſon was not afraid of being taken by Force, being well provided with all Things neceſſary; beſides, that the Battery, which the Petitioners had rais'd againſt the Caſtle, upon the Top of a Hill, where, perhaps, Cannon had never been planted before, prov'd to be of no great Effect. But if they got not this Caſtle, at the ſame time they receiv'd the News of a Conqueſt, which was of much more Advantage to their Party: For Major *Keme*, being return'd from the Fleet, aſſur'd them, that their Letters had been receiv'd there with as much Obedience as Joy; and that he had found all the Seamen ſo well inclin'd to engage in the Party, that as ſoon as the Letters had been read, they declar'd openly for the King, and the Gentry of *Kent*. He added, that having got up upon the Deck, with Sword in Hand, in order boldly to maintain the Reſolution they had taken, there was not one that dar'd to oppoſe it; though ſome, whom they inſtantly



3

1648. ſecur'd, had expreſs'd by their Diſcourſe, that they were not pleas'd with it.

VICE-ADMIRAL *Rainsborough* was then in *Deal* Caſtle; from whence having heard a great deal of huzzaing on Board the Ships, and not able to conjecture what could be the Matter, he got into a Boat in great Haſte, in order to know the Meaning of it. But as he had a mind to get up into the Admiral Ship, the Seamen told him, That they own'd him no longer, and that they had eſpous'd the King's Intereſt, in which they very well knew that he would not join: That, however, they could not but acknowledge, that he had always commanded them with great Gentleneſs; and upon that Account, he ſhould receive no ill Uſage from them, nor ſhould he loſe any Thing of the Furniture that belong'd to him on Board of their Ship, which ſhould be reſtor'd to him, whenever he ſhould think fit. *Rainſborough* ſurpriz'd with this Change, and ſeeing the Seamen fully determin'd, without loſing Time in diſputing, deſir'd a Pinnace of them for carrying him to *London*, knowing that the Road by Land would be no longer ſafe for him. A Seaman, who had heard his Demand, anſwer'd him jeſtingly, That all the Ships in the *Downs*, both great and ſmall, were deſign'd for a better Uſe; and that, if he was in Haſte, he might get his Paſſage, for half a Teſter, in a *Dutch* Fly-boat, that was ready to ſail for *London*. This Language vex'd him ſo much, that he knew not what Reſolution to take: For he was told, That *Sandown* Caſtle had declar'd with the Fleet; and he was not ſure but all the other Caſtles upon that Coaſt had done the ſame. At laſt he was forc'd to take the firſt Conveniency that offer'd for *London*, whither he carry'd this troubleſome News to the two Houſes.

*KEME* having ſucceeded ſo well at Sea, was ſent to *Deal* and *Walmer* Caſtles, in order to treat about their ſurrendering. For the Royaliſts thought, that they ought not to leave theſe Fortreſſes behind them, in the Hands of their Enemies, who would not fail, in their Abſence, to follow the Example of thoſe who held *Dover* Caſtle, who having made frequent Sallies, had pillag'd the Houſes of many of thoſe who had ſign'd the Petition. At the ſame Time, they treated with ſome *Dutch* Merchants, about furniſhing them with Arms, and other Ammunition of War; and ſent into *France*, to give the Prince of *Wales* an Account of all they had done, and of the Deſigns they had, which did not at all tend to kindle the War again in the Kingdom, but on the contrary, to eſtabliſh an happy and laſting Peace therein.

THEN they march'd from *Dover* to *Deal*; where having drawn up in Order of Battle before the Caſtle, *Keme* ſent them Word, That the Capitulation of it was almoſt finiſh'd, and that that of *Walmer* was done. The Gariſons having march'd out with their Baggage only, the Royaliſts left *Antony Hammond* and Captain *Burgrave* there; and having ſent for Sir *John Mennes*, who had been a Rear-Admiral, and Captain *Fogg*, likewiſe a Sea Officer, whom the two Houſes had caſhier'd, they preſently went to take Poſſeſſion of the Ships. They were receiv'd there with very great Demonſtrations of Joy, and much Zeal and Affection for the King's Service; inſomuch that they had Difficulty to keep the Seamen from going aſhore to ſerve at Land: And they behav'd themſelves with ſo much Eagerneſs, that, had it not been for fear of unmanning the Ships, they would have been employ'd as Soldiers. However, they ſent a Declaration, in the Terms of the Petition, to the Admiralty at *London*; and having

having wiſh'd all manner of good Succeſs to the Meſſengers they diſpatch'd with it, they accompany'd them aſhore with many Volleys of Cannon-ſhot. 1648.

THE Royaliſts being come to *Sandwich*, were a little better receiv'd, than they had been the firſt Time. For the Magiſtrates, after having repreſented to them the Poverty of the Town, nevertheleſs made them a Preſent of 250 Pounds. Having left five Companies in the Town, with ſome Perſons of Note, that it might ſerve as a retiring Place, in Caſe of Neceſſity, they march'd to *Canterbury*; where many Perſons of great Diſtinction came to join them, and ſign'd the Petition. There was a great Number of *Valloons* ſettled in this Metropolis, who preach'd and pray'd after the Manner of *Geneva*, in a Church under the Quire of the Cathedral, which was one of the fineſt Churches in the World. The Glaſs Windows, which have been all broke in Pieces, were painted after a moſt beautiful Manner, the Art of which is loſt. The Church was nothing the darker for them; and their Beauty would have been reſpected by the moſt barbarous People. Theſe *Valloons* having offer'd to maintain two Companies of Foot, the Royaliſts join'd to them three Companies of the Town-Militia; and left the Command of them to ſome conſiderable Gentlemen of the Party, whoſe Preſence was ſo much the more neceſſary there, becauſe the Neighbourhood was almoſt all the Enemy's Country.

IN the mean Time, the Earl of *Thanet* having declar'd for this Party, engag'd the greateſt Part of the Gentry of the Neighbourhood of *Aſhford*, *Hatfield*, and *Charing*; and in a very ſhort Time rais'd near 1000 Men, of which he adviſ'd Mr. *Hales*, who, on the other Hand, was ſtill doing his beſt. But this Earl did not long continue ſtedfaſt, and was ſoon weary of well-doing; for ſuffering himſelf to be carry'd to the Committee of Safety by the Earl of *Pembroke*, he was there receiv'd into Favour, and even made Overtures to the Committee for diſperſing the Petitioners, and their Adherents. Having receiv'd Inſtructions for bringing this about, he return'd into the County; where having begun with the Gentry, who he well knew would always draw the People after them, he perſuaded ſome Gentlemen to follow his Example. But the greateſt Part being rather confirm'd by a noble Reſentment of this Deſertion, inſtead of going to ask Pardon of the Committee, as was requir'd of them, they wrote to them, "That the Inſtructions, which the Earl of *Thanet* had brought "into the County, ſhew'd them plainly, that the Lords and Commons "of the Committee had been very ill inform'd of the Deſign of the Pe-"titioners; who ſhould make it appear, if they had the Liberty to do it, "that it was not they, but their Enemies, that diſturb'd the Peace of their "County. That they ſhould comply with the Ordinance of the two "Houſes, in preſenting their Petition to them, not having any Deſign "to diſpleaſe them, nor to uſe the leaſt Violence, which might give them "any Reaſon to doubt of the Sincerity of their Intentions: That they "had deſir'd the Earl of *Thanet* more fully to aſſure them of it, and like-"wiſe to beg of them not to take ill their continuing arm'd, till they ſhould "be aſſur'd, that the Complaints, which their Enemies were giving in "againſt them without any Ground, had not prevail'd with the two "Houſes; which, otherwiſe, might induce them to take ſome other "troubleſome Reſolution, which would certainly put the County into a "ſtrange Confuſion."

THE

1648. THE Royaliſts, who were at *Canterbury*, remembering that the next Day, the 29th of *May*, was the Day appointed for the general Rendezvous at *Rocheſter*, ſet out betimes in the Morning; but the Foot not being able to make ſo long a March, quarter'd at *Sittingborn*; as for the Horſe, they got to *Rocheſter*, where they found a great many of the Gentry, who had come thither from all Parts of the County. Theſe Gentlemen had left ſome Bodies of Foot in the Neighbourhood of *Dartford*, in Poſts not far from *Blackheath*, on which the whole Party was to meet the Day following. Two Gentlemen of the County of *Eſſex* having likewiſe come to *Rocheſter*, deſir'd, That the two Counties might join together; and having promis'd that theirs ſhould be ready to back the Engagement of *Kent*, they begg'd that ſome Gentlemen of both Counties might meet together on the other Side of the River, in order to conſult in what Manner they could join. There was the like Deputation from the County of *Surrey*. But as the *Kentiſh* Royaliſts were the next Morning to ſend from *Blackheath* ten Gentlemen, and as many Yeomen, to carry their Petition to *London*, they could not then enter into a Treaty with the other two Counties; and were ſatisfy'd to take their Deputies Words, that they ſhould be ready to march with them for demanding the King's Liberty, and that of the whole Kingdom, which altogether depended thereupon.

BUT the ſame Night, the Houſe of Commons ſent an Order by an Expreſs to the Heads of the Party: Which Order contain'd, "That "having had Advice, that the People of *Kent* were coming in a tumul- "tuary Manner to *Weſtminſter*, contrary to what had been ordain'd, "under the Pretence of a Petition, which they ſaid they had a mind to "preſent to the two Houſes; as the Houſe was ignorant what their real "Deſign might be, they referr'd them to treat thereupon with General "*Fairfax*, and the Committee of Safety." The Royaliſts having read this Order, ſaw plainly, that they would be oblig'd to take other Meaſures, than thoſe they had taken. For they conſider'd, that having nothing but new-rais'd Soldiers, they could expect nothing but the intire Ruin of their Party, if they ſhould venture to fight the General, who had already refus'd to hear them, and who look'd upon them but as Rebels. After having held a Council, they ſent Orders, early in the Morning, to the Bodies of Foot that were quarter'd about *Dartford*, to march back again; and not doubting but *Fairfax* was already marching againſt them, theſe Foot had Orders, in retiring, to leave a good Number of Soldiers at a Paſs call'd *Stonebridge*, near *Graveſend*. But that Paſs was not long kept, the Enemy being already ſo far advanc'd on their March, that 'tis ſurprizing the Royaliſts were not ſooner advertis'd of it.

THE Troops being come to *Rocheſter*, *Carter* was made Quarter-Maſter General, and began immediately to do that Duty. He order'd all the Regiments of Foot to be drawn up, in order the better to know the Number and Strength of them; and found that there were 7000 good Men, well arm'd, without reckoning the Companies that had been left at *Sandwich*, *Canterbury*, and in ſome other Places, which might make near 3000 Men. He could not ſo exactly know the Number of the Horſe, becauſe they were diſpers'd in ſeveral Places; but having quarter'd the Foot in *Rocheſter*, *Stroud*, and *Chatham*, he ſent the Horſe, that had been at the Rendezvous, into the neighbouring Villages. The Troops being thus quarter'd, they ſet about to diſpoſe of the whole into one Body of an Army under the Command of a General, ſeeing very plainly, that it could not be long before they ſhould have to do with the Enemy. All the Gentry were

were unanimous: But there very ſoon began to appear Emulations and Jealouſies, as it frequently happens upon the Account of the Point of Honour, which would have made all their Deſigns miſcarry, and diſſipated the Party before it had been form'd, if, by good Fortune, the Earl of *Norwich*, in going to *Suſſex*, had not by Chance paſs'd through *Rocheſter*. As ſoon as the Gentlemen, who were aſſembled, had heard of his Arrival, they all agreed, that they ought to offer him the Command of the Army: They knew his Merit, and were not ignorant of the great Affection he had for the King, his Maſter, and that he was Proof againſt all Temptations whatſoever; inſomuch, that the Affair having been unanimouſly agreed to, they ſent ſome of their Number to him, to let him know the Reſolution of their Meeting. *Norwich* having expreſs'd a grateful Acknowledgment of the Honour they had done him, and, with a great deal of Modeſty and Civility, deſir'd to be excus'd, ſaying, That he could not reſolve to command ſo many brave Gentlemen of a County, wherein he was a Stranger, and where there were a great many eminent Noblemen more capable than he, to diſcharge that Office. However, at length being preſs'd by the whole Gentry in a Body, he accepted the Generalſhip; and the Troops being drawn up on *Barham-Downs*, about two Miles from *Maidſton*, he was there proclaim'd General with great Acclamations, by all the Army. 1648.

THE Weather being fair, he was of Opinion, that the Army ſhould encamp that Night upon the Banks of the River, and draw as cloſe together as poſſible, that the Troops might be the ſooner ready to repulſe the Enemy, in caſe they ſhould attempt to force ſome Paſs upon the River. That was giving his Opinion like a prudent General, of which he has given Proofs, upon all the Occaſions that have offer'd, as much as if he had ſpent his whole Life in Armies, as he had done in the Management of the other more important Affairs of State. But there were ſome People there, who could not ſo ſoon reſolve to quit the Power they had had over the Troops which they had rais'd, who having repreſented, that the Soldiers were ſo fatigued with the long March they had been oblig'd to make, that they thought the Quarters ought to be enlarg'd, in order more conveniently to refreſh themſelves. This Opinion having prevail'd, and likewiſe been put in Execution, *Norwich*, with the chief Men of the Gentry, return'd to *Rocheſter*, which was the head Town of the ſmalleſt Dioceſe of *England*, but famous, however, for having been the only See of the bleſſed Martyr, Cardinal *John Fiſher*, who, when King *Henry* VIII. before he became a Schiſmatick, offer'd him the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*, one of the moſt conſiderable of all the Kingdom, anſwer'd like a great Biſhop, but very far from the Practice now-a-days, *That he could not part with his poor little Wife, to take another richer, and of a greater Size.*

THIS fatal Night, between *Wedneſday* and *Thurſday* the 2d of *June*, *Fairfax* having advanc'd towards *Maidſton* with four thouſand Horſe and Foot, and having found the Paſſage of *Farley-Bridge*, about two Miles from the Town, very ill guarded, he forc'd it, without meeting with ſcarce any Reſiſtance, and march'd ſtreight on to attack the Town, which, by Misfortune, or otherwiſe, had not had any certain News of his March. There were in the Town eight hundred good Men of the Regiments of Sir *John Mennies* and *William Brokmans*, who defended themſelves behind the Hedges, having no other Fortifications, but, however, with a wonderful Reſolution. The Enemy looking upon them

1648. only as a Handful of raw, unexperienc'd Men, thought to take them without any Oppoſition: but they found that they had to do with Men who knew very well how to handle their Arms, and who would ſell their Lives very dear. They bore the firſt Attack, without loſing the leaſt Ground, and with ſo much Vigour beat back the Enemy, who had attack'd them ſo ſharply, that this firſt Heat being over, and their Courage cool'd, the General himſelf diſmounted, in order to rally them, and bring them back to the Charge. The Royaliſts, however, loſt no Ground, but what they diſputed Foot by Foot; but at laſt, ſeeing themſelves overpower'd by freſh Troops, which charg'd continually, they were forc'd to quit their Hedges, and retire into the Town, but ſtill fighting. They defended themſelves there, from Street to Street, above ſix Hours, running headlong with Sword in Hand amongſt the Enemy's Horſe. At length, not able to get but little Aſſiſtance, by a ſmall Number of Soldiers from the Army, whoſe Quarters were at too great a Diſtance, being driven into the Church-yard, and the Church, they were oblig'd to yield to Force, and lay down their Arms.

THE Officers of the Army ſaw then the Error they had committed, in not having been rul'd by the Earl of *Norwich*, who having got the Alarm, immediately mounted his Horſe, in order to draw the Troops together again, and ſend Relief to *Maidſton*, for he no longer doubted but they were engag'd with the Enemy; but it was not in his Power to cauſe any conſiderable Body to march: So that, by Break of Day, having made the Army to be drawn up in Order of Battle upon *Frendsbury-Plain*, on the other Side of the River *Medway*, towards *Stroud*, he preſently held a Council of War, wherein ſome having ſaid, that they might ſtill be in Time enough to relieve *Maidſton*, it was reſolv'd to march thither with the whole Army. For that End, they march'd through *Rocheſter*; but they had ſcarce gone two Miles, when they had certain Advice that the Place was loſt, and that all therein had been cut in Pieces, or taken, excepting ſome Priſoners, who had made their Eſcape, and rejoin'd the Army.

AFTER this News, the Army made a Counter-march to *Rocheſter*, where a Council of War was held, about what Courſe they had beſt to take, in the preſent Situation of their Affairs. The two Houſes had refus'd their Petition; and their Troops having enter'd the County, were laying it Waſte, and giving it up to be pillag'd. Beſides *Fairfax*'s Army, there were other Detachments that had ſlipt towards *Aſhford* and *Sittingborn*: Whereupon *Hammond*, who had not come to the Rendezvous, had Orders to ſtop with his Regiment of Foot at this laſt Place; and *Hatton*, having been order'd to return with his Regiment of Horſe, met, upon his March, Major *Osborne*'s Troop of Light Horſe, which he charg'd, and where Major *Samner* was kill'd, and ſome others were wounded. *Hardreſs* was likewiſe deſired to get into the Eaſtern Part of the County, and having made Levies there, to take the beſt Courſe he could for the Security of *Canterbury*, and the other Towns that were in their Intereſt. In the mean while, the Soldiers not giving Time to their Officers to conſult about what was fit to be done, grew impatient, and were like to have mutiny'd: For, having caus'd the Drums to beat, and diſplay'd their Colours, they cry'd with a loud Voice, That if their Officers would not lead them on to Battle, they would march without them. This oblig'd *Norwich* to give Orders for Marching, notwithſtanding it rain'd very hard, and to cauſe them to be drawn up upon the

ſame

ſame Plain, where they had been in the Morning. Nothing had as yet been reſolv'd upon, and *Norwich* would do nothing without the Advice of the Council of War, into which had newly been admitted many Officers well skill'd in the Art of War, who had come from *London*, and other Places, in ſo great Numbers, that there could not be Horſes found immediately for mounting them all. That gave ſome Gentlemen, who had come from *London* by Water, Occaſion to think that the Leading Men of the Army had a little too much neglected them, who, however, did what they could to furniſh them with all Things neceſſary, and gave Orders for their Subſiſtence, at the Charge of the County; and Mr. *Hales* equipp'd ſuch of them as were in greateſt Want, at his own Expences. 1648.

SOME were for fortifying *Rocheſter*, and retiring thither with the whole Army, in order to defend it as long as they could: But that Advice was juſtly rejected. For beſides that the Place was not capable of Defence, though the River ſerv'd for a Rampart on one Side, it concern'd the Honour of the whole Party to undertake ſomething more conſiderable, than to ſhut themſelves up in a paltry Place, the keeping of which was of no Conſequence. Others were for making a Counter-March, and having rally'd their Troops towards *Canterbury*, to fight the Enemy, or, at leaſt, to hinder them from ruining the County. But though they were ſtrong enough in Foot to venture a Battle, they had not Horſe enough; for they had not above two hundred Horſes that were in a Condition to fight. Beſides, if they had march'd back, the Enemy would have been able to bring more Troops into the County, and then fall upon them. And as they would not have been in a Condition to oppoſe them, they would have been forc'd to get into a Corner of the County, without any Hopes of Aſſiſtance from thoſe of *Surrey* and *Eſſex*, who had engag'd to join them; therefore it was reſolv'd to purſue their firſt Deſign, and to march towards *London*; that, in drawing near theſe two Counties, they might be again invited and encourag'd to declare themſelves, and to make ſo conſiderable a Body of an Army, that all their Forces being join'd, it might frighten the Enemy.

THEREFORE, having ſent back Colonel *Willis*, with his Regiment of Foot, of twelve hundred Men, into the Eaſtern Part of the County, and ſent Word to *Hatton* to get into *Canterbury*, they march'd for *Dartford*. Being come there at Midnight, *Norwich* diſpatch'd immediately an Expreſs to the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of *London*, to give them an Account of this March; and as they were as much concern'd in the Petition as any County of the Kingdom, they were in a civil manner deſir'd to countenance the Deſign of *Kent*, or, at leaſt, not to hinder their Troops to march through the City to *Weſtminſter*; all the Nobility and Gentry engaging their Honour and Faith, that the Citizens ſhould not ſuffer the leaſt Prejudice. Their Letter had no Effect; for as ſoon as the Magiſtrates had receiv'd it, they ſent it, ſeal'd as it was, to the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons.

THE Royaliſts knowing nothing of the Matter 'till the next Day, ſtill continu'd their March, without halting, 'till they came to *Greenwich*, where *Norwich* encamp'd with the Army, in Expectation of ſome good News from *Southwark*, *Surrey*, and *Eſſex*; but he receiv'd none, but very bad from the City of *London*, which had declar'd againſt them, and poſted Guards at their Gates. There appear'd not ſo much as one

1648. one Man from *Surrey*, and from *Southwark* but one ſingle Man, who having addreſs'd himſelf to *Carter*, aſſur'd him, That if the General would be pleas'd to ſend ſome conſiderable Party into the Borough of *Southwark*, the People there would riſe up in Arms, and join his Army. *Carter* having ſpoken of it to *Norwich*, he gave this very judicious Anſwer: "That as he who had made the Propoſal, was a Stranger, and unknown "to the Army, he could not expect, that they would venture a Party of "the Army upon his bare Word: But if the leading Men of the Borough, "by whom he pretended to be ſent, would come and make that Demand, "they ſhould receive all manner of Satisfaction from them." This Man being gone with this Anſwer, was never ſeen again; which made it to be believ'd that he was rather a Spy, than a Deputy from *Southwark*.

At the ſame Time, there came likewiſe a Gentleman from *Eſſex*, who aſſur'd the General, That the County was already up in Arms, in order to join him: That there were 2000 of them at *Bow*, and more at *Chelmſford*. Whereupon *Norwich*, who was wholly bent on being able to make the beſt Uſe of their Arms for the Liberty of the King and Kingdom, having left the Command of the Army to Sir *William Compton*, who did the Duty therein of Major General, went over privately all alone into *Eſſex*, in order to learn in what Poſture this County was. His Deſign was, that in caſe he ſhould find that what had been told him was true, he would return in all Haſte, to make Proviſion of Boats for tranſporting the Army into *Eſſex*; and if the Intelligence ſhould be found falſe, that he would undertake whatever ſhould be reſolv'd by the Council of War. He could not return that Day, what Haſte ſoever he made. For having found nothing at *Bow*, without halting he put on to *Chelmsford*, in order to know for certain the State of the County, before he ſhould return to the Army, which, whatever ſhould happen, he deſign'd to join the next Day betimes in the Morning. But Night coming on, the Troops began to diſcover that their Courage had fail'd them, and that they deſpair'd of Safety. They ſaw no Aſſiſtance like to appear; and they look'd upon it as certain, that if the Enemy ſhould follow them, their Defeat was inevitable. The City had refus'd them Paſſage; and it being Night, it was impoſſible to find a ſufficient Number of Boats for carrying them over the River, which, however, was the only Shift that was left them. *Norwich* with his Aſſociates were declar'd Traitors by the two Houſes, which had renew'd the Ordinance, whereby it was forbid, upon Pain of Death, to take up Arms, without having the Parliament's Commiſſion for ſo doing. As the Soldiers were imagining theſe Difficulties, ſome having taken the Alarm, ſtole away from their Camarades, and fled; and by that Means, put the whole Army into ſuch a Confuſion, that no Body minded any Thing but how to make their Eſcape. The Diſorder grew yet much greater, that during the Darkneſs of the Night, a Man who was riding thro' the Park, fell a telling the Soldiers, that they were in great Danger; and that their Officers wiſh'd, that they would go home the beſt Way they could. This Speech completed the Ruin of all. For the Soldiers, without knowing what this Man was, and without examining farther, if there was any Probability in what he had ſaid, there being nothing ſtirring round about them, all in Confuſion ran in a Crowd to get into a Paſſage-Boat; and croſſing the River, they landed in *the Iſle of Dogs*, as a Place of Safety. The Boat having been brought back, and a great Number of other Soldiers having likewiſe a mind to paſs over to the Iſle, thoſe who had got thither firſt, cry'd to the others not to ſtir; and that if they ſhould offer to paſs, they would fire upon them, and not ſuffer them to land. Thus did this great

great Undertaking miſcarry, which had been ſo well concerted, and ſo ſucceſsful in the Beginning. Such is the ordinary Viciſſitude of human Affairs, that it ought to teach Men to be always on their Guard, eſpecially when Fortune ſmiles upon them, and to have a great deal of Conſtancy, when ſhe frowns. For too much Security in good Fortune makes them fall into bad; and too much Dejection in Adverſity throws them into Deſpair, which is the greateſt of all Misfortunes. 1648.

THE panick Fear had ſo great an Aſcendent over the Minds of the Soldiers, that inſtead of keeping in their Camp, where they were in Safety, they threw themſelves into the Hands of their Enemies; and had it not been a Providence altogether extraordinary, they had all infallibly been undone. The greateſt Part of the Foot, with a Part of the Horſe, paſs'd the *Thames*, not knowing why, nor whither they were going: They only ſhifted their Quarters, becauſe they thought themſelves ſafe no where. Having paſs'd the River confuſedly at different Parts, and believing they had landed in *Eſſex*, whither probably their General would not have led them, in the Situation he had found that County, they were very much ſurpriz'd to find, that they were in *Middleſex*, below the *Tower-Hamlets*, and upon the Brink of their Ruin, whither they ſeem'd to be running headlong. For, by Order of the Houſe of Commons, there was a Regiment of that Militia under Arms, ready to receive them, and cut them in Pieces in coming out of the Boats; which would have been no difficult Matter to do, becauſe every one march'd according to his own Fancy, and without obſerving any Order, getting up from the River by different Ways, tho', by a myſterious Sympathy, they all deſign'd to go to the ſame Place.

SIR *William Compton*, who had the Conduct of them, and who perform'd his Duty handſomely, being the firſt that obſerv'd the Snare, was likewiſe the firſt that advanc'd; and there being no Help for it, he capitulated for all his Party with the Officers of the Regiment: "That all "the Foot laying down their Arms, might freely return to their own "Houſes; and that all the Officers and Gentlemen might, in like man-"ner, go whitherſoever they ſhould think fit, with their Arms and "Horſes." But theſe Conditions were no ſooner granted than broke; for before the Foot had advanc'd, ſome Gentlemen were diſarm'd and diſmounted, in paſſing by the Guard-houſes; and, what was very ſtrange, this Violence was offer'd them by the Major of the Regiment, who had ſign'd the Articles. The Foot and the reſt of the Gentlemen being told after what manner they had begun to execute the Conditions, which without Doubt would have been much worſe obſerv'd, after the Troops had been diſarm'd, advanc'd in cloſer Order, and more reſolute, not able to bear being bubbled by this Raſcality, who did not ſo much as know what it was to treat, or ſign Articles. So that the Gentry, who bore impatiently that their Friends ſhould be ſo inſulted in their Preſence, having ſounded the Inclination of the Soldiers, ſaw, by their colouring, that they had come to themſelves again, that they had recover'd their Courage, and that they had rather die in defending themſelves Sword in Hand, than to outlive ſo grievous a Diſgrace, ſeeing themſelves upon the Brink of being treated as Slaves.

HAVING taken this firm Reſolution, they put themſelves in a Poſture to obtain better Conditions for their retiring Home, and to ſhare the Fear with thoſe Train-bands, who ſeeing their whole Body march in good Order, the Gentry with Piſtol in Hand, and the Soldiers with

1648. Match lighted at both Ends, they durſt no longer oppoſe their Paſſage, nor make Faces at them, as they had done at their Landing. They ſtill march'd on from Guard-houſe to Guard-houſe, 'till they came to *Bow-bridge*, where they expected to find ſome conſiderable Party to force them to lay down their Arms, and disband them: And having diſcover'd a Body of Musketeers, who were guarding the Barrier beyond the Bridge, they made ſome Officers advance, in order to learn and diſcover whether they were Friends or Enemies. The *Eſſex* Men having cry'd, That they were Friends, and open'd the Barrier, the Royaliſts paſs'd the Bridge, carrying with them the Major, and another Officer of the Tower-Hamlets Regiment, whom they let go, upon their Paroles, but they ſaw them no more. From *Bow* they march'd on to *Stratford*, where they met the Earl of *Norwich*, their General, who was returning to them, thinking to find them in the Place he left them. He was very much ſurpriz'd to hear what had paſs'd in his Abſence, and could not enough admire this ſo unexpected and ſtrange Adventure; but before he took any Reſolution thereupon, conſidering the great Fatigue the Soldiers had undergone, he order'd all the Proviſions that could be got in the Place, to be brought them, before they went any farther.

THEY could never have got ſo far, had the Regiment of the Hamlets had the Courage to oppoſe them in the leaſt on their March; for they had ſcarce paſs'd the Bridge, when they ſaw Colonel *Whaley*'s Regiment of Horſe appear, which was purſuing them at the great Trot, and did not expect to find them in ſo good a Poſture. The Enemy having left ſome Dragoons in Ambuſcade behind the Hedges, advanc'd, in order to force the Bridge: But *Norwich* having caus'd the Guards to be doubled, and form'd two Squadrons of Horſe, they repaſs'd the Bridge, and, without waiting 'till the Enemy ſhould come to them, they charg'd them ſo vigorouſly, that they made them give Ground, and ſome of them were left dead on the Spot. The Royaliſts purſuing them, fell into the Ambuſcade of Dragoons, who having given one Fire, fled with the reſt, and not halting 'till they had got to *Whitechapel*, they alarm'd the City of *London* as far as *Temple-Bar*. The Royaliſts, in this Action, loſt but one *Grecian* Gentleman; and as they were returning from the Purſuit of the Enemy, and falling in again with the Regiment of the Hamlets, they drove it into the Church of *Bow*, and, in its Turn, forc'd it to capitulate for Liberty to return. Thus did the Fortune of War, in leſs than two Hours, oblige both Parties to take Laws from one another.

BEING return'd to *Stratford*, *Norwich* caus'd Guards to be plac'd at the Bridge, and at the Places where the River was fordable; and having given Orders for quartering the Troops in that Town 'till further Orders, he rode with all Speed to *Chelmsford*, where the Gentry of the County were met. At the ſame time, *Carter* ſent for the Bailiff, and having ſhewn him the General's Orders, he made as if he would obey them; but having taken a Turn through the Town, he quickly return'd with three or four Gentlemen, who having ask'd *Carter*, By what Authority he quarter'd Troops there? telling him that their County was peaceable, and in a good Underſtanding with the two Houſes, who had ſent them a Pardon, and granted them all their Demands; ſo that if they ſhould ſuffer any other Troops to quarter amongſt them, but thoſe of the Parliament, they ſhould very ſoon draw their Army upon their Backs, and then ſee their County become the Seat of War. *Carter* was pleas'd to

anſwer

anſwer them, That he was acting by the General's Orders, and that he was ſurpriz'd at the cold Reception they gave thoſe, who having left their Country, had gone through ſo many Dangers, in order to join with them againſt the common Enemy, who had retaken all the Towns in the County of *Kent*, and pillag'd the Houſes of the Gentry. But becauſe he and *Compton*, who had haſten'd to this Diſpute, did not regard theſe Men but as private Perſons, who ſpoke by Order of no Body, they did not think it worth the while to ſtand diſputing with them, but reſolv'd to let them grumble, and to quarter their Troops in *Stratford*, where they lay three Days, during which time, *Norwich* did what he could to get the Gentry to declare for the King. Not long before, the Gentlemen and Freeholders of the County had, purſuant to a Petition they had preſented to the two Houſes, engag'd, "That they ſhould not pay the "Exciſe, or other Taxes, until they had obtain'd the Contents of their "Petition: That they ſhould lodge no Soldiers, but ſuch as would join "with them in the Purſuit of the ſaid Petition: That they would, with "all their Might, defend the King's Perſon, the Kingly Government, "and the Eſtabliſh'd Laws: That they ſhould ſuffer no other, and "far leſs ſubmit to an Arbitrary Government: That they ſhould protect "all ſuch as would take Part with them in this Deſign: And that they "ſhould look upon all ſuch of the County as ſhould refuſe to join with "them, as Perſons diſaffected to the Publick Good." 1648.

THEY had had a much greater Meeting in *Colcheſter*, where they caus'd to be publiſh'd a Declaration, which contain'd their Grievances, and the Reſolution they had taken to employ their Power, in order to oppoſe the Authors of all the Calamities of the Kingdom. Their Grievances were: I. That the Proteſtant Religion was going to Ruin in *England*, where formerly it had been more flouriſhing than in any other Part of *Europe*; and that the famous Univerſities of *Cambridge* and *Oxford* were made deſolate by the ignorant Sectarians, who carry'd it like ſupreme Governors both in Church and State, being ſupported by a rebellious Army, and authorized by a Meeting of Parliament, where there was no more Freedom of Voting. II. That, contrary to the Oath of Fidelity, from which no Perſon could exempt them, the King, by the Factions in the Army, had been forc'd to leave his Palace of *Hampton-Court*, and retire into the Iſle of *Wight*, where they kept him Priſoner; and that the Queen his Conſort, with the Prince, being ſhamefully and cruelly ſeparated from his Majeſty, were forc'd to ſeek for Liberty and Subſiſtence out of the Kingdom, which they could no longer find therein. III. That the Council of War, taking upon them whatever fell under the Cognizance of the Courts of Juſtice, and having no Regard to the Laws, were introducing an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government. IV. That the Affairs of the Kingdom were debated in a private Committee, which, for the moſt Part, being compos'd of Officers of the Army, over-rul'd all the Deliberations of the two Houſes; inſomuch that the Overtures that had been made to the Parliament for the King's Return, had been either rejected, or eluded; becauſe Peace, which was a Conſequence of that happy Return, would ſet Bounds both to their Avarice and Ambition. V. That the Forfeitures, and other Goods, which, by the Ordinances of the two Houſes, had been appointed for Payment of the publick Debts, had been divided amongſt the leading Men of the Faction. Laſtly, That in a ſecret Council held at *Windſor*, *Cromwell* and *Ireton* had mov'd three Things; to wit, If they ſhould join with the Levellers, and give a new Form both to Religion and the

State?

1648. State? Or, If they ſhould treat with the moſt moderate of the Royal Party, and receive the King with a limited Power? Or otherwiſe, If it would be more for their Advantage, after having depos'd the King, and declar'd the Prince incapable of ſucceeding to the Crown, to ſet the Duke of *York* upon the Throne, and to chuſe a Protector? Their firſt Project gave them Hopes of more Liberty, and greater Gain, than the other two; but they ſaw that the eſtabliſhing of it, would be attended with great Difficulties, and that it was almoſt impoſſible it could long ſubſiſt. The ſecond did not appear very difficult, either in the Eſtabliſhing, or Duration; becauſe it was ſomething like the preſent, but could not bring them great Advantage, and would very much leſſen their Power. The laſt, which had been the firſt in the Intention of thoſe who propos'd it, did not ſeem to be hard to bring about, but very difficult to maintain; for it would have exhauſted vaſt Treaſures, coſt the Kingdom much Blood, and reviv'd the bloody Quarrels between the Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*, under the Names of thoſe of *Wales* and *York*. *Cromwell*, who was aiming at the Protectorſhip of the State, made Anſwer to this Difficulty, "That this Civil War would very much "forward their Affairs; becauſe, in that Caſe, the Army muſt neceſ- "ſarily be continued; and by that Means their Perſons would be ſecure, "their Reaſons more convincing, and their Demands would appear "more juſt, and likewiſe be more eaſily granted: That as to the "Blood that would be ſpilt, it would be drawn from the Veins of the "common Soldiers only, with which the Kingdom abounded; and that "as to the Treaſure, *London* was their Bank, from whence they could "not want Money." *Ireton* added, "That the Buſineſs was half done; "becauſe the two Houſes had already voted, that no more Addreſſes "ſhould be made to the King, whom they had charg'd with Crimes "enough for depoſing him: beſides, that his Impriſonment diſpos'd "him, by degrees, to lead a private Life; to which may be added, "that it let the People ſee, that he was ſubjected to the two Houſes, "whoſe Ordinances deriv'd all their Authority from their Swords, which "likewiſe entirely authorized all their Actions: That as for the Prince, "as he was an Accomplice of his Father's Crime, ſo he had incurr'd "the ſame Puniſhment; becauſe, having given Commiſſions to thoſe "who had taken up Arms in the Principality of *Wales*, as his Father "deſerv'd to be depos'd, for having made War againſt the Parliament, "by the ſame Reaſon, he ought to be declar'd incapable of ſucceeding "him: And that the Crown may not ſerve to cloke his Crimes, under "Pretence that the Crown abſolves from all Charge of Treaſon, as after "the Death of *Richard* III. *Henry* VII. who had been declar'd guilty "of High Treaſon, was crown'd, without being otherwiſe acquitted "from it; it behov'd them to crown the Duke of *York*, whom the two "Houſes had then in their Keeping, and who, becauſe of his tender Age, "was, as yet, in the Innocency of his Life: beſides, that his Youth "render'd him the more fit for Protection, and their Affairs." That having been reſolv'd, *Cromwell*, in a ſhort time after, told the Speaker "of the Houſe of Commons, "That it was time to bring their grand "Deſign to Light; and that all thoſe who ſhould oppoſe it, ought to "be expell'd the Houſe." But having made a little too much Haſte, and taken a Time when all his Party had not met, the Deſign miſcarry'd, and went no further. The Scene having been afterwards remov'd from *Weſtminſter* to *Carisbrook-Caſtle*, the King, who could not be dethron'd by the Majority of Voices in the two Houſes, was to be carry'd off by Poiſon from the Hands of the Officers of the Army. Nevertheleſs, his

Majeſty's

Majeſty's Subjects muſt be ſo cruelly abus'd, that by the Exciſe, which inſenſibly ruin'd the Poor, and, by the monthly Contributions, which likewiſe impoveriſh'd the Rich, they themſelves maintain'd this Army, which, for all that, made it their whole Buſineſs to ruin the King, their lawful Sovereign, Religion, and all the Laws. 'Twas for theſe Reaſons that they declar'd to all the World, that they would undertake to defeat this Army, at the Peril of their Lives and Fortunes; and, to that End, they conjur'd all their faithful Country-men, not to contribute any thing towards its Subſiſtence, and to aſſiſt them in this important Deſign to the utmoſt of their Power, as they were bound to do by the Fidelity they ow'd their Prince, and by the Love they bore their native Country. That if the Fortune of War ſhould be favourable to them, their Succeſs would be crown'd with Peace: And as his Majeſty's faithful and loyal Subjects, aſſembled at *Colcheſter*, would moſt earneſtly beg it of God, ſo, with much Reſolution, they would fight the Enemies of that Daughter of Heaven. 1648.

FOR all that, *Norwich* found this Meeting at *Chelmsford* very irreſolute, and much divided, becauſe the Committee of the County had taken ſo much Pains to diſunite them, that the moſt Part left it, in order to eſpouſe ſome other Intereſt. So that Sir *Charles Lucas* having ſpoke boldly for the King's Liberty, upon which that of the whole Kingdom depended, and ſeeing that the Members of the Committee were abſolutely Maſters in the Meeting, he reſolv'd to withdraw, with ſome Gentlemen who had ſeconded him; fearing, as Matters were then carrying on, that they might be arreſted if they ſtaid longer: As he was going out of the Town, he was met by many of the Gentry, who begg'd of him to ſtay; and having taken him aſide to a Place without the Town, they forthwith declar'd to him, that they could no longer bear that the Committee ſhould impoſe upon them any more; and his Preſence having, at the firſt Meeting, inſpir'd them with more noble Sentiments, they engag'd to live and die with him in the Defence of ſo juſt and glorious a Cauſe. Being thus engag'd, they all went into the Town again, and ſeiz'd upon all the Members of the Committee: but as in all Changes, that, all of a ſudden, go from one Extreme to another, the Motions are always violent, they were all like to have had their Throats cut upon the Spot, if ſome Gentlemen of their Acquaintance had not dexterouſly ſecur'd them from the Storm that was hanging over their Heads.

THE Face of Affairs having ſo luckily altered, *Norwich* ſent Orders to Sir *William Compton* to advance with the Troops, which had been reinforc'd as well with a good Number of their Fellow-Soldiers, (who having rally'd, after their Flight from *Greenwich*, had come and join'd them) as with Recruits that had been made of *London* Apprentices. The General put himſelf at their Head at *Romford*; and the next Day, the 8th of *June*, Sir *Charles Lucas* having join'd them at *Brentwood* with a conſiderable Body both of Horſe and Foot, they march'd from thence to *Chelmsford*, where they were met by the Lords *Capel* and *Loughborough*, accompany'd by a great many Gentlemen that came from the County of *Hertford*, *London*, and ſome other Parts, to increaſe this Body of an Army, which ſo favourable a Juncture very much encourag'd.

THE General having drawn up the Army in *Newhall-Park*, held a Council of War with the Nobility and Gentry of the two Counties, wherein many were for marching againſt Sir *Thomas Honywood*, who having

1648. having rais'd ſome Troops, and put a Gariſon in his Houſe of *Coxwell*, was diſcouraging the whole County, into which the Enemy was enter'd. But others having repreſented, That *Honywood*'s Party was not ſo conſiderable, as to oblige the Army to go out of its Way, the March was continu'd to *Leez*, a ſtrong Houſe belonging to the Earl of *Warwick*: Into which, after ſome Reſiſtance, the General having enter'd, caus'd to be taken out of it two Braſs Field-pieces, a great Number of Saddles, Pikes, and Muſquets, with other warlike Stores, with which the Caſtle was very well provided. From thence the General march'd to *Braintry*; and on the Road met about ſix Score of the Earl of *Bedford*'s Horſe, which join'd him. The next Day, all the Gentlemen having divided themſelves into Troops of light Horſe, under the Command of the Lords that were in the Army, march'd the whole Night towards *Colcheſter*, where Sir *Charles Lucas* undertook to raiſe ſome good Troops. But being told, That the Town would not receive the Army, a Detachment was ſent before, in order to know what it had reſolv'd to do. Sir *Charles*, with ſome Gentlemen, having follow'd the Detachment, had an Account, That the Town was ſtanding upon its Guard, and had refus'd Entrance to the Detachment, which was not ſtrong enough to attack 60 Troopers, well arm'd, who had come out of the Town. Whereupon he advanc'd at a Gallop; and finding that the Gates of the Town were ſhut, and that the Centries on Horſeback were appearing towards the Hoſpital, he halted, and ſent Word to haſten the March of the Army. As ſoon as it had appear'd, and that Sir *Charles* had caus'd to be drawn up in Order of Battle ſome Troops of Horſe againſt the Town, they ſent out to treat with the General; who having aſſur'd them, That the Inhabitants ſhould receive no Damage, they ſubmitted, and offer'd to deliver up their Arms and Horſes. At the ſame Time, the Gates were open'd, and the Royaliſts march'd in, with a Deſign not to ſtay there above two or three Days.

THE next Day about Noon, they had a very hot Alarm. For the Enemy, who had frequently skirmiſh'd with their Rear-guard, was advanc'd within a Mile and an half of the Town; and before the Royaliſts had Time to give the neceſſary Orders for giving them a warm Reception, their Scouts were engag'd with the Enemy's advanc'd Guard in the Suburbs. The Fight was very ſharp: For *Norwich* having order'd out ſome Horſe and Foot to ſuſtain the Scouts, the Enemy charg'd them with great Vigour, and was as vigorouſly repuls'd; inſomuch that it was hard to judge, which of the two Parties would at laſt get the better. But the Royaliſts beginning to fall ſhort of Powder in the Heat of the Action, the Enemy, who fir'd upon them continually quite open, drove them both towards the Hoſpital, and the Shire Gate: So that having carry'd theſe Poſts, they forc'd them to retire into the Town, and had very near ruſh'd in with them pell-mell. However, having made an orderly Retreat, and the Gentlemen, who had perform'd the Duty both of Officers and Soldiers, having diſmounted, took Pikes in their Hands; and did not quit the Gates, till all the Troops had enter'd.

THE Enemy, who did not in the leaſt doubt but they ſhould break them open, and take the Town, ſtill purſu'd their Point, and fir'd cloſe under the great Gate, which was not as yet ſhut but with Sir *Charles Lucas's* Pike. But the Muſquetiers ſtill making a great Fire from the Walls, the Enemy's Ranks were ſo thinn'd, that finding they were not able to ſtand their Ground any longer, they retir'd in ſo great Diſorder, that, had the Royaliſts made a Sally, they would have defeated them. But the Night coming

coming on, favour'd their Retreat, and likewiſe gave them Time to throw many of their Dead into Wells, and to bury others in Ditches; and not able to bury or hide them all, they ſtill left ſo great a Number upon the Place, that without Doubt their Loſs was very great. Some of their Soldiers, who ſurrender'd voluntarily to *Norwich*, told, That they had loſt in this Action Colonel *Nedham*, with a great many other Officers; that at leaſt 700 Men had been kill'd, beſides 130 that were taken Priſoners, with a Battering-piece they had brought to break open the Gate, and 500 Stand of Arms, which the Royaliſts found in the Suburbs, which the Enemy had ſet on Fire, thinking that the Wind, which was blowing from that Side, would have carry'd it into the Town: But by the great Care which *Norwich* took, it was ſav'd from Fire, as it had been from Pillage. 1648.

In this Action the Royaliſts loſt Sir *William Campion*, and Colonel *Cooke*, two Officers praiſe-worthy both for their Valour and Fidelity, with a Lieutenant, and about 40 Soldiers. There were a great many more wounded, among the reſt Sir *William Layton*, who had put himſelf at the Head of an advanc'd Guard, receiv'd a Muſquet-ſhot in the Foot in making his Retreat; and the Gate having been ſhut before he could reach it, he fell into the Enemy's Hands. A Soldier, who knew him, and had ſerv'd under him, being there by chance, had a great mind to have got him out of the Engagement; but the Shower of Muſquet-ſhot, which fell ſo thick from the Town, forc'd him to quit him. For 'tis to be believ'd, that the good Office he wanted to do him, went not ſo far, as to venture his own Life to preſerve that of his Captain; who having already loſt ſo much Blood, was become ſo weak, that he could not walk. Shortly after, the ſame Soldier return'd; and leaving his Party altogether, he conducted Sir *William* to his Houſe, and took a very great Care of him. Lieutenant Colonel *Rawlins*, who had the Command of a Guard of 40 Foot, was taken Priſoner, with all his Men, the Enemy having cut off his Retreat. They made about 80 Priſoners in this Engagement; but as they were oblig'd to retreat in Confuſion, a great many of the Priſoners return'd to the Town.

*The Siege of Colcheſter.*

The next Morning, the Enemy began to break Ground at the Village of *Lexden*, which is within a Mile of the Town; where they made a Redoubt, and making the Approaches in the Night-time, they made another on the ſame Road, and a third afterwards in the Warren. So continuing their Works, they rais'd ſeveral other Forts in the moſt convenient Places; and having put them in a State of Defence, they made Lines of Communication between their Redoubts for their own Safety. Whereby they made it plainly appear, that they deſign'd to block up the Town. Wherefore *Norwich*, and the Gentlemen that had got into it, prepar'd to make a ſtout Defence; for they had no other Courſe to take then. They could not retire but by getting into a great open Plain, where the Enemy, who was ſtrong in Horſe, would have cut them in Pieces: And if they had ſally'd out to give them Battle, their Ruin was no leſs certain; for, beſides that the Match was not equal, the Royaliſts had no conſiderable Body of Horſe; and their Foot being for the moſt part made up of new-rais'd Militia, they could not have fought experienc'd Soldiers in a pitch'd Battle, but with great Diſadvantages. They reſolv'd then to ſtand out the Siege, and haraſs the Enemy by frequent Sallies, in order to oblige them either to raiſe the Siege, or, if they ſhould be obſtinate in continuing it, by this Diverſion, to give the *Scots* an Opportunity to advance into

1648. the Heart of the Kingdom without Reſiſtance, and the other Parties, as well ſuch as were already form'd, as thoſe that might be form'd, to bring about their Deſigns. In ſhort, as they hop'd to hold out at leaſt for a Month, they did not doubt but they might be reliev'd in that Time.

THEY forthwith began to ſet Men to work on the Fortifications of the Town, and to cauſe Proviſions to be brought into it: It had no other Outworks but a pitiful Half-Moon, call'd the *Old Fort*, which was at one of the Gates. The Walls were good for nothing, and did not ſo much as incloſe the whole Town: but the Soldiers, encourag'd by the Gentry, who ſet them a good Example, wrought Night and Day in ſtrengthening them, and making Ramparts where the Town was open; others at the ſame time took care to have the neceſſary Proviſions brought in; and, by good Luck, having found, in a Place very near the Town call'd *Heth*, on which the Enemy had not at all thought, great Store of Wheat, Wine, and Salt, with ſome Barrels of Salt Fiſh, and a good Number of Barrels of Powder, all theſe Proviſions being then there in greater Plenty than ever had been ſeen before, they caus'd them to be brought into the Town, and deliver'd into the Hands of the Commiſſaries of Proviſions. They likewiſe ſent out ſmall Parties every Night, who went to forage the adjacent Parts of the Town, from whence they always brought ſome Flocks of Sheep and Cattle, 'till the Enemy, having finiſh'd their Lines of Circumvallation, hemm'd them cloſer in.

ABOUT the 20th of *June*, *Norwich* gave Commiſſions to ſome Gentlemen to raiſe Soldiers in the Counties of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, and *Cambridge*: But the Enemy having broken down the Bridges, guarded the Paſſages, and likewiſe taken *Merſey* Block-houſe, they were forc'd to turn back, and paſs through the Enemy's Quarters, however, without loſing one Man. All the Paſſages being thus ſhut up, in the Beginning of *July*, an Order of the Council of War was publiſh'd, whereby all the Inhabitants, who were able to carry Arms, were commanded to liſt themſelves for the Defence of the Town, under ſuch Officers as Sir *Charles Lucas* ſhould appoint; and ſuch as ſhould not liſt themſelves, were order'd, upon Pain of Death, to carry all their Arms into the Town Magazine.

THE Enemy beginning then to attack the Town by Storm, and having got into the great Street of the Suburbs, call'd *Eaſt-Street*, they made themſelves Maſters of a Mill, which is upon the River *Colne*, from which the Town takes its Name, and having rais'd there a Battery of two ſmall Cannon, they very much annoy'd the Beſieged, who had Parties lodg'd in the Suburbs. Whereupon, having held a Council of War, it was therein reſolv'd to make a great Sally of 500 Foot, and 200 Horſe on that Side. This Detachment being drawn out, Sir *Charles Lucas*, who was to command it, put himſelf at the Head of the Horſe, and Sir *George Liſle* headed the Foot: The Forlorn Hope marching down along the River Side, ſaw that there was only one Plank for the Foot; and that the End of the Street, which came cloſe to the Banks of the River, was intrenched, and barricado'd. The Beſiegers having diſcover'd them, fir'd their Cannon; and the Musketeers, who had lodg'd themſelves in the Houſes on both Sides of the Street, fir'd briskly upon them. But the Beſieged, not in the leaſt diſhearten'd, did not forbear to file off along the Plank; nay, ſome of them threw themſelves into the River, that they might not be the hindmoſt; and having made a deſperate

a deſperate Attack upon the Barricado, they forc'd it, and drove the Enemy from it: They likewiſe made themſelves Maſters of their Cannon, which they pointed againſt them; and having clear'd the Street, they got to the upper End of it, towards the Town; and the whole Detachment being advanc'd, they hemm'd the Enemy in upon all Sides; who ſeeing that they could not be reliev'd, nor make their Retreat, begg'd Quarter. The Captain, Lieutenant, and Enſign, with eighty Soldiers, ſurrender'd themſelves Priſoners; a great many were kill'd, the Street being almoſt cover'd over with dead Bodies: The two Pieces of Cannon were alſo diſmounted, and thrown into the River. This having alarm'd the whole Camp, they drew together their Troops on that Side of the River, and march'd down in Order of Battle from one riſing Ground to another, having left a Body of Reſerve behind a Wind-mill. But the Beſieged having got firſt up the ſecond riſing Ground, they charg'd them ſo vigorouſly, that they put them into Diſorder, and drove them back to their Body of Reſerve: Then rallying behind the Wind-mill, they drew up their Horſe into three Squadrons, whereof one was to make Head againſt the Beſieged, who alſo halted, in order to draw up in Order of Battle; and the two others were to ſuſtain, and rally their Foot, who were running on every Side: At laſt, being drawn up behind a ſtrong Hedge, they ſtood their Ground; and ſome Companies of the Beſieged, who had advanc'd too far, having got to another Hedge, but not ſo ſtrong as the other, they fir'd ſmartly upon one another; a Party of the Enemy's Horſe ſtill riding about between the two: Theſe Troopers having, by Misfortune, heard a Soldier of the Beſieged complaining, that he had no more Powder, judging that all the reſt were as ill provided with it as he, they charg'd them through the Hedge, ſo that they defeated them, killing ſome, and making the reſt Priſoners. The Enemy having got this Advantage, and thinking to get as good a Bargain of the reſt of the Detachment, they charg'd them ſharply: But Sir *Charles Lucas* and Sir *George Liſle*, who were making the Retreat, receiv'd them with ſo much Reſolution, and the Enemy was ſo much diſhearten'd, that the Royaliſts retir'd in good Order into the Town. 1648.

THE Enemy, in order to be reveng'd, got again into the Suburbs, where having recover'd their former Poſt, they left there a ſtronger Detachment to defend it, than they had done the firſt time. They ſet ſome Wind-mills on Fire which were in the adjacent Parts of the Town; and not thinking that the Beſieged had any Mills upon the River but one, which was in the middle of the Town, they fir'd a great many Cannon-ſhot upon it, from ſome Horn-works which they had rais'd upon the other Side of the River, in order to render it uſeleſs to the Town. They hop'd, when the Beſieged ſhould begin to want Bread, that the Inhabitants and Soldiers would certainly mutiny, and force the Governor to ſurrender: But the Beſieged having caus'd to be carry'd into the Town ſome Mill-ſtones that were lying on the Side of the River, they ſet up Mills there, which they made to turn round with Horſes, and which ſerv'd them to the End of the Siege: They likewiſe order'd the Mayor to provide for the Relief of the Tradeſmen, who began to complain, and got together in a tumultuous manner in the Streets: But the Mayor, whether through Inability, or Malice, not endeavouring to do any thing, Sir *Charles Lucas*, who was born in the Town, having Compaſſion of thoſe that were in Diſtreſs, got from the Governor ſome Meaſures of Corn, which were diſtributed amongſt the moſt Indigent.

1648. It was not till the 23d of the Month, that the Enemy attack'd *Heth*, of which we have already ſpoken, where the Beſieg'd had left a Guard in the Church; but Captain *Horſmander*, who commanded it, ſurrender'd without ſtriking a Stroke. And as it was the Place from whence they had got the greateſt Part of their Proviſions, the Beſiegers found the Error they had committed, in not having taken it at the Beginning of the Siege, which would not have laſted ten Days, if they had bethought themſelves ſooner of being Maſters of it. The next Day, they fir'd above 60 Cannon-ſhot againſt the Steeple of S. *Mary*'s Church, where the Beſieg'd had plac'd Centries, who ſaw whatever the Enemy did in their Trenches; and where having likewiſe pointed a Demi-Culverin upon a Platform they made in the Steeple, they very much retarded the Enemy's Works. The Beſieg'd did yet more; for having rais'd a Battery upon the Courtain, oppoſite to that which was battering the Steeple, and kill'd the Enemy's chief Gunner, with ſome Officers of the Artillery, the Beſiegers gave over battering the Steeple, which was but very little damag'd by all the Cannon-ſhot they had fir'd againſt it.

The Beſiegers had better Succeſs, after they had advanc'd the Trenches near the Lord *Lucas*'s Houſe: For, by the Favour of ſome Houſes, and an old Wall, they brought two Demi-Cannon; with which having batter'd down the Porch, where the Beſieg'd had lodg'd 100 Muſquetiers, a Pane of the Wall fell into a little Half-Moon, that had been made before the Gate; into which the Enemy, at the ſame Time, having thrown ſome Granado's, a great many Soldiers were bury'd under the Ruins. Such as eſcap'd that Misfortune, fought their Way ſo boldly, that the Officers, tho' they were all wounded, got into the Town. The Beſiegers, who in this Action loſt ſome of their old Soldiers, having enter'd the Houſe, after their uſual Manner, began to pillage it; but not having found therein ſo valuable Furniture as they had imagin'd, they broke down the Arch of the Vault where that Lord's Anceſtors were bury'd, expecting to find ſome Treaſure there; but ſeeing that they found not wherewithal to fill their ſacrilegious Hands, they open'd ſome Leaden Coffins, wherein were the Bodies of two noble Ladies, which, like wild Beaſts, they pull'd in Pieces; and having pluck'd off their Hair, they had the Impudence to make Cockades thereof, which they wore upon their Hats.

The Store-houſes of the Town were then almoſt quite empty, inſomuch that having taken an Account of what was in the Houſes, it was found that the Proviſions of the beſt Families were almoſt all conſum'd: So that a Council of War was held, wherein it was reſolv'd, That all the Horſe, except 200, ſhould ſally out, in order to endeavour to force the Enemy's Lines; and if they ſhould ſucceed, to march towards the *North*, to meet a Relief, which Duke *Hamilton* was ſending, under the Command of Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, as the Beſieg'd had been promis'd by many Letters that had been ſent them. This Reſolution being taken, and the Horſe drawn up in the Caſtle-Yard after Sun-ſet, they march'd out, with ſome Foot, and a great Number of Pioneers. Having paſs'd the River upon a Mill-dam, they advanc'd within Muſquet-ſhot of the Enemy's Centries, without being diſcover'd. But the Guides and Pioneers being for the moſt part Inhabitants of the Town, who long'd for nothing ſo much as to ſhift Maſters, ran all away; which oblig'd the whole Party to return without doing any Thing, and alſo without loſing a Man, becauſe the Enemy was not then in the leaſt alarm'd. But being inform'd of the Condition the Town was in, and of this Sally, whereof the De-

ſerters

ſerters gave them a particular Account, they ſtood better upon their Guard, and took ſuch Care for the future, that the Beſieg'd durſt not attempt a ſecond. However, the Beſieg'd were not at all diſcourag'd, nor did they think of capitulating; on the contrary, being more reſolv'd than ever, rather to ſtand it out to the laſt Man, than fall into the Hands of their Enemies, they caus'd almoſt all their Horſes to be kill'd and ſalted, of which the General and Officers, as well as the Soldiers, eat luſtily, becauſe there was nothing better left, and all the Avenues to the Town were ſhut up. 'Tis true, the Ships which had declar'd for the King, continu'd ſtill in the Intereſt of the Party; but, beſides that they had no more Proviſions than were neceſſary for themſelves, the Enemy being Maſter of *Merſey* Blockhouſe, which commanded the Mouth of the River, which in many Places was not above twelve Foot broad, and the Town being about ſix Miles from the Sea, it was impoſſible that any Relief could come to them from that Side. 1648.

Now the Enemy having erected a Battery of their largeſt Cannon in the Lord *Lucas*'s Houſe, and batter'd down a great Part of the Steeple of St. *Mary*'s Church, reſolv'd to ſtorm the Town the Night of the 25th. *Rainsborough*, who commanded the Attack towards *Ryegate*, having forded the River, drove the Guard back into the Town; but a Party, conſiſting for the moſt part of Gentlemen, having ſally'd out with Halberds and Scythes, receiv'd him ſo briskly, that he was oblig'd to retire in Diſorder. He loſt ſome of his Men, who were either kill'd or taken, beſides thoſe, who not having found the Ford, were drown'd in the River. Among thoſe of the Beſieg'd who were wounded in this Sally, there was an Enſign of Colonel *Tils*'s Regiment, who receiv'd a Shot of a Cannon-Bullet, of five Pounds Weight, thro' the Body; and without falling down under that mortal Wound, ſupporting himſelf only upon a Soldier's Shoulder, he walk'd, with the Bullet hanging in the Skin of his Side, to his Quarters in the Town; where having been laid upon a Bed, he expir'd after having ſaid, *That it had been an extreme Satisfaction to him, to have been wounded in holding his Colours; that dying wrapp'd up in them, it might be ſeen, that he truly lov'd his King, for whoſe Service he dy'd with Pleaſure in the Defence of his Country.*

The *Sunday* after, they made an Exchange of ſome Priſoners, and among others of *John Aſhburnham*, whom they gave for Sir *William Maſham*, one of the Committee of the County, all the Members whereof were very civilly treated by the Royaliſts, who allow'd all Sorts of Proviſions to be ſent to them from the Camp, at a Time when Horſe-fleſh was the moſt dainty Meat that was ſerv'd up to the Table of the Lords who were then in the Town. On the other Side, General *Fairfax* allow'd the Daughter of the Earl of *Norwich*, who loſt his Wife during the Siege, to ſpeak to her Father at one of the Gates of the Town, where they diſcours'd together, but with a loud Voice. In order to favour this Conference, there was a Ceſſation of Arms; during which the Beſieg'd treated, the beſt Way they could, the Guards that accompany'd this Lady, with ſome Bottles of Wine, and Pieces of ſalted Horſe-fleſh. At length this Meat, bad as it was, in a ſhort Time became ſo ſcarce, that they were forc'd to eat both Cats and Dogs, the Soldiers making Uſe of Pieces of their Ammunition-Bread to catch them; ſo that, before the Town was ſurrender'd, there were ſo few left in the Place, that half a Dog was ſold at a Crown.

It

1648. It was now the Month of *Auguſt*, and the Beſieged being in great Want of Powder, recommended to the Soldiers to manage well the little that remain'd, and forbid the Gunners to fire any Cannon without Orders from a General Officer. And inſtead of Fire-Arms, the Soldiers made uſe of Scythes, and the Gentlemen of Halberds, the Lord *Capel*, in order to ſet an Example to others, was the firſt that mounted Guard with a Halberd in his Hand. In the mean time, the Beſiegers having made themſelves Maſters of the Suburbs, reduc'd the Town to the utmoſt Straits; and, without doubt, had they made a general Attack, as they could then have done, they had carry'd it; for there were Houſes at the upper End of the Suburbs which were of an equal Height with the Walls; and there were Stairs ſo broad, that three Men could march up a Breaſt: But the Beſieged having warn'd the Inhabitants to remove their Goods, they demoliſh'd thoſe Houſes, and at the ſame time made a Sally upon the Enemy, who did not attempt again to burn the Suburbs, as they formerly deſign'd to have done, in order to carry the Fire into the Town, though they might have undertaken it then with much better Succeſs than they had done the firſt time.

At laſt, the Enemy, eking out the Lion's Skin with the Fox's Caſe, ſent Letters into the Town by Women, in order to ſow Diſſention between the Soldiers and the Officers, whom they charg'd with being Diſturbers of the publick Peace: They likewiſe ſhot into the Town Arrows with Letters tied to them, whereby they promis'd good Quarters and Paſſports from the General to the Soldiers that had a mind to retire to their own Houſes; giving them likewiſe to underſtand by the ſame Letters, that if they did not come out in four Days, they were to expect no Quarter, but to be treated as Rebels. The Soldiers, however, far from being prevail'd upon by theſe Promiſes, or diſcourag'd by the Threats of their Enemies, became thereby more affectionately attach'd to the King's Service, ſending back their Arrows with ſmart Anſwers, which retorted their Reproaches, with as much Boldneſs, as if they had been ſure of ſome powerful Relief.

Having thus ſtood out the Siege to the 17th of *Auguſt*, and made a ſtrict Search over all the Town, and finding therein but very little Corn, *Norwich*, *Capel*, and *Lucas* wrote to General *Fairfax*, deſiring that he would be pleas'd to ſend them Paſſports, and a Guard, that they might diſpatch ſome of their Men to Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*; and that in caſe the Town ſhould not be reliev'd in twenty Days, they ſhould deliver it into his Hands, for the Service of the two Houſes. But *Fairfax* having given them a flat Denial, the Beſieged reſolv'd to ſtand it to the laſt; and having ſent out Spies, in order to bring them News of Sir *Marmaduke*, in the mean time they endeavour'd to get ſome Match and Powder made, becauſe they had not ſo much as to bear one Attack, if the Enemy had aſſaulted them. In the mean while, the meaner ſort of People being ready to famiſh, and whoſe Wants they were no longer able to ſupply with what remain'd in the Store-houſes, the Mayor and Aldermen were deſired to ſend to *Fairfax*, to beg of him, that he would be pleas'd to allow the poor Inhabitants of the Town to retire into the Country to ſeek their Bread. It was not to be expected that he would grant them that Favour: For beſides that 'tis not to be practis'd on the like Occaſions, he was inform'd, by the Means of a Correſpondence he had in the Town, that an Order of the Council of War had been publiſh'd, enjoining all ſuch as had not Proviſions for twenty Days, of what Condition

Condition ſoever they might be, to go out of the Town. Having then had this Advice, and willing to make Advantage of the Diſorders that commonly attend ſuch ſevere Neceſſities, he gave Orders, in all the Quarters, not to ſuffer any Perſon to come out of the Town; and if any ſhould offer to come out of the Gates, without any more ado, to fire upon them. Few Days after, the Soldiers in the Town fell as ſhort of Proviſions as the Inhabitants; for, after a very diligent Search of the Store-houſes, there was not found Bread in them for two Days, and not ſo much Powder as to fill the Musketeers Bandaliers. Thus were they forc'd to yield to Neceſſity, and to reſolve to capitulate: To that End, on the 21ſt of *Auguſt*, they ſent out one of the chief Inhabitants of the Town, who carry'd Letters to *Fairfax*. The General having read them, anſwer'd, "That *Norwich* had ſo obſtinately ſtood the Siege, and that the "whole Body of the Army had ſo much ſlighted the Offers that had "been made them, that the beſt Conditions the Officers, above Lieute-"nants, could then expect from him, were to be receiv'd at Diſcretion; "and that the Soldiers ſhould be allow'd to retire to their own Houſes, "except ſuch as had deſerted the Parliament's Service ſince the 10th of "*May*." He caus'd Arrows to be ſhot again into the Town, with Letters tied to them, which contain'd, "That General *Fairfax* having "caus'd the Town to be ſummon'd, and offer'd the Soldiers, and all "the Officers, under Captains, Liberty to retire to their own Houſes in "all Safety, he had Reaſon to believe that his Letters had not fallen "into their Hands; he ſtill offer'd them the ſame Conditions, if in "two Days they ſhould come out of the Town in a Body: That if the "Inhabitants would likewiſe join them, they ſhould receive the ſame "Favour; but if the Soldiers ſhould turn out the Inhabitants, and ſuffer "them to periſh without their Walls, they muſt expect no Mercy." All theſe Artifices made no Impreſſion upon the Minds of the Soldiers; but, on the contrary, it ſeems that theſe Offers made them more firm in their Reſolutions; for they all, with one Accord, engag'd, not to accept of any Conditions, wherein all the Officers ſhould not be comprehended. At laſt, the Beſieged having ſent again, deſiring to treat about ſurrendering the Town: They were anſwer'd, "That the General "had let them know all the Conditions they could expect from him, "and that he had given Orders to tell them that he would ſtand to "them, and that they were miſtaken, if they expected to have any "more favourable."

1648.

THIS laſt Anſwer made the Beſieged think that it was time to take a final Reſolution. There was no more Corn in the Town, neither Dog nor Cat were to be found, and nothing was left but a few Horſes; for the Commiſſaries of Proviſions had kept an Account of near eight hundred, which they had caus'd to be kill'd, and diſtributed amongſt the Soldiers, beſides a great Number that the Soldiers had ſtollen out of the Stables, and others likewiſe which Gentlemen had caus'd to be kill'd and ſalted in their own Houſes. This being the Caſe, and the Officers ſeeing as much Reſolution and Obedience in the Soldiers, as if they had had Plenty of every Thing, they reſolv'd rather to die with Honour, in a general Sally, than to yield at Diſcretion. This Reſolution being taken, the Officers and Gentlemen, before they attempted any thing, on the 23d of *Auguſt* ſign'd this Engagement: "We the Subſcribers hereof "proteſt before the Almighty God, that we ſhall not accept of any "Conditions from the Enemy, that may be contrary to our Honour and "Liberty. We likewiſe bind ourſelves, upon Honour, not to deſert



3

1648. " one another, nor our Foot, but either to force our Way through the " Enemy, or die in the Attempt."

THE next Day, the Enemy let fly a Paper-Kite, at which hung a great many Letters, which contain'd the ſame thing with the firſt, with an Account of the Victory which the two Houſes had got over the *Scots*, and having let it hover a long time over the Town, that it might be ſeen by every Body, they let it fall into the middle thereof. Two Hours after, they expreſs'd their Joy for that Victory, by a Diſcharge of all their Cannon, and great Volleys of Musket-ſhot, which they ſent into the Town; inſomuch that the Beſieged expected a general Attack, eſpecially ſeeing that the Enemy being lodg'd upon the Counterſcarp, and ſo near them, that they could ſpeak from their Trenches to the Beſieged upon the Walls, and throw Stones at one another, as they very frequently did: And as *Fairfax* had threaten'd to ſpring a Mine; they ſent him Word, " That ſince he had refus'd them honourable Conditions, ſuch " as Soldiers, who had ſtill defended their Town like Men of Honour, if " he had a mind to try to take them by Force, it was needleſs to make uſe " of a Mine; being reſolv'd to open to him what Gate of the Town he " ſhould be pleas'd to make choice of, in order to diſpute the Entry " with him." But the General well knew that he ſhould have them much cheaper, and that he ſhould not have Occaſion to venture an Attack, whereby his Soldiers were too much diſcourag'd, ſtanding in Awe both of the Scythes and Fire-works of the Beſieged.

AT laſt, it was reſolv'd in a Council of War, that the Night beween the 25th and 26th the whole Gariſon ſhould ſally forth by two Gates, about Midnight, without any Baggage, and that, if poſſible, they ſhould break through the Enemy's Lines, or die Sword in Hand: And that the Foot might have no Reaſon to be afraid that the Officers, who ſhould be on Horſeback at the Head of the Attacks, ſhould leave them in the Fight, they all promis'd, except the General and Major-General, at the firſt Alarm, to ſhoot their Horſes through the Head. As they were all making ready to put this Deſign in Execution, which, truly, border'd very near upon Deſpair, though it was very noble, ſome Officers having made it appear, that if they would delay the Attempt 'till the next Day at the ſame Hour, they would, probably, be then in a fairer way to ſucceed; every Body having yielded to that Advice, it was put off 'till the next Day. But that very Night ſome malicious Perſons had put it into the Heads of the Soldiers, that the Deſign of the Gentry and Officers was, to make the beſt of their Way through the Camp, and leave them engag'd. The Soldiers were ſo far convinc'd of the Truth thereof, that they mutiny'd to that Degree, and were ſo much enrag'd, that they threaten'd to throw their Officers over the Walls, into the Ditch. This Tumult would have prov'd fatal to the whole Party, if Sir *William Compton* and Sir *Charles Lucas*, in whom the Soldiers had a great deal of Confidence, had not taken great Pains to pacify them, as they very wiſely did: However, for all what they could do, the Soldiers diſmounted the Guard in a tumultuous manner, and ſent thirty of their Number to *Norwich*, who was holding a Council of War in his Lodgings, in order to conſider what Courſe they had beſt to take, in this truly moſt troubleſome Juncture. The Soldiers, who ſpoke for their Comrades, having enter'd, ſaid, " That if the Officers would not capitulate for them, they " would capitulate for themſelves the beſt way they could, and leave " them there to ſhift for themſelves, ſince they had deſign'd to have dealt

" ſo

" ſo by the Soldiers." *Norwich* anſwer'd them, " That the Officers " were ſo far from having ſuch Thoughts, or deſigning to accept of any " Conditions, which ſhould not include the very meaneſt Soldier with " them, that, on the contrary, they were reſolv'd to commit themſelves " to Fortune, and to ſacrifice their Lives and Liberties, in order to ſave " both the one and the other to the Soldiers; and that they were met only " about that, and ſending a Meſſage to General *Fairfax*." The Soldiers, mov'd with this ſo obliging a Reſolution, thank'd them, and ſaid, " That their Liberty would be too dear bought at that Price; and that " they were not ſo mean-ſpirited, as to get out of Danger to their Officers " Coſt, with whom they were reſolv'd to live and die." 1648.

THE Soldiers having gone out ſatisfy'd, Colonel *Samuel Tuke* was ſent with full Power to treat with *Fairfax*; but that General, knowing already what had paſs'd amongſt the Soldiers, would not ſtand to the Conditions he had offer'd them before. And as the Beſieg'd were no longer in a Condition to demand any Thing, *Fairfax* told the Colonel, " That he " was fully reſolv'd, that the Soldiers and ſubaltern Officers ſhould all " remain Priſoners of War: That the chief Officers and Lords ſhould " ſurrender at Diſcretion: And laſtly, That if they had a mind to have " quarter, they muſt ſend out the Committee of the County the next " Morning." The Soldiers, who till then had done and ſuffer'd much more, than could have been expected from the beſt diſciplin'd Troops, upon Colonel *Tuke*'s Return, were very ſenſible of the Folly they had committed ſo unſeaſonably, and that it muſt coſt them their Liberty: But there was no Help for it. On *Sunday*, the 27th of *Auguſt*, the Committee went out; and Colonel *Tuke*, with other five Officers, having gone along with them, they ſign'd the following Articles with *Fairfax*. " That all the Regiments ſhould lay down their Arms, and keep at their " Poſts, with their Officers under the Rank of Captains, till they ſhould " be diſpos'd of: That the Lords and chief Officers ſhould be, by 8 o' " Clock in the Morning, at the Sign of the King, and that their Horſes " and Arms ſhould be put into S. *Mary*'s Church-yard: That all the " Cannon ſhould continue mounted upon the Platforms, as they had been " before, and that what Ammunition was remaining, ſhould be carry'd " to the Town-houſe." It was no difficult Matter to execute this laſt Article, there being only one Barrel of Powder remaining; but the Enemy being already pell-mell upon the Walls with the Beſieg'd, and in great Numbers getting into the Town, before the Gates had been open'd, pillag'd whatever they could find, and carry'd away the Horſes that remain'd in the Stables.

EVERY Thing being executed according to Agreement, about 2 o' Clock in the Afternoon, General *Fairfax* made his Entry on Horſe-back into the Town; where having ridden about for ſome Time in Triumph, he held a Council of War, in which Sir *Charles Lucas*, and Sir *George Liſle* were condemn'd to be ſhot to Death. This cruel Sentence being paſs'd upon two Men of Quality, whom they could charge with nothing, but with having faithfully ſerv'd their Prince, Colonel *Ewre* went to them in their Lodgings; where having ſaluted them very coldly, he told them, That the General deſir'd to ſpeak with them. They preſently took leave of the Company, and follow'd the Colonel to the General's Quarters; where they were acquainted with the Sentence which had been juſt now paſs'd upon them. *Norwich*, and the other Lords, waiting with much Uneaſineſs the Return of theſe Gentlemen, Sir *Charles Lucas* ſent to them

1648. to desire a Chaplain quickly, and to bid them farewel for ever. Being all sensiby affected with such strange News, they sent for Captain *Carmon*, one of *Fairfax*'s Officers, and desir'd him to go to the General from them, to beg of him not to deal otherwise with those two Gentlemen, than he design'd to do with them all; because, as they were engag'd in the same Cause, they should not only look upon it as an Honour, but likewise passionately wish to run the same Hazard, whatever it might be.

But the Council of War having taken no Notice of their Request, the two Gentlemen were carry'd into the Castle; whither *Ireton* went to tell them, That they must prepare themselves for Death. Sir *Charles Lucas* having ask'd him, "By Virtue of what Law they were condemn'd "to die; and whether it was by an Ordinance of the two Houses, or by "Virtue of a Sentence pass'd in the Council of War?" *Ireton* answer'd, "That they had been condemn'd in the Council of War, who had expres "Orders, and Power from the two Houses, to treat as Traitors all such "as were in Arms against their Service." Then Sir *Charles* having told him with a bold, and at the same Time a chearful Countenance, "That "they had been vanquish'd; and that being the Case, they must receive "Laws from the Vanquisher; but that he begg'd this Favour, that the "Execution of their Sentence might be put off till the next Day, in order "to have that little Time for settling his Conscience, and some worldly "Affairs;" *Ireton* having answer'd him, "That he must not expect "that;" he said, "He would not have him fancy, that he ask'd that "Delay by any Impulse of Fear to die, or of Desire to prolong his Life, "which he would not hold of him; but that it was only in order to "address his Prayers to Heaven with a little more Leisure, and to settle "some Affairs here below; but not being able to obtain that from his "Charity, he committed all to the Mercy of God: That now he should "be very soon ready to suffer the most cruel Death that his Enemies may "have prepar'd for him."

In like manner, Sir *George Lisle* being refus'd as much Time as to write to his Father and Mother, *Ireton* bad them adieu. They presently began to pray, and having both receiv'd the Communion from *Norwich*'s Chaplain, they were conducted to the Castle-yard; whither *Ireton*, Colonel *Rainsborough*, and Colonel *Whaley* being come to see the End of this Tragedy, these Gentlemen look'd Death in the Face with the same Resolution and Courage, as they had many Times look'd for it in the Field of Battle. Sir *Charles Lucas*, who was to die first, told them, "That "he had often star'd Death in the Face in Battles; and that they should "now see, that he did not as yet fear it." Having pray'd for some Time kneeling, he got up with a good Grace; and, without discovering the least Alteration in his Countenance, he unbutton'd his Doublet; and setting his Arms a kembow, he said, or rather gave the Word of Command, to the Soldiers that were to shoot him, speaking to them with a Voice which shew'd the Steadiness of his Resolution, *I am ready*; *fire*. At the same Time, four Musquet-shot laid him dead upon the Ground. Sir *George Lisle*, who had been taken aside, coming to the same Place, where his Friend was lying dead, stoop'd several Times to embrace him, and mingle his Tears with his Blood: Then standing up all of a sudden, and without appearing to be in the least discompos'd, said, "That he had, in the Heat "of Battle, sav'd the Lives of many of those who were then putting him "to Death in cold Blood; but that he could not expect better Treatment, "from those who had no less a Design than to murder the King himself,

"whom

" whom they were keeping Priſoner; and that it was for his Majeſty's " Liberty, as well as for the Peace of his unhappy Country, that he was " offering up his laſt Prayers to God." Then he ſaid, *Traitors, do your worſt*, ſtill looking upon them preparing to fire upon him, without ſhewing the leaſt Terror; and after having many times repeated the holy Name of *Jeſus*, he fell down dead. 1648.

THE Chaplain being return'd to *Norwich*, where the Lords *Loughborough* and *Capel* likewiſe were, gave them a full Account of all that had paſs'd; and told them, that he had done his laſt Duty to their Friends. This Account ſtruck them in ſuch a manner, conſidering the Loſs they had juſt ſuſtain'd, that they were inconſolable. And as they were expecting very ſoon to follow their dear Friends, *Ireton*, accompany'd by the Colonels *Ewre* and *Whaley*, came and told them, That he came from the General, to give them Aſſurance of a Thing, of which he believ'd they were very doubtful; which was, that he gave them Quarter, and that they ſhould be treated as Priſoners of War. *Capel* anſwering for all, told him, " That they would have been much more oblig'd to their General, " if he had ſav'd the Lives of thoſe two gallant Gentlemen, whom he had " but juſt now caus'd to be depriv'd of them, and which they had ſo glo- " rioufly finiſh'd, than to ſave theirs, which were leſs dear to them: That " as for the Engagement in the King's Service, thoſe who were dead, " and they who had ſurviv'd them, were in the ſame Party, and that they " had all wiſh'd to have had the ſame Fate too." Some Days after, they were all three ſent to three different Priſons; and the General having laid a Tax of 12500 *l.* upon the Town for the Payment of the Army, who expected to have plunder'd it, gave to the Officers of each of his Regiments a certain Number of the Gentlemen Priſoners, in order to get Ranſoms from them. At length, having caus'd all the Foot to be put into a Church, he allow'd his Soldiers to ſtrip them to the very Shirts; after which he caus'd them all to be turn'd out of the Town, tho' it then rain'd very hard. Thoſe whom Weakneſs prevented from being able to follow their Fellow-Soldiers, were knock'd on the Head on the High-ways, others died of Hunger, and ſome were ſold like Slaves to be ſent to the *Weſt-Indies*.

SOME Time after, the two Houſes having ſent an Order for impeaching of Treaſon the three Lords that had been impriſon'd, theſe Lords wrote to them, That ſuch a Procedure would be unjuſt, General *Fairfax* having given them Quarter after the ſurrendering of the Town. The two Houſes having written to the General, to get him to explain what he meant by giving Quarter, he anſwer'd them: " That he meant nothing elſe but " only to exempt them from dying by the Sword of the Soldiers, and not " by that of Juſtice, which might ſtill proceed againſt them, as againſt " Rebels and Traitors." The Houſe of Commons having deliberated thereupon, ordain'd, That the aforeſaid three Lords, with the Earl of *Holland*, ſhould all four be baniſh'd out of the Kingdom.

NOW, when *Fairfax* was in *Kent*, he wrote very civilly to the Captains of the Men of War who had declar'd for the King, and begg'd of them to return to the Service of the two Houſes, who offer'd them a general Pardon, and preſently to pay them all their Arrears. All thoſe Captains, except one, who commanded the *Lion*, which he carry'd back into the *Thames*, made no Account of his Promiſes, but having ſet Sail, ſteer'd their Courſe for *Holland*, and arriv'd at *Helvoet-Sluys*. The two Houſes having had an Account thereof, wrote like Sovereigns to the States of the

1648. *United Provinces*, to cauſe the revolted Ships to be arreſted, without regarding the Sovereignty of thoſe Provinces. At the ſame time the Earl of *Warwick* was made Admiral of *England*, who, having been acknowledg'd by the Ships that were in the *Thames*, and by the Fleet that was at *Portſmouth*, made ready to bring back the revolted Ships to the Obedience of the two Houſes.

IN the Beginning of *July*, the Prince of *Wales*, highly reſenting the Injuries done the King his Father, left *St. Germains*, accompany'd by Prince *Rupert*, and ſeveral *Scots* and *Engliſh* Lords, and having embark'd at *Calais*, landed in *Holland*; where having caus'd the Ships that had declar'd for the King, to be refitted, he went on Board the Admiral Ship, and thus appear'd upon the Coaſt of *England*. In order to let the faithful Subjects of all the three Kingdoms ſee what the Deſign of his Embarkation was, he caus'd a Manifeſto to be ſpread therein, whereby he declared, " That he took up Arms, in order to eſtabliſh Religion, " according to the Treaty which had been concluded between the King " and the *Scots* Commiſſioners the 26th of *December* 1647: That his " Majeſty may be reſtor'd to his Liberty, and the Enjoyment of all his " royal Prerogatives: and that, in order to bring theſe Things to a " happy Iſſue, he may with all Freedom treat with the two Houſes in " Perſon: That they likewiſe may return to their juſt Privileges; and " that all the Subjects may be deliver'd from the Oppreſſions they were " ſuffering, and particularly the Exciſe, quartering of Soldiers to live " at Diſcretion, and from all the other Impoſitions contrary to the Laws: " That they may carry on their Trade with Safety; and, in ſhort, that " after his Majeſty ſhall have granted a general Pardon, and the Armies " ſhall be disbanded, the People may enjoy a profound Peace, which " was the only Thing he had always aim'd at.

*The Prince of Wales's Manifeſto.*

" HIS Highneſs invited all thoſe who had any Regard for their " Prince, or Zeal for Religion, and who deſir'd to ſee the Laws ob- " ſerv'd, to join with him in this noble Deſign; engaging both his " Honour and Faith, not only to get all his Majeſty's faithful Subjects " indemnify'd of all the Loſſes they may thereby ſuſtain, but likewiſe " to get them reimburs'd, with Intereſt, all the Sums they may furniſh, " as ſoon as it ſhall pleaſe God to reſtore the King, his Father, to his " Throne. And as for ſuch as ſhould be willing to ſerve therein in " Perſon, that he promis'd, upon the Word of a Prince, to recompenſe " their Services honourably, nay, even thoſe who may have formerly " carry'd Arms againſt the King, if they ſhould return to their Duty. " In a Word, That he ſhould not ſpare his own Blood, and that he " would ſtill expoſe his Life, for delivering from Confinement thoſe " Royal Perſons from whom he had receiv'd it.

THE Prince having caſt Anchor in *Yarmouth-Roads*, ſent on Shore a Trumpet, who ſummon'd the Town to open the Gates to his Highneſs; or elſe, that he was reſolv'd to ſink ſome old Ships in its Harbour, which would render it uſeleſs to them. But the Magiſtrates having ſent ſome Refreſhments on Board of the Admiral Ship by two of their Aldermen, excus'd, the beſt way they could, their refuſing to allow the Prince to enter the Town, and likewiſe cunningly ſuppreſs'd a Tumult which one Captain *Johnſon* had ſtirr'd up therein; for a great Number of People had got together about this Captain, who were crying out, throwing their Hats up in the Air, *God bleſs the Prince, and Captain* Johnſon.

Major

Major *Jermy*, who was in that Neighbourhood with ſome of the Parliament's Troops, not able to make himſelf Maſter of the Ferry-Boat, ſwam over the River with a Troop of Horſe, in order to ſecure the Town, 'till he ſhould be join'd by Colonel *Scroop*'s Regiment, which *Fairfax* had detach'd from the Army when he was before *Colcheſter*. The Prince ſeeing that, weigh'd Anchor, and made Sail towards the *Downs*, however, without doing any Damage to that fine Harbour, from whence he expected ſome Aſſiſtance at another time. 1648.

WHILE the Prince lay in *Yarmouth* Roads, he wrote two Letters, one very kind, to the Common-Council of the City of *London*, agreeable to the Terms of his *Manifeſto*, which he inclos'd in the Letter: The other, to the Merchant-Adventurers, wherein he gave them an Account, that he had caus'd three of their Ships to be ſeiz'd, without Deſign, however, of declaring them Prize; and he deſir'd them to lend him two hundred thouſand Pounds, which ſhould be repaid them out of the Revenues ariſing from the *Cuſtom-houſe*. But neither of them return'd him any Anſwer. Both the Letters were carry'd to the Houſe of Commons, where ſome were for declaring the Prince Traitor, becauſe he had appear'd in Arms againſt the Parliament, as his Father had done; that he had invited the *Scots* to come into *England*; and that he was a Subject like the other Natives of the Kingdom: They added, that the Merchants muſt be forbidden to make him any Anſwer; and that they had no Reaſon to be afraid of loſing their Ships, becauſe the Prince had promis'd to the States of *Holland*, not to do the leaſt Prejudice to the Freedom of Commerce. There were others more conſiderate, who repreſented, That if they ſhould declare the Prince Traitor, at a time that they were ſending Commiſſioners to treat with the King his Father, about Peace, all the World would believe that they were not earneſt in it: That ſuch an Action would be directly contrary to the Covenant, which, above all Things, oblig'd them to defend the King's Perſon, his Crown, and Royal Authority, whereof the Prince was the chief Support, and lawful Heir: That they would be guilty of traiterous Acts, if they ſhould deal after that manner with his Highneſs; becauſe, according to all the Laws, it was Treaſon to attempt to ruin the King's eldeſt Son; and whoever ſhould declare him Traitor, would, without doubt, ruin him: In ſhort, That the People being already ſufficiently alarm'd with the Rumour that was ſpreading every-where, that they had a mind to deſtroy the King, cut off his Children, and change the Government; the Truth of that Rumour would be fully confirm'd, if, after the rigorous Ordinances which the two Houſes had made againſt the King, they ſhould add thereto any ſuch Thing againſt the Prince, and the Duke of *York*. The Houſe, after theſe Reaſons, was ſatisfy'd then to declare Traitors and Rebels ſuch as ſhould give Relief and Aſſiſtance to the Prince. It had before order'd *Warwick* to fight him: To which all the Lords had likewiſe conſented, except the Earls of *Lincoln* and *Suffolk*, and the Lord *North*.

WHILE the Prince was in the *Downs*, he had a mind to attempt to cauſe the Siege, which the two Houſes had order'd to be laid before *Sandown-Caſtle*, to be rais'd, which was ſtill holding out for the Royal Party. Having, for that End, caus'd about five hundred good Men to be landed, they march'd with great Reſolution againſt the Colonels *Rich* and *Hudſon*, who were carrying on the Siege, forc'd the Trenches, and ruſh'd Sword in Hand among the Beſiegers. The Ground through which

1648. which they march'd to them being very marſhy, the Enemy's Horſe could not attack them in the Front; but having wheel'd about, they fell upon them in the Flank, took ſome Priſoners, and drove the reſt back to their Ships: And his Highneſs having had it from good Hands, that the two Houſes deſign'd to try Colonel *Langhorn*, Colonel *Powel*, and Colonel *Poyer*, and that, to all Appearance, they would ſhew them no Mercy, he wrote in a very civil manner in their Behalf to General *Fairfax*, giving him to underſtand, "That they had not taken up Arms "but by Virtue of his Commiſſions, ſo that it concern'd his Honour "to countenance them; beſides, that their ſingular Merit mov'd him "not to let them die in that manner. In ſhort, he deſir'd *Fairfax* to "uſe his Intereſt, that they might not be treated otherwiſe than Soldiers "ought to be; or elſe he would be oblig'd to act contrary to his Nature "and Inclination, in treating after the ſame manner ſuch as ſhould fall "into his Hands." *Fairfax* anſwer'd him, "That he had caus'd his "Highneſs's Letter to be communicated to the two Houſes, and that "he could do nothing more in the Matter, becauſe they had given Orders "after what manner thoſe Priſoners were to be treated: And that he "thought, that their being ſo ſeverely dealt with, was not owing to "the Hoſtilities they had committed againſt the two Houſes; but, to "their having betray'd the Truſt which the Parliament had repos'd in "them, being engag'd in their Service, as they were."

Now, his Highneſs having no Anſwer from *London*, and *Yarmouth* having ſubmitted to *Fairfax*, who march'd to take Poſſeſſion of it after the Surrender of *Colcheſter*, on the 26th of *Auguſt* he ſet Sail towards the Mouth of the *Thames*, where *Warwick* was, about five or ſix Leagues from the *Downs*. The Prince having caſt Anchor, held a Council of War, wherein it having been repreſented to him, that there were ſome of his Ships that had not Proviſions for two Days, it was reſolv'd, that before they ſhould offer to fight the Enemy, to ſet ſail for *Holland*, where they would find Abundance of Proviſions ready for them, and where they might refreſh themſelves for ſome Time. This Reſolution being taken, the Admiral Ship ſteer'd that Courſe: But though, according to the Method practis'd at Sea, all the Fleet ought to follow their Admiral; yet two of the Ships, one call'd the *Convertine*, and the other the *Swallow*, ſtanding off from the reſt, let the Prince know, that they would rather die, than ſteer any other Courſe but what would lead them to the Enemy: Twelve or thirteen other Ships follow'd their Example, ſo that the Prince was forc'd to return and join them with the whole Fleet.

THEREFORE it having been reſolv'd that they ſhould go and meet the Enemy, the Prince having diſpatch'd the Earl of *Lauderdale*, whom the Committee of the *Scots* Parliament had ſent to his Highneſs, with a Letter full of Reſpect, inviting him to come into that Kingdom, he made all the Captains and the other Officers of the Ships take the Oath of Fidelity, which they did very chearfully: And about Noon the ſame Day, which was the 29th, they diſcover'd *Warwick* with ſixteen or eighteen large Men of War in the King's Channel, which is but ſeven or eight Fathom deep, there being Banks of Sand of a great Length on both Sides, which are diſcover'd by the great Number of Maſts of ſunk Ships, that ſtill appear there. The Prince having order'd eight or ten Merchant Ships to be ſent back, which would have rather incumber'd the Men of War than aſſiſted them in the Fight, they advanc'd with

full

full Sail againſt *Warwick*, who was flying before them. Having given him Chaſe till Night, they caſt Anchor over againſt *Queenborough* Caſtle. *Warwick* likewiſe dropp'd Anchor a League nearer the Mouth of the *Thames*. About 9 o' Clock at Night, the Prince ſent to him *Harry Seymour*, one of the Gentlemen of his Bed-chamber, who are always Gentlemen of good Quality, with a Letter, which was not ſign'd, the Contents whereof were: " That having a little while ago diſcover'd a Fleet at Sea " carrying a Flag, he had a mind to let the Commander thereof know, " that he was in Perſon aboard of the Ship call'd *The Conſtant Reforma-* " *tion*; therefore he commanded him to ſtrike his Flag, and come and " join him for the King's Service." This Letter contain'd beſides, " That if the commanding Officer obey'd theſe Orders, he promis'd, not " only to get him his Pardon from the King his Father, but likewiſe to " get him, and all the Officers of his Fleet, continu'd in the ſame Offices " they now bear therein; beſides, that he ſhould always value them, " as Men who, by their Obedience, had given Proofs of their Affection " to his Majeſty, and had contributed towards the Peace of the Kingdom." 1648.

*WARWICK* anſwer'd, " That the two Houſes having made him " Admiral of *England*, he had Authority to hoiſt the Flag; and that " no Oppoſition whatſoever ſhould hinder him to carry it, whenever he " thought fit: That as for the Peace of the Kingdom, the two Houſes " were in a Condition to reſtore it very ſoon, if the Obſtacles, that ſome " People had a mind to throw in the Way, did not prevent its taking Ef- " fect." This inſolent Letter, which ended with *being his Highneſs's humble Servant*, having been brought him about Midnight, the next Morning the two Fleets put themſelves in a Poſture of fighting; but as they were ſtriving which ſhould get the Wind of the other, a Storm, which aroſe, and continu'd the whole Day, ſeparated them far without the Reach of Cannon-ſhot. The Prince's Seamen, who expected, that at the Sight of his Fleet, the greateſt Part of *Warwick*'s would come and join them, were very much ſurpriz'd to ſee, not only that not ſo much as one of them came; but on the contrary, they ſaw them all prepar'd to make a ſtout Defence, if they were attack'd. And becauſe the Place was both very inconvenient and dangerous, and that they had no Proviſions, they begg'd of the Prince to give Orders to ſteer the Courſe again for *Holland*; which he did, being afraid of a ſecond Revolt, tho' he had a great Deſire to fight the Enemy. On the laſt Day of *Auguſt*, the Fleet arriv'd at *Helvoet-ſluys*; and *Warwick*, who was following it at a Diſtance, having join'd that which was coming from *Portſmouth*, compos'd of ten large Men of War, ſtood in for the *Downs*.

He ſent immediately an Account of what had paſs'd to the two Houſes; and having got new Orders, to bring back, if poſſible, the revolted Ships, as they call'd them, he ſet Sail with a Squadron of his Fleet; and having caſt Anchor pretty near that of the Prince, Admiral *Van Trump* went and poſted himſelf betwixt the two, in order to oblige them to obſerve the Neutrality. As *Warwick* was endeavouring to practiſe upon the Officers of the Ships that had left him, he receiv'd the Copy of a Libel that had been publiſh'd againſt him, wherein he was accus'd of having a Deſign to join with the Prince, in caſe the Treaty between the King and the two Houſes ſhould not take Effect. He, thinking that he was oblig'd to juſtify himſelf, made a long Apology; wherein having at large repreſented his Conduct, ſince he had had the Command at Sea, he ended it with ſaying, " That he would bely that Calumny by his Actions, and good Conduct;

1648. " and that he ſhould never be wanting in what the Parliament, his " Maſters, ought to expect from the Faithfulneſs of his Services." At length, having given Money, and a Pardon to ſome of the Captains of the Prince's Ships, they yielded to them; the reſt, who had no mind to leave the Prince, ſhelter'd themſelves in the Harbour. So *Warwick* return'd to the *Downs*, where he receiv'd Letters of Thanks from the two Houſes, who at the ſame time gave Orders to the Committee of Navigation, to iſſue out Money for the Payment of thoſe who had ſubmitted, and for refitting the Fleet. Afterwards Prince *Rupert*, who has given ſo many Proofs of his Valour in the Land Service, having taken upon himſelf the Command of the Ships that had continu'd faithful to the Prince, has fill'd with the Terror of his Name both the *Streights* and the *Atlantick* Sea, where he has taken a great many rich Prizes, particularly belonging to the City of *London*, which truly well deſerv'd to be puniſh'd in ſo ſenſible a Part: And as well in thoſe Seas as in long Voyages, this Prince has acquir'd ſo great Skill in that ſo admirable Art of Navigation, that it may be ſaid to be one of the moſt bold and noble Inventions of the Wit of Man, and that no Perſon in *Europe* knows the Secrets of it more thoroughly than he. But now the Noiſe of Arms both upon Sea and Land muſt give Way to a Treaty of Peace, of which we ſhall diſcourſe in the following Book.

*The END of the* TENTH BOOK.

THE

# THE HISTORY OF THE TROUBLES OF *GREAT-BRITAIN.*

## BOOK XI.

ALTHOUGH the two Houſes had nothing more to fear from the *Scots*, and that all the Parties that had riſen in *England* for the King had been defeated; nevertheleſs, they ſtill had a Deſign to treat with his Majeſty in Perſon at *London*, or elſewhere, according as it ſhould be agreed upon between them; provided he ſhould conſent to the three Propoſitions, of which we have already ſpoken, in their Anſwer to the Demands of the Parliament of *Scotland*. But the Lords, whereof the moſt Part were more inclin'd to Peace than the Army was, which, properly ſpeaking, was nothing elſe but a Cabal that domineer'd over the Commons: Theſe Lords, I ſay, gave the Commons to underſtand, that they did not think it proper to inſiſt upon thoſe Propoſitions, and demanded a Conference with them. Theſe are the Reaſons upon which the Lords grounded their Opinion; "That, "by that Means, they would forward the Treaty, which was ſo paſſion- "ately long'd for by every Body: That it was the Sentiment of the "Parliament of *Scotland*: That the Treaty would have more Force, "and be of greater Weight: That the King having no Army, might "conſent to Things which he had refus'd at *Uxbridge* and *Oxford*: In "a Word, That Treaties were never made in the Manner that the "Com- 1648.

1648. " Commons demanded; and that the King ought not to ratify one " Article of it, 'till after that all the Articles ſhould be adjuſted, much " leſs then thoſe wherein more Difficulties might be found in Treating, " and upon which both Parties might inſiſt more."

THE Commons were obſtinate in a contrary Opinion, and ſaid, " That the Parliament having ſo many Enemies every-where, and " particularly in and about *London*; if the King ſhould enter the City " before his granting them the Command of the Militia, there would " be no Safety for them: That the Treaty would prove of no Effect; " and that there would be a powerful Party, who would endeavour to " reſtore his Majeſty, without any other Condition but that of ruining " the two Houſes: That if the Presbyterian Government were not alſo " eſtabliſhed before, the Affairs of Religion would fall into Confuſion, " and the Presbyterian Miniſters would undergo great Hardſhips: That, " in ſhort, if the Declarations, that had been publiſh'd againſt the two " Houſes, were not abſolutely revok'd, they ſhould be incapable of " Treating, being call'd nothing therein but a pretended Parliament, " and all their Members accounted Rebels and Traitors. They granted, " that all theſe Things might be diſputed; but they likewiſe ſaid, that " they had been diſputed as often as they had been preſented to his " Majeſty, who had, in a manner, granted the two firſt; and that they " did not deſire that he ſhould paſs them into Acts of Parliament before " the Treaty ſhould be ſign'd."

TO which the Lords anſwer'd, " That there was no Probability " that thoſe who had with ſo much Paſſion deſir'd the Treaty, would " make any Propoſals therein that might be prejudicial to the Parliament " of the Kingdom: That they had nothing to fear during the Treaty: " That the King had plainly declar'd, that he would authorize nothing, " 'till after all the Articles ſhould be adjuſted: In fine, That if the " Treaty ſhould be broke off, they would ſtill be in the ſame Condi- " tion they were in before." The Commons reply'd, " That it was not " to be doubted but the Counties in the Neighbourhood of *London* would " do their utmoſt, in order to get the Treaty brought about to the Pre- " judice of the Parliament, becauſe they had taken up Arms for reſtoring " the King, without any Conditions; and that the Revolted had, with " a loud Voice, ſaid in *Colcheſter*, that the two Houſes muſt be cudgell'd " into better Terms: That the King had not abſolutely refus'd to give " them the Command of the Militia; but, in parting with it to them, " would have it declar'd, that the Power of diſpoſing thereof belong'd " to him alone; which would utterly diſarm and ruin the Parliament: " That, for the reſt, as the Treaty, in all Appearance, would either be " near *London*, or in the City itſelf, all the Royal Party would not fail " to flock thither from all Parts; ſo that if the Treaty ſhould not ſuc- " ceed, they would be ſo far from being in the ſame Condition they " were in before, that they ſhould infallibly be involv'd in a new War." So the Affair continu'd undecided at that time: but ſhortly after, the Lords having preſs'd the Commons to yield to their Reaſons, they ſub- mitted, and conſented that every Thing in general ſhould be referr'd to the Treaty.

THEN it was debated, where the Treaty ſhould be held. Many were of Opinion, that it could not be held in a ſolemn manner in any other Place but the City of *London*. The City itſelf, who long'd for it

above

above all things, offer'd to put every thing in ſuch Order, and to take ſo great Care, that the King ſhould be there in all Safety, and that the Treaty ſhould be carry'd on peaceably. That if unhappily it ſhould be broke off, the City promis'd ſtill firmly to adhere to the Parliament; and conſented, that the two Houſes ſhould diſpoſe of his Majeſty's Perſon according to their Prudence. The two Houſes rejected this Propoſal, ſhewing, that they had but little Confidence in the City, which they thought the King might prevail with, if it ſhould once come to reflect upon the Error it had committed in having ſubmitted to other Maſters. 1648.

On the other hand, the City having conceiv'd Jealouſy of Major-General *Skippon*'s Behaviour, complain'd of it to the Houſe of Commons, and repreſented to them, "That that Officer, by raiſing of "Soldiers privately in the City, inticing away Servants from their "Maſters, and parting Children from their Parents, ſow'd the Seed of "a Civil War within its own Bowels, weaken'd the regular Militia, "and ſet up a Power againſt that of the Committee of that very Militia: "That the Jealouſies, which the whole Body of the City conceiv'd of "this Procedure, had made them ſay openly, that they would make "uſe of their own Militia for defending themſelves, without waiting "for Orders from the two Houſes: That the Law of Nature oblig'd "them to act ſo; and that the Parliament had done the ſame, in acting "againſt the King; nor had *Fairfax*'s Army dealt otherwiſe by the two "Houſes." Alderman *Gibbs*, who was Spokeſman for the City, having laid before them all theſe Reaſons, at laſt demanded, "That all the "Soldiers that *Skippon* had rais'd, be deliver'd over to the Militia of the "City: That he be forbid to raiſe any more for the future, and that "the Militia of *Weſtminſter* be reunited to thoſe of the City." The ſame Complaint having been made to the Lords, they preſs'd the Commons to humour the City, leſt its Affection ſhould be drawn away from the two Houſes: And the Commons, as well for complying with the Opinion of the Upper Houſe, as for ſhunning that Inconveniency, appointed a Committee for preparing Bills about the Matters that had been propos'd, which might be to the Satisfaction of the City. However, there were a great many People who, under-hand, ſollicited *Weſtminſter*, *Southwark*, and the *Tower Hamlets*, not to conſent to the Re-uniting their Militia, unleſs they had as many Votes in it as the City ſhould have: But the City having ſeven Parts of nine, their Demand would have been look'd upon as ridiculous.

This Affair being adjuſted, the two Houſes apply'd themſelves to ſuch Things as chiefly concern'd the Treaty. The Army let them go on, waiting a proper Time for declaring themſelves thereupon; for the Fire, which had been kindled in the Kingdom, was not then ſo well extinguiſh'd, but that it ſtill ſmoak'd, and the Aſhes were as yet warm. When the two Houſes were deliberating upon the Treaty, *Colcheſter* was not reduced, and *Cromwell* had to do with an Army of *Scots*: At laſt, after a long Debate, it was reſolv'd, that the Treaty ſhould be in the Iſle of *Wight*; not in *Carisbrook* Caſtle, where it would not appear to be free, but that it ſhould be held in any other Part of the Iſland that his Majeſty ſhould be pleas'd to name: That his Majeſty ſhould be there in a State of Freedom, and ſhould treat with all manner of Liberty, upon the Propoſitions that had been preſented to him at *Hampton-Court*, and

1648. likewiſe upon ſuch as he ſhould be pleas'd to make to the Commiſſioners of the two Houſes.

ON the 24th of *Auguſt*, the Earl of *Middleſex*, Sir *John Hippeſley*, and Mr. *Bulkeley*, were ſent by the two Houſes to the Iſle of *Wight*, in order to communicate to the King the Offers which they made of treating with his Majeſty, with Orders to return with an Anſwer within ten Days. On the 26th at Night they landed in the Iſland, and the next Day had Audience of the King, who gave them a kind Reception. *Middleſex* having told his Majeſty, " That the two Houſes had no other " Deſign but to treat about a Peace; " The King anſwer'd, " That no " Man deſir'd Peace ſo much as he, in his ſeveral Relations, as a King, " a Husband, a Father, and a Maſter; and that he would give Ear to " any Motion or Overture which might conduce to a good Accommoda- " tion: That it ſhould not be his Fault if Peace were not happily " reſtor'd; and that he did not believe it could meet with any Obſtru- " ction, but from ſuch as found their Account in the War: That, in " the mean time, they were very welcome to him with ſo agreeable " News, and that he would diſpatch them within the Time limited." As the King had written to the two Houſes with his own Hand, he expreſs'd to the Commiſſioners, at delivering his Letter to them, " with " how much Paſſion he deſir'd a good Peace, and intreated each of " them in particular to contribute thereto all that lay in their Power: " That he entruſted them with his Anſwer unſeal'd, not doubting of " their Fidelity, though there had been a bad Uſe made of his laſt " Anſwer he had ſent open, and that ſome private Perſons had run it " down before it was preſented to the two Houſes."

*The King's Anſwer to the two Houſes.*

THE Commiſſioners being return'd to *London*, on the 14th of *Auguſt* the Earl of *Middleſex* preſented to the Houſe of Lords his Majeſty's Letter, dated the 10th, and addreſs'd to the Speaker of that Houſe, to be communicated to both Houſes; the Contents of which were, " That if " the Peace of his Kingdoms was not much dearer to him then any other " Intereſt he could have, he would have had great Reaſon to inſiſt upon " ſome Votes they had paſs'd againſt him, and to exaggerate the ſad " Condition to which he had been reduc'd for ſeven Months laſt " paſt; but ſince they were making an Overture of Peace to him in a " handſome manner, he would forget all that had paſs'd, and apply " himſelf to it with all his Heart: That, in order to attain thereto, he " would lay before them ſuch Things as he judg'd neceſſary to that " great Work, to the End that they might jointly endeavour to remove " the Obſtacles that might delay the happy Concluſion of the Treaty, " which he embrac'd with a great deal of Pleaſure: That they them- " ſelves had laid very ſolid Foundations for it, and that he could not " reaſonably deſire more, but to treat with Honour, Freedom, and " Safety, upon the Propoſitions that ſhould be offer'd to him, and upon " ſuch as he himſelf ſhould offer: That there was nothing to be added, " provided that, at the ſame time, they would conſider, that it was not " the Names of Things, but the Things themſelves, that were the " effectual Means for attaining to ſome End: And as the Condition he " was in, render'd him as incapable of Treating, as a Man put in Fetters " wou'd be of Running; firſt, he demanded, that they would revoke " their Votes, by which all his Subjects were prohibited to ſee him, or " ſpeak to him of any Affair: In the ſecond Place, he demanded, that " all

" all ſuch Perſons might have Liberty to repair to him, whoſe Advice " and Aſſiſtance he ſhould ſtand in Need of in the Treaty; in a Word, " that he may be in the ſame State of Freedom he was in, when he was " laſt at *Hampton-Court*: That he deſir'd that, becauſe otherwiſe he could " not treat with Honour, having none of his Servants about his Perſon, " nor even with Security, if he were not allow'd to call for thoſe, whoſe " Aſſiſtance would be neceſſary to him in ſo important an Affair as that " was: After all, That by the Word *Security* he did not mean that of " his Perſon, for which he was in no Fear; but truly the Security of " the Peace, if, before concluding it, they did not inform themſelves " about the true State of his Kingdoms. Which, in the third Place, " oblig'd him to demand, That he alone, or jointly with the two Houſes, " might invite the *Scots* to ſend ſome Perſons on their Part, with Power " to treat upon the Propoſitions they may have to make; for the Intereſt " which the *Scots* had in this Treaty, was ſo evident, that his Majeſty " did not believe, that any Man could doubt, but it was altogether ne- " ceſſary that their Commiſſioners ſhould be there: That as he was King " of both Nations, ſo he would always carry himſelf with a great deal " of Affection and Zeal for the Good and Honour of both, without " ſhewing himſelf partial to the one, to the Prejudice of the other. Laſtly, " for the Place, as it was not an eſſential Part of the Treaty, but only a " Circumſtance, he nam'd *Newport* in the Iſland: However, having a " very great Deſire quickly to ſee the End of the cruel Diviſions of the " State, he earneſtly begg'd of them to conſider, how much Time would " be loſt, if they muſt treat in a Place at ſo great a Diſtance from the Body " of the two Houſes, ſince the leaſt Difficulty that may occur, muſt be " carry'd to them for their Determination: Beſides, That he aſſuredly " believ'd, that the Minds of the People would be more eaſily quieted, " if they ſaw him treating in *London*, or in any other Place near the City, " than if they ſaw him treating in the Iſland; for as long as he is there, " they will hardly believe, that he is ſo much at Liberty, as he himſelf " expects to be, before the Treaty be begun. So, referring himſelf to " them as to that Particular, he conjur'd them, by all that was dear to " Chriſtians, and good Men who lov'd their Country, to haſten the " Treaty, and to ſend their Commiſſioners with ample Inſtructions, and " full Power to decide every Thing that ſhall be debated therein; to the " End that, by the Bleſſing which God may give to their Deſigns, all " his Subjects may ſoon enjoy the Happineſs that attends Peace." 1648.

THIS Letter being read in the Houſe of Lords, they reſolv'd, That the Vote of no more Addreſſes to the King ſhould be revok'd: That all thoſe whom he ſhould judge neceſſary to be about his Perſon, during the Treaty, ſhould have Liberty to repair to him; and that he ſhould be in the ſame State of Freedom he was in, when he was laſt at *Hampton-Court*: That ſuch Officers of his Majeſty's Houſhold as he ſhould deſire, ſhould be ſent to him: That the Treaty ſhould be held in the Town of *Newport*, in the Iſle of *Wight*: That his Majeſty ſhould be allow'd to invite the *Scots* to treat with him upon the Propoſitions of the two Kingdoms, which were preſented to him at *Hampton-Court*: That Colonel *Hammond*, Governor of the Iſland, ſhould have new Orders concerning the King's Perſon: That five of their Houſe, and ten of that of the Commons, ſhould be deputed for treating with his Majeſty; and that the Committee of Peace ſhould in all Haſte prepare every Thing for the opening of the Treaty. The Votes were immediately carry'd to the Houſe of

1648. of Commons for their Conſent, together with the King's Letter, which was ſent them at the ſame Time.

BUT before the Letter had been carry'd thither the Commiſſioners of that Houſe having already made a faithful Report, after what manner the King had receiv'd them, and of all he had ſaid to them both in publick and private, ſome of the Faction, quite enrag'd and provok'd at the Sincerity and Paſſion which his Majeſty had expreſs'd for Peace, turning towards the Speaker, ſaid to him, " That the Commiſſioners had reported " every Thing to the Houſe, except that alone which they were oblig'd " to report, *viz.* the King's Letter, which they had ſuffer'd to be carry'd " firſt to the Houſe of Lords; and that at leaſt they ought to have brought " a Copy of it to their Houſe." Theſe Gentlemen did not conſider what they ſaid, ſo much were they tranſported; for the Houſe never take Copies under their Conſideration, whatever they are, or about what Affair ſoever they may be. They added, " That it appear'd to them, that " ſeeing the Commiſſioners had diſcours'd with the King in private, they " had exceeded their Commiſſion; for which Cauſe, if they are to be " rewarded, it ought to be with a Pardon in Recompence of their good " Service." As all this Faction were ſtill making a great Noiſe in the Houſe, his Majeſty's Letter was carry'd in, with the Votes of the Houſe of Lords. After that the Letter had been read, the Faction being thereby touch'd to the quick, began to make an Uproar. But they were put to Silence, by being told, " That it would perhaps have been agreeable " News to ſome, and which would have deſerv'd Thanks inſtead of a " Pardon, if the Commiſſioners had reported, That the King had an " Averſion to Peace; and if they had put ſome malicious Interpretations " upon his Words, as others had done, and of which his Majeſty ſeem'd " to have complain'd, in the Converſation he had with the Commiſ- " ſioners," who, however, were approv'd of, and thank'd by the ſoundeſt Part of the Houſe.

THE Commons concurr'd with the Lords in taking off the Civil Excommunication, which they had fulminated againſt the King, and conſented to all that their Lordſhips had reſolv'd concerning the Treaty; but with theſe Reſtrictions however: " That the Attendants, whom the " King demanded, ſhould be none of thoſe who had been excluded from " Pardon, nor of ſuch as were ſtill in Arms againſt the two Houſes, or " were Priſoners by their Orders: That his Majeſty ſhould be allow'd " to invite the *Scots* to ſend Commiſſioners to treat; but upon the Pro- " poſitions which they ſhould make for the Intereſt of their Kingdom " only." By that the Commons tacitly renounc'd the common Intereſt of the two Kingdoms, which was expreſly contain'd in the Covenant. They indeed reckon'd, that the *Scots* had broke it by their having invaded *England*; and it was on that Account, that they would not invite them to the Treaty, tho' they offer'd Paſſports to ſuch as the King ſhould name, provided, however, that they were not Men whom they had Reaſon to ſuſpect. They would not conſent, that the King ſhould ſend Blanks into *Scotland*, becauſe they had a mind to know thoſe whom the *Scots* were to ſend. They likewiſe had a mind to explain the Vote concerning the Liberty which the King was to have, *ſuch as he had at* Hampton-Court, in order to know, whether it was to be underſtood of the Liberty which the Parliament granted him, or of that which the Army gave him for their own private Ends. But as this might have carry'd Things much farther,

farther, they left the Vote in the Terms in which the Lords had conceiv'd it. Nothing more remain'd but to give *Hammond* new Orders; but before taking that under Conſideration, they diſpatch'd Sir *Peter Killegrew* to the King, to tell him what had been reſolv'd. His Majeſty's Anſwer was, "That he could have wiſh'd that Things had been as he demanded "them; but as he long'd for nothing ſo much, as to begin ſo good a "Work as the Treaty of Peace was, he hop'd that what was wanting "ſhould be quickly added; and that he impatiently waited their Com-"miſſioners, with the Number of his Servants he had deſir'd, of whom "he ſent them a Liſt." 1648.

AMONGST thoſe of his Servants, whom he had deſir'd to have about him, the Duke of *Lenox*, the Marquis of *Hertford*, the Earls of *Lindſey* and *Southampton*, who were all Lords of his Bed-chamber, were allow'd to go and perform their Offices. They were follow'd by ſome of the Gentlemen of the Bed-chamber, of the Wardrobe, and ſome Equerries; and ſome Footmen carry'd Horſes into the Iſland for the King's Diverſion. He had likewiſe the moſt Part of the Chaplains and Lawyers, whom he had demanded, and of whom we have already ſpoken. The five Commiſſioners for the Treaty, ſent by the Houſe of Lords, were the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Pembroke*, *Middleſex*, and *Salisbury*, with the Viſcount of *Say*: And the ten of the Houſe of Commons were Sir *Henry Vane* Junior, Sir *Harbottle Grimſtone*, Sir *John Potts*, Mr. *Sam. Brown*, Mr. *Hollis*, the Lord *Wainman*, Mr. *Crew*, Mr. *Glyn*, Mr. *Pierrepoint*, and Mr. *Bulkeley*. Their Inſtructions limited the Treaty to 40 Days; but the Independents, who were ſeeking for a Pretence to have it broke off ſooner, deſir'd that they might begin with the Propoſitions that concern'd the Intereſt of the two Houſes; and in caſe the King ſhould offer to have them reſtricted, that the Treaty ſhould be broke off. But as that was a Procedure altogether unreaſonable, it was reſolv'd, That they ſhould begin with the Propoſitions, according as they were plac'd in the Inſtructions of the two Houſes, or according as it ſhould pleaſe his Majeſty; and that there ſhould be nothing that might oblige either of the Parties not to agree to whatever they were to treat about.

AT laſt Colonel *Hammond* receiv'd his Orders, which contain'd, "That during the Treaty, the King be in the ſame Condition and Free-"dom, as he was in at *Hampton-Court*: That none of thoſe whom the "two Houſes had excepted out of Mercy, nor who were actually in "Arms againſt them, or were in Priſon by their Authority, be admitted "to the King: That no Miniſters of foreign Princes have any Acceſs to "his Majeſty, without Leave from both Houſes of Parliament." But this Order ſeeming to claſh with the Honour and Liberty which they had promis'd the King, and alſo to be contrary to the firſt Order they had given; ſince that, while he was at *Hampton-Court*, the Embaſſadors and Reſidents of the Princes, his Allies, had free Acceſs to him; and that it was ſtripping him of them altogether, not to allow it any more; thoſe who ſpoke loudeſt in the Houſe, anſwer'd, "That that was true, with "reſpect to a Prince who was in Poſſeſſion of all his Authority; but that "was not the King's Caſe, nor ought it to be, until he had given Satiſ-"faction to the two Houſes: That as for the reſt, they had had a great "deal of Condeſcenſion, and had very much undervalu'd their Dignity, "when they repeal'd the Vote of no more Addreſſes to the King, and "granted him ſo many Things for the Treaty; ſince, if he ſhould not "accept of the Treaty upon theſe Conditions, at the worſt, Affairs would

1648. " be but in the ſame State they are in. " The Defeat of the *Scots* Army, the News of which had come to the Houſe, had made the Faction ſo haughty, that the moderate Men durſt not puſh Things farther, for fear of ſpoiling all. To theſe Orders was alſo added, " That the King muſt " paſs his royal Word not to go out of the Iſland, during the Treaty, nor " even 20 Days after, without the Conſent of both Houſes of Parlia- " ment. " Which his Majeſty had the Goodneſs to promiſe.

On the 6th of *September* in the Afternoon the King left *Carisbrook-Caſtle*, and went to *Newport*, where he lodg'd in Sir *William Hodges*'s Houſe, in which the Treaty was to be held: His Majeſty went thither on Horſeback, accompany'd by a great many Noblemen and Gentlemen, with whom he diſcours'd by the Way: Among others, his Majeſty ſeeing a Gentleman in Mourning, and having ask'd him, for whom he wore it? the Gentleman having told him, that it was for Sir *Charles Lucas*; the King, by his Tears, expreſs'd the great Grief he had for the Loſs of that excellent Officer.

The King having entertain'd his Servants with a great many Marks of Kindneſs, and a great Affection, diſpatch'd into *Scotland* Mr. *Parſons*, who was to take a Paſs from the two Houſes for the Lord *Carnegy*, Sir *Alexander Gibſon*, and *James Carmichael*, whom his Majeſty deſir'd to be ſent to him, for treating about the Affairs of that Kingdom: But the two Houſes refus'd to give a Paſs for the two firſt; and, on the other hand, the Affairs of *Scotland* could not allow the third, nor even the other two, to be ſent. At laſt, every thing being ready for opening the Treaty, on *Saturday* the 16th of *September* the King caus'd a Faſt to be kept in his Houſe, for imploring the Bleſſing of God: And after he had aſſiſted at Sermon, the Litanies, and all the Service of the Liturgy, with his wonted Devotion, the Commiſſioners of the two Houſes kiſs'd his Majeſty's Hand; and having ſaid ſomething to him upon the Subject of their coming, the King made Anſwer, " That he pray'd God to bleſs " them; that he was in Charity with all the World, not bearing any " Perſon the leaſt Grudge, nor having any Deſire of Revenge; that he " wiſh'd, without farther Delay, they wou'd begin the Treaty on " *Monday* next, and that he recommended that great Work to God, " by this Prayer, which he himſelf had dictated, and which he caus'd " to be added to thoſe of the Liturgy:

" O God of Truth and Peace, and moſt merciful Father, have " Compaſſion upon us, whom thou haſt afflicted with the Scourge " of a cruel War, which may well be call'd unnatural. We moſt " earneſtly beſeech thee, O Lord, that thou wouldſt be pleaſed to pour " down from Heaven thy Bleſſing upon this Treaty of Peace; ſoften " the Hearts, if it be thy Will, and inſpire them with Deſires of Ten- " derneſs and Compaſſion, in order to ſpare the Blood of their Brethren, " for whom Jesus Christ has ſhed his: That if our Sins are the " Cauſe that we labour in vain, and without any Succeſs, be pleaſed, " O Lord, to diſcover thoſe Men, who, under Pretence of the publick " Good, ſeek nothing but their own private Advantage; to the End " that the People of this Kingdom may no longer continue in this " miſerable Blindneſs, at leaſt, in this their Day, they may ſee the things " which belong unto their Peace. Hear us, we beſeech thee, thou who " art our God, for the ſake of Jesus Christ our Lord, who himſelf " is our true Peace.

The

1648.

THE firſt Propoſition upon which they treated, was the Demand of the two Houſes, "That the King would revoke all Declarations made "by him againſt them." To which his Majeſty readily conſented: But they afterwards added thereto a very hard Clauſe, and of dangerous Conſequence, to wit, "That it ſhould be inſerted in the Preamble "of the Revocation, That the two Houſes of Parliament had been "neceſſitated to enter into a War, in their juſt and lawful Defence." That ſeem'd abſolutely to juſtify them, and laid the Cauſe of the War upon the King's Perſon: Nevertheleſs, the Love of Peace, and the Compaſſion he had of the Miſeries of the poor People, oblig'd him to conſent to it: In which his Majeſty's Charity run out even into Exceſs, in order to ſave the Guilty, who were obſtinately bent on their own Ruin, without having the leaſt Senſe of their Crime. And it may truly be ſaid, that the Pilot offer'd, on this Occaſion, to throw himſelf into the Sea, in order to calm the Storm which the Sailors themſelves had rais'd.

THE King let that paſs, as well for removing the Obſtacles that might prevent the opening of the Treaty, as for the Security of the two Houſes, whoſe Jealouſies and Fears carry'd them to Deſpair, and made them averſe from all Thoughts of Peace; ſo his Majeſty agreed to it, upon Condition, that the two Houſes ſhould not make uſe of this Favour, 'till after the Concluſion and Confirmation of the Treaty: Beſides, the Words, of which it could be imagin'd that they had a mind to take Advantage, were not in the Propoſitions of the Treaty, but in the Preamble only, which never concludes any thing: For no Arguments are drawn from the Preambles of Laws; becauſe the Laws command, and, moſt commonly, contain not lofty Words nor Reaſons for perſuading. 'Tis very common with Princes to ſhew ſuch Indulgence at the End of Civil Wars, to the End that their Subjects may be render'd the more capable of Pardon, that they may be ſhelter'd from the Laws, that their Reputation may be ſav'd as much as poſſible, and that a general Pardon may blot out the Remembrance of whatever may have been done during the War. And though they ſhould not always be ſo dealt with, 'tis certain, that, according to all Laws, a Neceſſity which a Man draws upon himſelf, does not excuſe him, and it was an eaſy thing to ſee, that that which the Parliament had to make War in their Defence, they had brought it upon themſelves; as it often happens, that the Aggreſſors are forc'd to defend themſelves.

THEN the Militia was mov'd; and after a long Debate, the King at laſt conſented, "That all Forces by Sea and Land ſhould remain in "the Power of the two Houſes only, for twenty Years; after which, "neither the King, nor his Succeſſors, could diſpoſe of them, without "the Conſent of the two Houſes of Parliament; and that they "ſhould have the Power of raiſing them, and of levying Money for "maintaining them, whenever they ſhould judge it neceſſary for the "Security of the Kingdom, though the King ſhould not conſent "thereto." By this Article, the Parliament made themſelves abſolute Maſters of all the Forces of the Kingdom for a great many Years; at the End of which, the King could never diſpoſe of them, without their Conſent: whereas they were to have the entire Diſpoſal of them, whenever they ſhould think fit, though his Majeſty ſhould not give his Conſent. The King, when he was crown'd, took the Sword from the Altar, to ſhew that he held it of Heaven alone, and that he deriv'd his Authority from God, who put it into his Hand: Now he puts it into the

1648. the Hands of the Parliament, for the ſake of Peace, and for ſtopping the Blood of his Subjects, which the devouring Sword of a Civil War was ſhedding on every Side.

FOR the ſame End, he thereto added the Scepter, when he gave the two Houſes the naming of all the Officers of the Crown, of all the Governors of Towns and Forts, and of all the great Offices of *England* and *Ireland*, for the ſame Number of Years: So that as they had obtain'd an abſolute Power over the Forces, they had likewiſe acquir'd it for diſpoſing of the Juſtice and Polity of theſe Kingdoms; and that ſo much the more abſolutely, becauſe the King conſented, that not only whatever they had paſs'd under their Great Seal ſhould be valid, but that that Seal ſhould from thenceforth be the Great Seal of the Kingdom. On the contrary, that whatever had been paſs'd in *England* under the King's Seal ſince the 21ſt of *May*, that the Lord *Littleton* carry'd it to the King, when his Majeſty was at *York*, ſhould be void; as alſo, whatever had been paſs'd under the Great Seal of *Ireland* ſince the 15th of *September* of the ſame Year, that the Ceſſation of Arms was concluded in that Kingdom. The King alſo conſented to what the two Houſes demanded, that even the Titles of Honour, with which he had gratify'd a great many Perſons of both Kingdoms, ſhould likewiſe be void; and that the Peers, which the King ſhould be pleas'd to create hereafter, ſhould not ſit or vote in the Houſe of Lords, without the Conſent of both Houſes: Which rais'd the Houſe of Commons a Step higher than it ever had been, or could have lawfully pretended to.

HIS Majeſty, at laſt, conſented to the Suppreſſion of the Court of Wards, of which, truly, a wrong Uſe had been made: But becauſe that was a conſiderable Part of the King's Patrimony, the Parliament oblig'd themſelves to pay yearly, as a Recompence, to the King, and his Succeſſors, a hundred thouſand Pounds. And as the King ſtill took more Care of the publick Concerns than of his own, he oblig'd himſelf to give his royal Conſent to all Bills which the two Houſes ſhould tender to him for raiſing Money, that the publick Debts might be paid, and that ſuch Bills ſhould have the Force of Acts of Parliament, without his Conſent, provided they were offer'd to him within two Years after the Treaty ſhould be concluded. Thus did his Majeſty contribute of his Authority, for indemnifying the City of *London*, and for the Payment of the Army, though both the one and the other had done their utmoſt Endeavours to ruin him.

THOSE whom the two Houſes reckon'd Delinquents, which comprehended all the leading Men of the Royal Party, had either been condemn'd to die, or had had their Eſtates confiſcated. The firſt, who were thirty ſeven, they reduc'd to ſeven, to whom they would grant no Pardon: Theſe ſeven were, the Marquis of *Newcaſtle*, the Earl of *Derby*, the Lord *Digby*, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, Sir *Richard Greenvil*, Sir *Francis Doddington*, Sir *John Winter*, and Judge *Jenkins*, who was the only one that was in the Hands of the Parliament, and who ſtill defended himſelf by the Force of the Laws. The King then, for the ſake of Peace, conſented, that they ſhould be baniſh'd, which is a Civil Death: But as that did not at all ſatisfy the two Houſes, who had a mind to ſacrifice ſo many Heads to their private Rage, which they call'd publick Juſtice, though it was with great Difficulty that they agreed upon the Choice; the King ſtill conſented that they ſhould be try'd according to the eſtabliſh'd

*The ſeven Perſons excepted from Pardon.*

liſh'd Laws of the Kingdom; and if they ſhould be found Guilty by a Judicial Procedure, that he ſhould not protect them; but that he could not, in Honour or Conſcience, conſent that they ſhould loſe their Lives by Virtue of a Law made, as that, whereby they pretended to try them, had been, and which may be ſaid to have been made *ex poſt facto*. And, truly, that would have been an Action altogether unworthy of a great Prince. The King having given out Commiſſions for raiſing Soldiers for his Service, at a time when it did not ſeem to be contrary to the uſual Cuſtom of the Kingdom; if, after his Orders had been obey'd, he had conſented to the making of another Act contrary to that, which ſhould declare to be criminal what had been done by Virtue of his Orders. And beſides, it was a Shame for the two Houſes to make Propoſitions of that Kind to the King, and to preſs him, as they did, to commit ſo baſe and unworthy an Action. As for thoſe whoſe Eſtates only had been forfeited, the King conſented that they ſhould pay ſomething, by way of Compoſition; but, however, his Majeſty deſir'd that the two Houſes would not deal by them with ſuch Rigour, as might ſhew that their Deſign was not ſo much upon themſelves, as upon their Eſtates. 1648.

Of all the Propoſitions that were ſent to *Newport*, there was not one which mention'd the Power that the King had given to the Marquis of *Ormond*, for treating with the Rebels of *Ireland*, and bringing their Troops under his Obedience: But, upon an Information which Colonel *Jones* gave the Committee of Safety, about the End of *October*, that all the Parties of *Ireland* were joining, and declaring for the King, the two Houſes ſent an Article concerning that, to their Commiſſioners in the Iſland. And the Kng, in order to ſatisfy them as to that Point, to his great Prejudice, conſented, immediately to order the Execution of that Commiſſion to be ſuſpended, and promis'd to recall it as ſoon as the Treaty ſhould be concluded. Nothing more remain'd, as to all that concern'd the State, but the particular Intereſts of the City of *London*, in whoſe Favour the King conſented that its Privileges ſhould be confirm'd, with the Enjoyment of all its Rights, ſuch as to name the Lieutenant of the Tower, and to have the Command of its own Militia, to be employ'd according as the two Houſes ſhould order; but, however, in ſuch a manner, that not ſo much as one Company of that Militia, or even one Man of the City, ſhould be oblig'd to go out of it to bear Arms. Such was the King's Goodneſs to this City, which had been ſo ungrateful to him, and which had exhauſted its Treaſure, and ſuffer'd all its Privileges to be infring'd, in Favour of thoſe who were ſeeking its Ruin, as well as that of his Majeſty; though the Freedom of the Commerce of this powerful City, its Riches and Splendor, had been greater under the happy Reign of this Prince, than ever they had been under the Reigns of all his Predeceſſors.

Then the Propoſitions concerning Religion were debated; and the King offer'd to conſent to ſuch Bills as ſhould be tender'd to him by the two Houſes, as well for the better diſcovering of the Recuſants, as for preventing the Deſigns they might hatch for diſturbing the State, and for ſeverely putting in Execution the penal Statutes againſt them. He likewiſe conſented that Acts of Parliament ſhould be made for bringing up their Children in the Proteſtant Religion, and for preventing Maſs to be ſaid either at Court, or in any other Part of the Kingdom. Beſides, his Majeſty conſented that Acts ſhould be made againſt the Prophanation of *Sunday*, againſt Non-Reſidence, and the Plurality of Benefices, and

1648. againſt the Uſe of ſuch Ceremonies as the Preſbyterians could not reliſh in the Communion of the Church of *England*, of which we have already ſpoken elſewhere. The King was likewiſe willing that the Preſbyterian Government ſhould be eſtabliſh'd for three Years; after which it ſhould be left to his Majeſty, and the two Houſes, by the Advice of Divines, to determine what Sort of Eccleſiaſtical Government ſhould be ſettled in Place thereof.

THIS was not all; for the King, for the ſake of Peace, went ſo far as to conſent to the aboliſhing of Archbiſhops and Chapters, and the alienating of their Lands. As for the Biſhops, whoſe Inſtitution his Majeſty prov'd to be Apoſtolical, by many Texts of Scripture, and by Tradition, which the ableſt Divines could have quoted in their Defence; he conſented, "That they ſhould no more exerciſe their Authority, either of Juriſ-"diction or Ordination, but by the Advice and Aſſiſtance of Prieſts; "and that thoſe, who had got their Lands made over to them, ſhould "hold them by Leaſe for 99 Years, for a ſmall Rent, which they ſhould "be oblig'd to pay yearly for the Maintenance of the Clergy; and after "that Time ſhould be expir'd, thoſe Lands ſhould return to the Crown." He concludes this Point of the Epiſcopacy with theſe excellent Words: "That if the two Houſes were reſolv'd not to abate any Thing of the "Rigour of their Demands, in relation to this Apoſtolical Inſtitution, "he would chuſe rather to caſt himſelf into the Arms of his Saviour, who "would vouchſafe to ſupport him in the midſt of all the greateſt Afflictions "that could happen to him, than to loſe the Peace of his Conſcience out "of any Conſideration of State, that might flatter him with the Hopes "of remounting the Throne."

THE Presbyterians ſtill preſs'd the King to take the Covenant, being perſuaded that he would make no Scruple of it, and ſo would join their Party. And on the other hand, the Independents, who well knew that his Majeſty never would do it, join'd with them, in order to break off the Treaty. But in the main, it was the Height of Abſurdity to require that the King ſhould ſwear the Preſervation of his own Perſon, which is one of the Articles of the Covenant; and alſo this other, to maintain his Authority in the Defence of Religion and the Laws; for he could not perform that, if both the Diſpoſal of the Militia, and his negative Voice were taken from him. Now the two Houſes were putting the Militia abſolutely in their own Power for 20 Years, and were taking away his Majeſty's negative Voice, in what concern'd it, after the 20 Years ſhould be expir'd, at the very Time that they were requiring the King to take the Covenant. The Oath of aboliſhing Epiſcopacy would have been contrary to that of his Coronation; and if he had been willing to ſwear to extirpate all Sects, in the Senſe that the Preſbyterians meant they ought to be extirpated, the Independents would have oppos'd that. In ſhort, how could the King ſwear to maintain the Union betwixt the two Nations, which the two Houſes had declar'd to be broken? And how could they, keeping within the Bounds of Reaſon and Modeſty, propoſe to the King to take the Covenant, ſince many of their own Members, and even ſome Officers of the Army, had been excus'd from taking it?

ALL the Propoſitions which were to be the Subject of the Treaty, were after this manner a long time debated at *Newport*; where the Commiſſioners, in all the Conferences they had, always ſtood on Trifles, and carp'd at the leaſt Thing, in order ſtill to ſpin out the Time, and in the mean

mean while to give *Cromwell* Means to return from the *North* in Time enough, to communicate to the Army, and the Partizans he had in the two Houſes, what God had inſpir'd him with, about the Subject-matter of the Treaty. And then *Ireton* had already prepar'd them all for receiving his wholeſome Inſtructions; beſides that *Cromwell* himſelf had, on ſeveral Occaſions, given General *Fairfax* ſome Hints of them, particularly by his Letter of the 20th of *November*. As the 40 Days which the Commiſſioners were to ſtay in the Iſland, were expir'd, the King ſent for them, and told them, " That tho' the Time, which had been preſcrib'd to them " for treating, was ended, yet he did not think that the Treaty was; and " that he expected the Anſwer which the two Houſes would make to " his Demands: That they had ſeen, by what he had granted them, how " much he deſir'd Peace; ſince nothing could be ſo dear to him, next to " the Peace of his Conſcience, but what he would willingly part with, " in order to obtain it: That as for the reſt, if he had ſometimes expreſs'd " himſelf with a little Heat, they ought not to judge by that, that he had " any Grudge remaining in his Mind; that on the contrary, he would " harbour nothing there but Indulgence and Friendſhip to all the World; " and as he had not been offended, that they had freely told their " Thoughts, ſo they ought not to take it ill, that he had let them know " his: That they had acted like ingenuous Men; and that they had " oblig'd him, in many Things, to alter the Reſolutions he had taken " before: That he likewiſe believ'd, that his Reaſons had perſuaded " them to yield to many other Things; but becauſe he well knew that " they could not follow their own private Opinions, he begg'd of them " to get the two Houſes to approve of them, and to repreſent to them, " with Sincerity and Candor, how every Thing had paſs'd during the " Treaty; and likewiſe to make it known to them, how his Majeſty had " labour'd with all his Might to bring it to an happy Iſſue." 1648.

THE Demands which the King made at the Beginning of the Treaty, were: " That he might go to *London*, and that he might remain there " with Honour and Safety; and that the two Houſes might paſs their " Word for the Aſſurance of theſe two Things: That his Revenues " might be reſtor'd to him: And, That an Act of Oblivion might paſs, " after it ſhould be concerted betwixt him and the two Houſes." The two Houſes agreed to all that; and ſent Word to their Commiſſioners, " That his Majeſty ſhould be ſatisfy'd as to all theſe Things after " the Concluſion of the Treaty." And truly they were but neceſſary Conſequences of it; and the King having made no other Propoſitions concerning his own Intereſts, at the moſt he demanded nothing of them, but his Liberty and Life, ſacrificing all the reſt to the Safety of his People, which he truly believ'd to be the ſupreme Law of the State.

'TIS true, that in the unhappy Juncture of his Majeſty's Affairs, there was no other Way but that, for putting an End to the War, and reſtoring Peace in the Kingdom. The King was ſtill afraid, that his People had as yet a great many Things to undergo; becauſe the two Houſes, if they had a mind, might make an ill Uſe of that abſolute Power, which he had put into their Hands. Therefore, in all the Sequel of the Treaty, his Majeſty ſtill maintain'd his Rights with a wonderful Strength of Mind, as he did thoſe of the Clergy, and the Liberty of his People. But his Enemies not ſuffering themſelves to be perſuaded by his Reaſons, tho' they were convinc'd, the Deſire of Peace, which is among the temporal Bleſſings, what Juſtice is among the moral Virtues, and Humility among the Chriſtian

1648. Chriſtian Virtues; the Deſire, I ſay, that he had to make his People enjoy this excellent Gift of Heaven, and to ſtop the Blood of his Subjects, which was ſhedding every-where, made him at laſt yield to all the Demands that he thought he could in Conſcience grant.

Now, though there was but little Ground to believe that the two Houſes would give way to better and more reaſonable Thoughts, becauſe the prevailing Party run into all manner of Extremes, and being Enemies to Peace, found always ſome Reaſon for making new Demands to the King, as often as they met; well knowing, that both Reaſon and Honour would oblige him to refuſe them, that they might have a Pretence to reject all ſuch as had been granted: however, there was Reaſon to hope that the firſt free Meeting of Parliament would find their Privileges, and the Liberties of the People, better eſtabliſh'd upon the fundamental Laws of the State, and upon thoſe which the Nobility and People had acknowledg'd for ſo many Ages, which had made *England* ſo flouriſhing a Kingdom, than upon new Acts paſs'd by the King, who, under what Appearance ſoever of Liberty he had, was truly a Priſoner; and by a Parliament, who, in like manner, had but very little or no Liberty of Voting, being daily expos'd to the Violence of a rebellious and inſolent Army. In a Word, it was very probable that, as the Apoſtle, ſpeaking of the natural Body, ſays, *That if it were all Hands, or all Feet, it would be monſtrous*; the Nobility and People in the firſt free Parliament would have the ſame Opinion of the Body Politick, and that they would never ſuffer that the Head ſhould appear there no otherwiſe than debas'd under the other Members.

After the Commiſſioners were return'd to *Weſtminſter*, and, on the firſt of *December*, had preſented a Duplicate of the Treaty to the Parliament, the Houſe of Commons began to take it under their Deliberation. But the Debate was ſo great, that it laſted four Days, upon the Queſtion, "Whether it was true, that the King had given a ſatisfactory Anſwer "to the Propoſitions of the two Houſes?" The Partizans of the Army were for the Negative, ſaying, "That the King had not granted "every Thing in the ſame manner that the two Houſes had propos'd "them." But that Reaſon was ridiculous, and ſuppos'd Conditions which deſtroy'd all Manner of Treaties; becauſe it was never ſeen that all the Pretenſions were granted to thoſe that treat, who always make general and large Demands, in order to obtain their Ends. This Faction made this important Debate laſt as long as they could; becauſe the Army being upon its March towards *London*, in order to break off the Treaty, they expected that all the moderate Members would be terrify'd, and leave the Houſe: but they ſtill ſtood their Ground, notwithſtanding *Fairfax*'s Arrival with ſix Regiments of Horſe, and four of Foot, the General himſelf being lodg'd in *Whitehall*; as if, in Spite of the Treaty, he had a mind to ſhut the King out of it.

At laſt, on the 4th of *December*, *William Pryn* having made a long Speech, in order to let all the Members ſee the Advantages that accru'd to the two Houſes, from the Things which the King had granted them, the Particulars whereof he laid before them, running over each of the Articles, he wrought ſo upon the Minds of a great many, who had not been ſatisfy'd with them before, and whom the Fear of the Army had blinded, that they acquieſced to them: For unleſs ſome Paſſion had prevented them from conſidering their own Intereſts, they could not but

ſee

ſee that the two Houſes had it then in their Power to manage as they ſhould think fit both Religion and the State: And if they had but conſider'd in general, that the King had granted them, in this Treaty, more than they had ever demanded in all the former Treaties, they could not have refus'd the Offers which the King made them; becauſe they were much more advantageous to them, than thoſe which had fully ſatisfy'd them in the former Treaties, if his Majeſty had been pleas'd to grant them then. There was not one of the other Party in the Houſe, that durſt ſo much as open his Mouth, to make the leaſt Reply to *Pryn's* Reaſons, who very boldly and juſtly upbraided them "with having im-" pos'd upon the World, by a Self-denying Ordinance, whereby all the " Members of the Houſe were declar'd incapable of having any Office, " either in the State, or in the Army, that was at the Diſpoſal of the " two Houſes; and, for all that, almoſt every Day ſome of them were " gratify'd with Employments: But that it was the King alone, who, " without being bound thereby, put that Ordinance into Practice, when " he had renounc'd many Privileges of his Crown, though they had " never been diſputed with his Predeceſſors." All theſe Things were ſo well conſider'd, that the next Day, the Matter being taken into Deliberation, it was carry'd by a hundred and forty-four Votes, againſt a hundred and forty, "That the two Houſes being ſatisfy'd with what " the King had been pleas'd to grant them, they would endeavour, upon " that Foundation, to ſettle the Peace of the Kingdom." This ſo bold and reaſonable a Reſolution deſerv'd ſo much the more Praiſe, as it had been taken in Spite of the Threatenings of the Army; as the Antients ſo much the more admir'd that excellent Draught of *Rhodes*, as it had been finiſh'd while the Enemy kept the City ſo cloſe beſieg'd. 1648.

WHILE the King, with an unparellelled Goodneſs, was thinking of labouring to pacify his Kingdoms, the Army, on the other hand, was deviſing to put them into Confuſion, and plotting the moſt execrable Parricide that ever came from Hell. The Officers of the Army had met very often at St. *Albans*, which was the head Quarters, and had very privately held there their Council of War: At laſt the Myſtery of Iniquity comes out, and the Monſter, which the Furies of the Army had for a long time been hatching, is brought forth: On the 20th of *November* they preſented to the Houſe of Commons a very long and very extravagant Remonſtrance, wherein, after having, with the moſt inſolent Expreſſions imaginable, found Fault with the King's Conduct, and that of the two Houſes, in all their Treaties, particularly in this laſt, wherein they ſaid, "That the two Houſes had unſeaſonably repeal'd their firſt " Vote of no more Addreſſes to the King, whom they now had a mind " to bring to *London*: They complain'd of their having capitulated with " his Majeſty for the Delinquents, who ought to be brought to their " Trials; and demanded, that the King, who was the chief Cauſe of " all the Misfortunes of the Kingdom, ſhould be arraign'd: That the " Prince of *Wales* and the Duke of *York* be ſummon'd to appear within " a certain Time at *Weſtminſter*; and if they ſhould not appear, that " they might be declared Traitors, and incapable of ever having any " Government in *England*: That if they ſhould appear, they ſhould be " proceeded againſt, according to the Satisfaction they ſhould give to " Juſtice: That all the Revenues of the Crown be employ'd for the " Publick Neceſſities: That an exemplary Puniſhment be inflicted upon " the moſt noted Men of the Royal Party: and that others, upon Sub-" miſſion to the preſent Government, be pardon'd: That the Soldiers, *The Army's Remonſtrance to the Houſe of Commons.*

1648. " and all ſuch as have lent Money upon the publick Faith, be paid; " and that the Money ariſing from the Sale of the Delinquents Eſtates, " be taken for that: That theſe Things being done, a Period be ſet " to this Parliament; after which, Proviſion may be made for the " Government, in the following manner; That, without confining the " Votes in Elections to Burgeſſes and Freeholders, as was done before, " all the People may freely and equally chuſe the Members of the " Houſe of Commons: That this Houſe be the Repreſentative Body of " the whole Kingdom: That all thoſe who had carry'd Arms for the " King in the laſt War, or who ſhould oppoſe this new Eſtabliſhment, be " declared incapable of giving their Votes, or of being elected: That this " Houſe may have the ſupreme Power of eſtabliſhing and repealing " Laws, of making Peace and War, and, in ſhort, of managing the " whole State; for which End, this Houſe alone ſhould appoint the " Miniſters, to which only they ſhould be accountable for their Admi- " niſtration: That, however, it ſhould not be in the Power of this " Houſe to moleſt any Perſon for any Action done in the late War, " nor to alter this Form of Government, that Power being lodg'd in " the People: That the People ſhould ſtill have Liberty to make " Exceptions againſt the Proceedings of the Houſe, whenever they ſhould " diſcover either Corruption or Abuſe, and alſo to expel out of it thoſe " who ſhould have abus'd their Confidence: That from henceforth the " Kings ſhould be elected by the Repreſentative Body of the People, " and, by Oath, ſhould renounce their Negative Voice: That this " Form of Government ſhould be eſtabliſh'd by this preſent Parliament, " and afterwards be confirm'd by a general Contract and Agreement of " the People ſubſcribing thereunto; and that no Perſon be admitted to the " Crown, nor to any Office of the State, without having ſign'd this new " Eſtabliſhment." They concluded, with ſaying, " That theſe Pro- " poſals were ſo important, that they ought not to be ſlighted by the " Lords and Commons, becauſe they came from the Officers of the Army, " who were their Servants, becauſe they themſelves, as Members of " Parliament, were alſo the Servants of the Kingdom: And they deſir'd " the two Houſes to remember, that it often happens, that By-ſtanders " ſee more than the Gameſters."

THIS deteſtable Remonſtrance having been read in the Houſe, it fill'd with Aſtoniſhment and Terror the Minds of all ſuch as Deſpair had not made Accomplices of the blackeſt of all Crimes: They ſaw that it tended to the Violation of all Laws both divine and human, as well as of all thoſe which were the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom; that it overturn'd the Monarchy to all Intents and Purpoſes, and aim'd at the Diſſolution of every thing, which they were putting into a terrible Confuſion and Diſorder. Could it be ſaid, that thoſe who ſpeak in this Remonſtrance, were the ſame Perſons who, in their former Remonſtrances, confuting the Calumny of thoſe who had given out, that the King was inhumanly treated in the Army, made it appear, that that was directly contrary to their Principles? and that they did not ſee how Peace could be reſtor'd in the Kingdom, unleſs the Royal Family were reſtor'd to their Authority, and entirely re-eſtabliſh'd in their Rights. Beſides, they then added, that, above all things, they deſir'd, that abundance of Charity might be ſhewn towards all the Royal Party; and having drawn up Propoſitions, which they then preſented to his Majeſty, and were much more advantageous to the King, than thoſe of the two Houſes, as may be eaſily ſeen, in many important Matters, when compar'd with one another,

another, they did their utmoſt Endeavours to oblige the two Houſes to treat with his Majeſty upon thoſe very Propoſitions. In a Word, they ſeem'd to long for the Time, that the King, being agreed with the two Houſes, might go with Honour and Safety to *London*, expreſſing, that they ſhould be very ſorry, if any others but themſelves ſhould have the Glory and Honour to carry him back thither again. 1648.

THESE Hypocrites indeed confeſs'd all that in their laſt Remonſtrance; but pretending to give Glory to God, they acknowledg'd, that it was their Weakneſs, their Unbelief, the Deceit of human Counſels, which gave them ſo many Occaſions to humble themſelves before God; that they had great Reaſon to render Thanks unto him, that he had kept them from going any farther. Now they aſſert new Inſpirations, which could not have been reveal'd to them, but by the Father of Lies, who having been a Murderer from the Beginning, has brought Diſorder and Confuſion into the World. The new Lights were, That now there was no Poſſibility of pacifying the Kingdom, unleſs the two Houſes ſhould cauſe the King to be put to Death, all the royal Offspring to be diſinherited, and a popular Government to be eſtabliſh'd; but ſuch, however, as not one of themſelves would ſuffer in his own Family.

THE Order eſtabliſh'd by God is, that all Men, in order to lead a quiet and peaceable Life, ought to pray for Kings: 'Tis the only Means that he hath recommended to them for attaining that End; for 'tis not his Intention, that the People ſhould dethrone, or murder them; that's no leſs contrary to his Precepts, than 'tis to the Peace of the Earth. Revolts have always been deſtructive, and fatal to the People; they have never produc'd Remedies for their Grievances, let them be real or imaginary; and all States, that have ever given Way to ſuch wicked Attempts, have become Theatres of publick Robberies and Slaughter: The People, very far from leading a quiet Life in ſuch deplorable Times, have, on the contrary, been the Prey and Victims of the Ambition of the Great; they have been ſacrific'd to their Madneſs, they have ſeen the Bowels of their Country cruelly torn in Pieces. There has been nothing but Rapes and Broils, Towns reduc'd to Aſhes, Churches prophan'd, Provinces laid waſte, Rivers of Blood, Murders and Slaughters, Heaps of dead Bodies in the publick Streets; in a Word, every Place has been always fill'd with hideous Spectacles, and Objects of Indignation and Horror. The Sanhedrim never made an Attempt upon any King either of *Judah* or *Iſrael*, tho' ſome of them had been Idolaters, and had put the Abomination of the Gentiles in the holy Place. Never, I ſay, among that People, was any *Zambri* peaceable in the Throne, which he had polluted with the Blood of his Maſter; and never, in any Part of the World, could any Man ſtretch out his ſacrilegious Hand upon their ſacred Perſons without Sin. Kings are neither ſubject, nor accountable for their Actions, but to the King of Kings: *Satis habent ad Pœnam, quod Deum expectant Ultorem:* 'Tis by him they reign: 'Tis he who hath their Hearts in his Hand: He hath forbidden to touch his Anointed, and to ſpeak Evil of them, not even in the Secret of the Thought. *David* repented for having only cut off a Bit of *Saul*'s Garment, tho' he was rejected by God, and had purſu'd him to the utmoſt: And S. *Paul* was griev'd, for not having ſpoken with Reſpect enough to *Ananias*, when he underſtood that he was the High-Prieſt.

THE

1648. THE Authors of the Remonſtrance were not better enlighten'd in the Plan of their *Babel*, and chimerical Government, that the People ought to be the ſovereign Diſpoſers of every Thing. That was an Illuſion, in order to render themſelves abſolute Maſters; like *Henry Martin*, one of the principal Incendiaries of the Faction, who would not allow the Country-men, in the County of *Berks*, to ſpeak to him bare-headed, when he was picking their Pockets, and ruining the County. The Experience of all Ages has ſhewn, that there has been nothing but Tumults and Confuſion in the Meetings where all the People were preſent, in order to elect Magiſtrates. If any Man propos'd ſomething that was founded upon Reaſon, it was preſently ſtifled by Clamours; and Things did not paſs there but by an Impetuoſity of violent Paſſions, every one according to his own; which made wiſe Men ſay, That neither the Sea, nor even *Euripus* had ſo many Ebbings and Flowings, nor were ever ſo much toſs'd with the Winds and Tides, as popular Aſſemblies were with a Contrariety of Opinions, which, from paſſionate Tranſports, and contrary and extravagant Sentiments, claſh'd one with another. 'Tis true, that the People never know well what they would be at; they can ſtand to nothing; they are weary'd of every Thing; they like nothing but Changes. And thoſe whom they had lov'd and ador'd, when they were private Men, become the Object of their Hatred, when they are rais'd to Authority, tho' they themſelves had contributed towards their Advancement. The Speech of *Titus Quintius* to the People of antient *Rome* is very remarkable to this Purpoſe: " Would to God, ſaid he, that you would make us once " underſtand what it is you deſire: You have demanded Tribunes of the " People; and for the ſake of Peace we have granted you them: You " have deſir'd to be govern'd by ten Men; they have been created: You " were tir'd of them; and they have been laid aſide: You have again de- " manded Tribunes; they were given you: You had a mind that one " of the Conſuls ſhould be of your Order; your Deſire was gratify'd: " We have borne with the Appeal of our Decrees to the People, and " the Corruption of the Laws, under Pretence of mitigating them, fol- " lowing in that your weak Opinions, which have been as Laws to the " Senate: And yet for all that, there's no End of Diſcord, nor are you " ſatisfy'd. "

'TIS therefore the Way to deſtroy all manner of Government, to ſubject it to the People, or to make them Arbiters of it. Their Liberty conſiſts not in having Power to find Fault with it, nor in changing it according to their Caprice: The very Thoughts of which would be an immoderate Licenſe; and, as the Prince of Apoſtles has very well ſaid, 'tis *covering their Maliciouſneſs with a Cloke of Liberty*. But their true Liberties conſiſt in peaceably and ſafely enjoying the Fruits of their Labours, of their Goods and Eſtates, according to the Laws. Thoſe deceive them, who let them ſee any other, under Pretence that their Safety is the ſupreme Law of the State; that Maxim having been the fruitful Mother of ſo many Rebellions, when ambitious Men made a wrong Uſe of it, in order to fiſh in troubled Waters, and to attain their own Ends, which they never ſhould have compaſs'd, if the State had continu'd peaceable.

THE Officers of the Army did not wait for an Anſwer from the two Houſes to their Remonſtrance, having taken their Meaſures for keeping them in Order; and in the mean time, on the 27th of *November*, the General wrote to Colonel *Hammond*, and order'd him to come to him,

and

and to commit the King to the Charge of Colonel *Ewre*. *Hammond* having acquainted the Houſe of Commons therewith, they order'd him to ſtay in the Iſland, and attend his Charge there, 'till further Orders; and that, in the mean time, the General ſhould be inform'd of it. However, *Hammond* thought fit to obey the Orders of his Maſters that were in the Army, who took not the leaſt Notice of the Requeſt which the Houſe had ſent them, not to make any Innovations in the Iſland, while the Treaty was in hand; the Honour, and the publick Faith of the two Houſes, being engag'd for the Liberty and Security of his Majeſty. They went yet further, and, on the laſt Day of *November*, they ſent Lieutenant-Colonel *Cobbet*, with Orders to carry back the King's Perſon to *Carisbrook-Caſtle*, until the two Houſes ſhould give an Anſwer to the Remonſtrance of the Army. As the Officers, whom *Hammond* had left in the Iſland, were conſidering what they were to do, another Officer arriv'd, that ſame Evening, with a Troop of Horſe, and a Company of Foot, who preſented a ſecond Order from the General, for carrying the King immediately to *Hurſt-Caſtle*: So that the next Morning very early, theſe Officers having enter'd his Majeſty's Chamber, and ſhewn him their Orders, they carry'd him to *Hurſt-Caſtle*. *Hurſt* is a pitiful Fort, ſituate upon a Point of Land on the Coaſt of the County of *Southampton*, which extends itſelf a great way into the Sea, where, at Low Water, there's nothing but ſtinking Mud, and the Air is ſo thick and unwholſome, that the Gariſon muſt be chang'd every three Months, otherwiſe the Soldiers would all die. 1648.

THE King, before he left the Iſland, order'd one of his Servants, for the Satisfaction of his Subjects, to cauſe to be publiſh'd this Declaration, which he had made upon the Treaty, and the inſolent Behaviour of the Army: "As this unhappy Kingdom has, theſe ſeven Years, been in- *The King's Declaration.*
"volv'd in Confuſion and Blood, with which ſome People have the
"Boldneſs to charge me, though I have ſuffer'd more thereby than any
"Body elſe, and am the leaſt guilty of them; it ſeem'd that the beſt
"and moſt infallible Remedy, for putting a Stop to the Courſe of theſe
"Evils, could proceed from nothing elſe, but from the Deſires which
"the two Houſes had to treat with me in Perſon. And, indeed, the
"Medicine, without doubt, would have been excellent, if the Working
"of it had not been prevented by the Oppoſition of the Army, who, in
"their impudent Remonſtrance, call me their mortal Enemy. But
"let all the World judge, if I have not done my utmoſt Endeavours
"for bringing the Treaty to a happy Iſſue, and if I have not been as
"ready to grant the Things which the two Houſes required of me, as
"they had been to make the Demand of them. And yet all the Com-
"plaiſance that I have had, has not been able to ſatisfy theſe ambitious
"Men, who prefer their own private Intereſt to the general Tranquillity
"of their unhappy Country. My poor People were beginning to take
"Courage, and their Spirits, languiſhing under the Oppreſſions with
"which they were cruſh'd, were recovering ſome Vigour, upon the Hopes
"of Peace; which were no ſooner conceiv'd, than they prov'd abortive. I
"have ſometimes been blam'd, that I had not granted enough to my
"two Houſes of Parliament; and now I am found fault with for having
"been too complaiſant. I have been impriſon'd, becauſe, it was ſaid, I had
"made War; I am now once more a Priſoner, for having had a mind
"to make Peace: How ſhall I know hereafter what I ought to grant
"you, ſince you no longer know what you ſhould demand of me? I
"call your own Conſciences to witneſs, if I have not ſatisfy'd you in all



3

1648. " the Articles of the Treaty. If that be, you are bound to defend me " from the Fury of thoſe Men who thirſt after my Blood, and who, " pretending to ſhew themſelves full of Zeal, are real Wolves in Sheeps " Cloathing. It is not to be doubted but the greateſt Obſtacle of the " Peace, proceeds from the criminal Deſigns of thoſe, who, from " Servants, as they are, have a mind to become Maſters, and who are " endeavouring to erect a Popular Confuſion upon the Ruins of the " Monarchy: But, ſooner or later, they will find, to their ſad Expe- " rience, that the Subverſion of the fundamental Laws of the State, will " be the Ruin of thoſe very Men that do it; for thoſe who will not be " govern'd but by the Sword, ſhall, at laſt, alſo periſh by the Sword. Fac- " tion is the Mother of Deſolation: So 'tis the Temper of Men who love " nothing but Changes, ſoon to be weary of the ſame Thing, and ſtill to " hate one Folly, for the ſake of another Folly. There's nothing but " Time that can cure that Diſeaſe, becauſe it will ſpread itſelf like a " Leproſy over the whole Body of the Kingdom; which it will render " ſo odious, that they will hate themſelves becauſe of their Miſchief, " and will be like the Fiſh, which, in order to take the Bait, ſuffers " itſelf to be catch'd by the Hook. I once more declare to all my " faithful Subjects, and, perhaps, this will be the laſt time that I ſhall " be able to make this Declaration to them, that I have done all that I " could do with a ſafe Conſcience, for eaſing them of all their Troubles, " by the Means of a Peace; and I believe that nothing but the Interpo- " ſition of the Miſchievouſneſs of the Army could have eclips'd the " Glory of that amiable Bleſſing, which was beginning to appear in the " State. There is not a Man, let him be never ſo little impartial, but " ſees how unbecoming, and of bad Example it is, that the Orders of " the Parliament of the Kingdom ſhould be contradicted by an Army, " who, under Pretence of acting for its Laws and Liberties, overturn " both, and open a Door to all manner of Calamities and Miſchiefs. " If it had been I that had demanded the Treaty, the Boutefeus of the " Army would have had a ſpecious Pretence for breaking it off: but I " having been ſollicited by my two Houſes of Parliament, and they, by " the greateſt Part of the Kingdom, I offer'd my ſelf, I own it, to co- " operate with them in ſo good and holy a Work, as that of eſtabliſhing " a Peace is; and I hope that the People will now open their Eyes, in " order clearly to diſcern thoſe who are the ſworn Enemies of it, and " the Diſturbers of their Quiet. I proteſt before God, that my own " Afflictions, though very great, and moſt grievous, go not ſo near my " Heart, as thoſe of my People; becauſe I well know to whom I am " to have Recourſe, but they know not. God grant both them and me " Comfort, and give us Patience proportionable to our Sufferings: And " when the Malice of our Enemies ſhall be arriv'd at the higheſt Pitch, " I would have them to know, that, by the Grace of God, I ſhall be " as well pleas'd to ſuffer, as they ſhall be induſtrious to increaſe my " Afflictions: But I foreſee that the Time will come, that Vengeance " will be pour'd down from Heaven upon their guilty Heads: For ſince " God himſelf hath pronounc'd the Peace-makers bleſſed; of Conſe- " quence, thoſe who put a Stop to it, muſt be in a moſt wretched State. " To conclude: I thank God I am armed Proof againſt their Fury: " God being my Rock and Buckler, I ought not to be afraid of any " thing that Men can do unto me: I will then expect the worſt; and " if it does not happen, I ſhall give the Glory of it to God, for Man is " nothing but Vanity."

1648.

THE two Houſes having had Advice of this Violence, ſo injurious to the King, and done expreſly in Contempt of the Treaty, and their Orders, they voted, That that inſolent Action had been done without their Advice, or Conſent. But their Conſent was then no more taken notice of; for their Reign was at an End that very Moment, that the Authority of their Maſter, which they had uſurp'd, was wholly tranſferr'd to their Servants. Their Remonſtrance was follow'd, eight Days after it was ſent to the Houſe of Commons, by a Declaration full of Threatnings, and which ſpoke of nothing but Fire, Blood, and Slaughter. The Occaſion of it was this: The two Houſes having had Advice, that the Army was marching towards *London*, order'd a Letter to be written to the General, to entreat him (for they had for a long Time before made uſe of Entreaties) not to approach with the Army nearer to *London*. But as ſoon as he had ſeen and communicated this Letter to the General Officers, they gave Orders for openly daring the Parliament to print their Declaration, wherein they accus'd them of Fickleneſs, Indiſcretion, and Backſliding. They reproach'd them with having fail'd in the Confidence which the People had repos'd in them; and for that Reaſon they would appeal from them to the People, and in all Haſte advance to *Weſtminſter*, there to do what God ſhould inſpire them with, for the Advancement of the great Work that was to be done in the Kingdom. So did they call the Works of Darkneſs, and the Seduction of the Spirit of Error.

IN order then to advance this Work, which they call'd the Work of God, as they were enrag'd, that their Remonſtrance and Declaration had been ſlighted, and that the Houſe of Commons had voted for the Treaty of the Iſle of *Wight*, on the 6th of *December*, they ſent to the Houſe to demand, "That the Members who had been charg'd with Treaſon, upon "the Return of the Speaker of the Houſe the 6th of *Auguſt* 1647, might "be ſecur'd, and brought to their Trials, as alſo Major General *Brown*, "whom they look'd upon to have been one of thoſe who had invited the "Duke of *Hamilton* into *England*: That all the Members, who had not "voted for declaring Traitors all the *Scots* that enter'd *England* under the "Command of that Lord, may be immediately expell'd the Houſe; "and that all thoſe, who had conſented to the repealing the Vote of no "more Addreſſes to the King, be likewiſe expell'd; as alſo thoſe, who "had propos'd the Treaty of the Iſle of *Wight*, and who had voted, that "the King's Conceſſions to the Propoſitions of the Parliament, upon the "Treaty, were ſufficient Grounds for ſettling the Peace of the Kingdom: "Laſtly, That all ſuch faithful Members, who are innocent of theſe "Things, in order to diſtinguiſh themſelves from the others, may pub-"lickly proteſt againſt their Proceedings." Thoſe others were very near two Thirds of the Houſe. Theſe Demands deſtroy'd the Practice of all Courts of Juſtice, and of all manner of publick Aſſemblies; wherein Things having paſs'd by the Majority of Votes, the Judgment given is equally ſupported and maintain'd by the whole Society, as well by thoſe who voted againſt it, as by thoſe who were for it. So that the Majority of either of the Houſes being the whole Houſe, according to all the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Kingdom, the Army made War directly upon both the Houſes, tho' it was upon that very Account, that the Army demanded, that theſe very Houſes ſhould cauſe the King to be put to Death.

*The Demands of the Army to the Houſe of Commons.*

BUT as they long'd to be at it, and had not Patience to wait for the Anſwer, they ſent four Regiments to *Weſtminſter*; which having diſmiſs'd the

1648. the City Train'd-Bands that were there upon Duty, took Poſſeſſion of the Gates, plac'd Soldiers upon the Stairs, and in the great Hall; and ſuffer'd none to enter but the Members and Officers of the two Houſes. Then Colonel *Pride*, Colonel *Hewſon*, and Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, having a Liſt in their Hands of the Names of thoſe who were to be ſeiz'd upon, immediately caus'd forty one Members of the Houſe of Commons to be arreſted. Some of them were ſtopp'd in the Court of Requeſts, others in the Hall; and they were all very rudely puſh'd into the Court of Wards. And as ſome, whom they were looking for, were already in the Houſe, they caus'd them to be call'd for with ſham Notes, pull'd them out of the Door, and ſhewing no other Warrant to thoſe that demanded it, but their Soldiers, they ſent them all Priſoners to the Queen's Court. The Houſe being inform'd of this Violence, ſent their Sergeant at Arms twice to the Captain that guarded the Members ſeiz'd upon, to demand that they might be releas'd; but the Sergeant was ſent back, without being able to get near the Place where they were. The Houſe reſolv'd to complain of it to the General, and not to go upon any Buſineſs, till the Members ſhould be ſet at Liberty; but that was a Feint, as what follow'd plainly demonſtrated. As Night was drawing on, *Hugh Peters* went with a Sword at his Side, by Order of the General, to releaſe ſome of the Priſoners; who having aſk'd him, "By what Authority they had been "arreſted," he anſwer'd, "That it was by that of the Sword." So that, when Major *White* was expell'd the Council of War, for having ſaid, "That there was no other viſible Authority in the Kingdom," that Diſgrace befel him, only becauſe he had, before the Time, diſcover'd the ſecret Conſpiracy of the Army.

THE Priſoners were carry'd into a Place call'd *Hell*, where they paſs'd the Night upon Benches and the Floor, and where without Doubt they reflected upon the Time, when the King, in a regular Way, having caus'd five of their Members to be accus'd of high Treaſon, came himſelf to demand them, in a peaceable manner, without offering the leaſt Violence to any Perſon; that at that Time, I ſay, the Houſe was highly offended thereat, made a great Noiſe, cry'd out, that all was undone, all their Privileges were violated, that it was an Attempt of dangerous Conſequence, and at length encourag'd thoſe Tumults in the City, which forc'd the King to leave it, and which afterwards expos'd both the two Houſes and the City to all the Outrages they have ſuffer'd ſince that Time.

THE next Day, they were all carry'd to the Council of War at *Whitehall*; where having waited ſix or ſeven Hours, they were told, That the General was ſo taken up with other important Affairs, that he could not ſpeak to them; but that he had given Orders to carry them to two Inns in the *Strand*, and that he would ſend thither ſome of his Officers to ſpeak with them. They were conducted thither on Foot by a Detachment of Muſquetiers, who frequently halted, in order to expoſe thoſe poor Men in the middle of the Streets, in the Dirt, to the Deriſion of the People. Beſides theſe, who were ſoon ſent away to other Places, the Officers who guarded the Parliament, the Day following, kept above 160 Members from entering the Houſe of Commons; many others retir'd, in order to ſhelter themſelves from the Storm; ſo that there were but about forty or fifty Members, all devoted to the Army, and three or four Peers, who had proſtituted the Dignity of their Character, which together compos'd the pretended Parliament.

ON

ON the 11th of *December*, the ſecluded Members caus'd a Declaration to be publiſh'd, in the Name of the Counties and Towns whereof they were Repreſentatives; in which having ſignify'd the Violence and inſolent Treatment that had been offer'd to them, and, in their Perſons, to all the Commons of the Kingdom, they proteſted "Againſt all the Pro-"ceedings of the Houſe during their Abſence, and as long as it ſhould "be under the Power of the Army: That they declar'd them all void, "and all thoſe who had kept above 100 Members from entering the "Houſe, Enemies of the State, and Diſturbers of the publick Tranquil-"lity." They had much ſtronger Reaſons to ground this Declaration upon, than the Houſe had the 20th of *Auguſt*, 1647, to declare, "That "all that had paſs'd from the 26th of *July* to the 6th of *Auguſt*, was void "and null." For then the Houſe was full, and there were only forty Members, who of their own Accord fled to the Army, without the leaſt Appearance of any reaſonable Cauſe that could induce them thereto; the Tumults, of which they complain'd, being at an End the ſame Day that they began, and the City having taken ſuch a Courſe about them, that there was no Reaſon to be afraid of any bad Conſequence. 1648.

THIS Declaration having made a great Noiſe in the City, the two pretended Houſes caus'd a contrary Declaration to be publiſh'd; wherein having call'd it ſeditious, and tending to the Subverſion of the fundamental Government of the Kingdom, they ordain'd, That it ſhould be ſuppreſs'd, and that all the Members of both Houſes ſhould diſown it. And that as for thoſe who were the Authors of it, they ſhould be incapable of ever holding any Office, or of having any publick Employment in the Kingdom. Such was the Language of thoſe good People, who were undermining the true Foundations of the State, and were conſpiring with cruel Parricides, in order to ruin the true Father of the Country.

THE General, in order more and more to keep the City under, ſent into it ſome more Regiments, which he quarter'd in *Black-friars*, where formerly ſtood the Convent of the *Dominicans*, and round about St. *Paul's*, where that vaſt and venerable Cathedral of *London* ſerv'd the Soldiers for Lodgings, and their Horſes for Stables; and, by the General's Order, they took away by Force great Sums of Money out of the Halls of the City-Companies. As the Polity of this City was exceeding fine, all the Companies of Merchants, and thoſe of the Tradeſmen had, beſides *Guild-Hall*, each a particular Place where they met, and where they laid up a common Stock for the Neceſſities of their Companies, when any of their Society became indigent, or left poor Widows and Orphans.

AFTER that the Houſe of Commons, which ought to repreſent all the Commons of the Kingdom, had been deſerted, and that there were only remaining in it 50 or 60 Agents of the Army, this pretended Houſe began to repeal many Votes, which had been enter'd in the Journals, and to revive others, which by a full Houſe had been made void. So they reſolv'd, That the Vote of the 7th of *September*, 1647, whereby Commiſſary General *Copeley*, Sir *John Clotworthy*, *Denzil Hollis*, Major General *Maſſey*, and Mr. *Long* were expell'd the Houſe, ſhould remain in Force; and that that which re-admitted them, ſhould be void: That that of the 3d of *January*, 1648, which forbad any more Addreſſes to the King, ſhould be in Force; and that that of the two Houſes of the 30th of *June*, 1648, which had repeal'd it, tended to the Diſhonour of the

1648. Parliament, and the Ruin of the Kingdom: That the Vote of the two Houſes, for opening the Treaty in the Iſle of *Wight*, blemiſh'd their Honour, and put the Kingdom into evident Danger: That the Sentence paſs'd the 10th of *November*, for baniſhing the Earls of *Holland* and *Norwich*, the Lords *Capel* and *Loughborough*, was notoriouſly unjuſt: That the Vote, which ſet a Ranſom of a hundred thouſand Pounds upon the Earl of *Cambridge* (Duke of *Hamilton*), was no leſs unjuſt, and that they all ought to have been ſentenc'd to die: Laſtly, That the Commons having voted, that the King's Conceſſions to the Propoſitions of the Parliament, upon the Treaty, were ſufficient for ſettling the Peace of the Kingdom; had violated the publick Faith, and diſhonoured the Parliament of the Kingdom. And that theſe Sticklers for the Army might give it all the Satisfaction it deſir'd, they caus'd a Proteſtation to be drawn up, which they all ſign'd, for expreſſing their Averſion to the Votes that had been repeal'd: Though that manner of Proceeding, in the Condition their Fellow-Members were in, by the Violence of the Army, ought to have made them be expell'd the Houſe, and brought to condign Puniſhment.

In order to juſtify this Violence, the Officers of the Council of War ſent to their truſty Friends an Anſwer, which they call'd an humble Anſwer, wherein they laid down two deſtructive Principles: The firſt was, the Sincerity of their Intentions for the Publick Good. Now, there is no Sincerity of Intention that can rectify an Action that is not juſt in itſelf, though it ſhould be hurtful to no Body, and even be apparently pious; therefore it can much leſs juſtify criminal and ſhameful Actions: And as the good Intention cannot be diſcover'd but by that of Actions; Could any be ſeen more wicked, and more contrary to all Laws both divine and human, than thoſe who were reſolv'd upon by the Officers of the Army? Their ſecond Principle was, Neceſſity: For, ſaid they, as the greateſt Part of the Members of the Houſe were corrupted; if they had not ſeiz'd upon ſome, and expell'd others, they would have concluded a Peace with the King, and reſtor'd him to the Throne. This Pretence, as well as the firſt, open'd a Door to all manner of Diſorders; for every Man might ſay, that there was a Neceſſity to do what he did; or maintain, that his Intention was good and advantageous to the Publick: Let us add to that, That ſince there is no Neceſſity to do Evil, ſo there can be none to prevent Good. But that which the Officers of the Army were oppoſing, was the greateſt of all the Bleſſings that could be wiſh'd for, and which all good Men had been ſo long aiming at. They themſelves had formerly labour'd to bring it about, by a Spirit quite contrary to that whereby they were actuated at this time; for they then plainly ſaid, that it was abſolutely neceſſary, for the Good of Peace, to enter into a Treaty with the King himſelf, and to exclude but very few of the Royal Party. But who had made them Judges of the Publick Neceſſity? The Members of the Houſe of Commons are anſwerable to no Man for their Conduct, but to the Houſe itſelf: For though they be elected by the People, yet they take their Authority from the King's Writ, which gives them Leave to elect; and all the Power of the People, after that, is made over to them, in order to deliberate upon the Things propos'd, and to conſent thereto, accord- to their Judgment, and not as thoſe who have deputed them may have a mind to: Becauſe, otherwiſe, if there ſhould happen a Difference of Opinions between the Deputies and thoſe who depute them, the latter might proteſt againſt what the former had done, and ſo make void all

the

the Acts of Parliament. But though they ſhould be oblig'd to be accountable for their Actions to their Electors, they ought not to be ſo to others who have no Vote in the Elections; and much leſs to the Army, which ought to depend upon them, becauſe it was rais'd by Virtue only of a Vote of the two Houſes, for the Defence of the King, the Parliament, the Proteſtant Religion, the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, and, in ſhort, to act according to the Orders it ſhould receive from the ſame two Houſes. 1648.

THIS pretended Neceſſity was alledg'd by *Cromwell*, the firſt time that they had the Impudence to ſpeak of putting the King to Death, in the pretended Houſe of Commons: For having got up in the midſt of the Cabal, he told them, according to his wonted way, "That if any "Man had made that Motion on ſet Purpoſe, he would have look'd "upon him as the greateſt Traitor in the World; but ſince the Pro-"vidence of God, and Neceſſity, had induc'd them thereto, he beſeech'd "his Divine Majeſty to bleſs their Counſels; and that, as for him, he "would give them none at that time, not having had Leiſure to conſider "of what he ſhould ſay in an Affair of that Importance." But 'tis a manifeſt Impiety, in any Affair whatſoever, to appeal to the ſecret Providence of God, and to pretend that there is a Neceſſity to comply therewith in any thing, when all the Oracles, which God hath reveal'd to Men, teach us the contrary; and then 'tis not the Decrees of God that ought to be the Rule of our Lives, but his Precepts.

THIS humble, or rather inſolent Anſwer, contain'd alſo a great many Calumnies, wherewith they blemiſh'd the perſecuted Members; but it was eaſy to ſee, that all this Malice proceeded only from their having approv'd of the Articles of the Treaty of the Iſle of *Wight*: And yet their falſe Brethren, who remain'd in the Houſe, having at firſt pretended to take them into Protection, and intereſt themſelves for their Liberty, receiv'd this humble Anſwer, and approv'd of it, with as much Baſeneſs as Injuſtice. But theſe Members, who had not been heard in their own Defence, found Means to publiſh it, notwithſtanding that the Spies of the pretended Houſe run up and down through all the Printing Houſes, in order to find it out: And in their Reply, they boldly retorted all the Calumnies, which theſe Enemies both of God and Men had belch'd out againſt them.

IN this Time of Confuſion, a Libel came out, intitled, *The Agreement of the People*, whereof the laſt Remonſtrance of the Army was a perfect Abridgment: It was the ſame Piece which, under the Name of *The Rights of the People*, having been ſign'd by nine Regiments of Horſe, and ſeven of Foot, on the 9th of *November* 1647, had been preſented, by the Agitators, to the Houſe of Commons; where it was no ſooner read, than the Houſe voted, "That it contain'd Principles deſtructive "of the Authority of Parliament, and the fundamental Laws of the "Kingdom." The Houſe repeated the ſame Vote ſome Days after, and caus'd five or ſix Men of the City, who had been bold enough to own it, to be impriſoned. At the ſame time the Houſe order'd a Letter to be written to the General, deſiring him to cauſe diligent Search to be made for the Authors of it in the Army, and to give an Account thereof to the Houſe. Whereupon the Court-Martial caus'd a Soldier, who own'd the Thing, to be ſhot, and a great many more to be impriſon'd and very ill us'd, on the ſame Account. But, as we have already ſaid,

*Cromwell*

1648. *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, finding that the Torrent of the Army run that way, and that all the Agitators were wedded to thoſe Opinions, they reſolv'd to change their Note, and join with them: It was then that they fram'd the fatal Deſign, which they put in Execution, when the Buſineſs was found to be ripe, and that their Hour, which was that of the Powers of Darkneſs, was come.

In the mean time, their truſty Friends in the Houſe thought fit to ſanctify themſelves by a Faſt, which they kept on the 22d of *December*, in St. *Margaret*'s Church, *Weſtminſter*, with four Peers, who having paid their Reſpects to the General, offer'd to renounce their Titles and Dignities, if ever they ſhould be againſt the Liberties of the People: It was no wonder then, that, being in ſo good an Humour, they put in to be of the Company. *Hugh Peters*, the Merry *Andrew* of the Pulpit, preach'd there; and having taken for his Text, *Moſes* leading the Children of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, apply'd that Paſſage to the Leaders of the Army, whoſe Deſign (ſaid he) was to draw the People out of the Captivity of *Egypt*: But it was not reveal'd to him, by what Means that was to be done: Then covering his Face with both Hands, in ſo ridiculous a Poſture, that none of the Hearers could forbear laughing, then leaning on his Elbows upon the Pulpit, he ſtarted up all of ſudden, and cry'd out, "That God had reveal'd it to him: And it was, that the "Army muſt overturn the Monarchical Government, not only in *Eng-* "*land*, but likewiſe in all other Kingdoms: That that Stone was the "Corner Stone, cut out of the Mountain, which was to beat in Pieces "all the Powers of the Earth: That if it ſhould be objected, that this "was not a beaten Road, and that no Man had as yet paſs'd it; what "will you ſay of the Virgin *Mary*, (anſwer'd this prophane Mouth) "was there ever an Inſtance of a Woman that had conceiv'd without "the Company of a Man? So this Age ſets, but does not follow Exam-"ples." This was the Subſtance of this falſe Prophet's Sermon, who impudently made an ill Uſe of the holy Scripture; as *John Goodwin*, his Collegue, prophan'd it after a terrible manner, in a Pamphlet which he publiſh'd at the ſame time, in order to juſtify the Rapines, Oppreſſions, Murders, and the Parricide of the Army.

On the 25th of *December*, the Army, in a Council of War, reſolv'd to tolerate all Kinds of Religions, and entertain'd with Ceremony, as the true Repreſentatives of Counties, a great Number of ſhabby Fellows, with Sticks in their Hands, from ſome Counties, with Petitions, which the Deputies of the Army, in the Committees of the Counties, had drawn up, and wherein they demanded, in Name of thoſe Counties, that Juſtice might be done upon the principal Offenders, particularly upon the King, the greateſt Delinquent. For which the Council of War had the Impudence to thank thoſe Counties; which, on the contrary, demanded that Juſtice might be done upon theſe Parricides, and which deteſted their execrable Attempt. It was not after this manner that the Treaty was demanded: Every Body approv'd of it with their Wiſhes; and the City of *London* had ſo generally demanded it, that when the pretended Houſe, preſcribing Rules for the Election of the Magiſtrates of the City, had, at *Skippon*'s Deſire, voted, that ſuch as had been for the Treaty, ſhould not have any Office; the Common-Council of the City went and remonſtrated to the Houſe, that, by that Vote, all the Citizens muſt be excluded from the Magiſtracy; there being no Perſon of any Note in the City, who did not wiſh, with all his Heart, that the

two

two Houſes would treat with the King; and who, on the contrary, was not very ſorry that the Treaty had not come to a good Iſſue, according to the Expectation of all honeſt Men. 1648.

At laſt, on the 28th, the Ordinance was drawn up for Trying the King, wherein the Names of all the Commiſſioners were inſerted: And becauſe all manner of Laws, both divine and human, condemn'd ſuch execrable Proceedings, and that the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom were expreſly againſt them, the Traitors, who then compos'd the Houſe of Commons, bethought themſelves of grounding them upon this ridiculous Declaration, "That the Lords and Commons in Parliament "aſſembled, do declare, That it is Treaſon in the King of *England* for "the Time to come, to levy War againſt the Parliament of the "Kingdom." They had a mind to ſpeak as Legiſlators, who make Laws only for the Time to come; and ſo being fallen into a reprobate Senſe, they did not comprehend, in this Decree, the only Thing for which they had made it.

On the 2d of *January*, the Ordinance and Declaration were carry'd up to the Houſe of Lords, where there were ſixteen that Day: They began with the Declaration. Whereupon the Earl of *Manchester* told them, "That, by the fundamental Laws of *England*, the three Eſtates "were compos'd of the King, the Lords, and Commons: That the "King was the firſt and principal Eſtate; that it belong'd to him to "aſſemble and diſmiſs the Parliament; he confirm'd all their Acts, and, "without him, there could be no Meeting of Parliament; ſo that it was "an abſurd and ridiculous thing, to ſay that the King could be a Traitor "againſt the Parliament." The Earl of *Northumberland* added, "That "the greateſt Part of the People was ſtill in Doubt, whether it was the "King, who had firſt made War upon the two Houſes, or if it was "they, who had made it firſt upon the King: That if the King had "begun it firſt, there was no Law that call'd that Action of his Majeſty "Treaſon; and that it would be contrary both to Juſtice and Reaſon, "to declare it Treaſon by an Ordinance, when the Fact was not prov'd, "and that there had been no Law hitherto that had decided thereupon." Theſe Things were ſo convincing, that thoſe who were of contrary Sentiments, durſt not open their Mouths, inſomuch that the Ordinance and Declaration were both rejected. 1649.

It was not this Houſe only, but the Houſe of Commons likewiſe, where theſe Conſpirators were preſent with the other Members; which, in more than a hundred Declarations, and as many Petitions, whereof we have already ſpoken in the preceding Part of this Hiſtory, have declar'd, by the Conſent of all their Members, "That they never "intended to do the leaſt Injury either to the Perſon, or the Crown, "or the Poſterity of his Majeſty; that, on the contrary, they deſign'd "to make him more glorious than ever any of his Predeceſſors had been: "That they would preſerve, at the Peril of their Lives, the Fidelity "which they ow'd him: That all the Loans and Contributions ſhould "be employ'd for the Maintenance of the Proteſtant Religion, the Perſon "and Authority of the King, the Laws, and Privileges of Parliament: "That the Troops they had levy'd, were only for the Service of his "Majeſty, and the two Houſes: That they ſhould always take a moſt "particular Care to prevent the Danger that might happen to his "Perſon: That they never had the leaſt Thought of Depoſing him,

1649. " much leſs of making an Attempt upon his Life ; and that they ſhould " never depart from the Sentiments of Reſpect and Fidelity they ow'd " his Majeſty.

THE pretended Commons having had an Account of what had paſs'd in the Houſe of Peers, reſolv'd to rid themſelves both of the King and Lords all at once, and voted, " That all their Members, and others " appointed by them to act in any Ordinance, wherein the Lords are " join'd with them, ſhall be impower'd and enjoin'd to ſit, act, and " execute in the ſeveral Committees of themſelves, notwithſtanding the " Houſe of Peers join not with them. " Beſides, they declar'd, " That " the People, under God, are the Original of all juſt Power : That the " Commons of *England* aſſembled in Parliament, being choſen by, and " repreſenting the People, have the ſupreme Authority of this Nation : " That whatſoever is enacted and declar'd for Law, by the Commons in " Parliament, hath the Force of Law ; and all the People of this Nation " are included thereby, although the Conſent and Concurrence of the " King, and Houſe of Peers, be not had thereunto. " The lawful Government and the Laws being by this Means aboliſh'd, the Lives, Liberties, and Fortunes of all the People were at the Diſcretion of a Handful of Confidents of the Army, who were the Dregs and Refuſe of the Houſe of Commons, which, when it was entire, had never pretended to be a Court of Juſtice.

WHEN the King calls a Parliament, the Commons are ſummon'd thereto, in order to agree to what is ordain'd by common Conſent, and to put it in Execution afterwards. The Writs which are iſſued out for the Election of Members, are worded thus ; *Ad conſentiendum & faciendum quæ ibidem de communi conſilio ordinari contigerit.* The King never adviſeth with the Houſe of Commons, but with the Peers, the Judges of the Kingdom, and with his Privy-Counſellors, who, for the moſt part, are in the Houſe of Lords, where the King preſides, and never goes into the Houſe of Commons. The Commons may ſend up Grievances, conſent or not conſent to the Eſtabliſhment of Laws, grant or refuſe the laying on of Taxes : But they are not a Court, nor Judges ; they cannot examine Witneſſes upon Oath, which a Court of Judicature can : They cannot try any Perſon ; and 'tis only ſince *Edward* VI's time that they have Records ; beſides, theſe are nothing but Journals of what paſſeth in the Houſe. Appeals are only made to the Houſe of Lords, without the Commons having any Share therein : 'tis very plain, by their Poſture, when they are conferring with the Lords upon any Affair, that they do not pretend to be their Equals, nor Judges, as the Lords are ; for the Lords ſit, and are cover'd, and the Commons ſtand, with their Hats off.

IF the Hearts of theſe Men, who were the Reproach and Diſgrace of that Houſe, had not been harden'd, and if they had not had Faces of Braſs, it would have ſeem'd, that they themſelves were aſham'd of their Ordinance for Trying the King ; for they order'd the Clerk of the Houſe not to give any Copy of it to any Perſon whatſoever : But it was rather the Stings of a bad Conſcience that were tormenting them, and which will torment them to Eternity. And, indeed, ſome, who have had Buſineſs with them, have obſerv'd, that they were like ſo many *Cains*, who were afraid that every one that met them would fall upon them : They led them from Room to Room, locking up all the

the Doors; and they even thought that God had ſet a Mark upon theſe Parricides, and that ſomething extraordinary and frightful was ſeen in their Countenances. 1649.

THIS deteſtable Ordinance was in Words to this Effect; "That "*Charles Stuart*, King of *England*, not content with the Uſurpations "which his Predeceſſors had made upon the Rights and Liberties of the "People, had had, over-and-above, a wicked Deſign to overturn the "ancient and fundamental Laws of the Nation, and to introduce therein "an arbitrary and tyrannical Government: And among the other wicked "Means which he had made uſe of for the Accompliſhment of his "Deſigns, he had attack'd it with Fire and Sword, had levy'd War "againſt the Parliament thereof, which had laid Waſte all the Country, "drain'd the publick Treaſures, ruin'd Commerce, caus'd a vaſt "Number of the People to be ſlain, and open'd a Door to a thouſand "other Calamities, whereof *Charles Stuart* is guilty, and for which he "might, long before this time, have been brought to Juſtice: But the "Parliament having forborn doing of it, in hopes, that God having "deliver'd him into their Hands, the Impriſonment of his Perſon would "have appeas'd the Troubles of the Kingdom; and having ſeen that "this Indulgence ſerv'd only to encourage him the more, with all his "Acccomplices, to continue in their curſed Deſigns: For which Cauſe, "and that no Officer or Magiſtrate may, for the time to come, preſume "to take in hand to put the *Engliſh* Nation in the Condition of Slaves, "the Commons in Parliament aſſembled have ordain'd, and ordain, "That *N. N. N.* ſhall be appointed Commiſſioners and Judges for the "Trial of *Charles Stuart*: And theſe Commiſſioners, or any twenty "of them, ſhall have Power to hold a Court of Juſtice, in ſuch Place, "and at ſuch Time, as they ſhall think fit to appoint, under their "Hands and Seals, by publick Proclamation, in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, in "order there to hear read the Charges and Informations given againſt "*Charles Stuart*, with his Defences; likewiſe to hear the Witneſſes; and "to proceed to the Sentence and Execution, according as the Merit of "the Cauſe ſhall require. This Court ſhall alſo have Power to chuſe "Officers and Aſſiſtants, ſuch as ſhall be judg'd neceſſary for that End, "by the Majority of the Votes of the Court: And General *Fairfax*, "with all the Officers of Juſtice, and all other well-affected Perſons, "ſhall alſo have Power to aſſiſt the Commiſſioners in the Diſcharge of "their Commiſſion, which ſhall end within a Month." *The Charge againſt the King.*

THEY had nam'd General *Fairfax* amongſt theſe Commiſſioners, with a great Number of Officers, and others, who did not appear in this pretended Court. Not that they were better-affected to the King, than the other Villains that were preſent; but their being nam'd, made it plainly appear that they were all of the ſame Cabal. I believe General *Fairfax* may be excepted, who may be ſaid to have had an Abhorrence of this horrid Attempt, and who had only lent his Name to all that the Army had done ſince the Rebellion. But, that the Names and Perſons of thoſe, who actually had a Hand in the King's Murder, may be deteſted by all Poſterity to the End of the World, I have ſet them down here:

*John*

1649. *John Bradshaw*, President.
*Oliver Cromwell.*
*Henry Ireton.*
*Philip Skippon.*
*Thomas Harrison.*
*Edward Whaley.*
*Thomas Pride.*
*Isaac Ewre.*
*Richard Ingoldsby.*
*Rowland Wilson.*
*Henry Martin.*
*William Purfroy.*
*Godfroy Boswell.*
*John Berkstead.*
*Edmond Ludlow.*
*John Hutchinson.*
*Robert Tichbourn.*
*Owen Roe.*
*Adrian Scroop*
*John Okey*
*John Harrison*
*John Desborough.*
*John Moore.*
*Francis Lassels.*
*Edmond Harvey.*
*John Venn.*
*Anthony Stapely.*
*George Fleetwood.*
*James Temple.*
*Thomas Wyat.*
Lord *Grey* of *Groby.*
Lord Visc. *Lisle.*
Lord *Monson.*
Sir *Hardress Waller.*
Sir *Henry Mildmay.*
Sir *John Danvers.*
Sir *Thomas Maleverer.*
Sir *John Bouchier.*
Sir *James Harrington.*
Sir *William Brereton.*
Sir *Peter Wentworth.*
Sir *William Constable.*
Sir *Gregory Norton.*
Sir *Peter Temple.*
*William Hennengham.*
*Cornelius Holland.*
*Miles Corbet.*
*Francis Allen.*
*Peregrine Pelham*
*John Gourdon.*
*Denis Bond.*
*Humphrey Edwards.*
*Henry Smith.*
*James Chaloner.*
*Thomas Chaloner.*
*John Allured.*
*Gregory Clement.*
*John Fray.*
*Thomas Wogan.*
*John Love.*
*William Cawley.*
*John Lisle.*
*John Corbet.*
*Thomas Blunt.*
*Thomas Bone.*
*John Brown.*
*Isaac Kenington*, Alderman.
*Thomas Atkins*, Alderm.
*John Foulks*, Alderm.
*Thomas Andrews*, Alderm.
*Francis Thorp*, Serjeant at Law.
*Isaac Dorislaus*, Mr. *Aske*, } Counsellors, who drew up the Charge, and assisted.
*John Cook*, Sollicitor-General.
Mr. *Dandy*, Serjeant at Arms, Mace-bearer.
Mr. *King*, Crier.
Mr. *Walford*, Mr. *Radley*, Mr. *Payn*, Mr. *Powell*, Mr. *Hull*, } Tipstaves, and Messengers.

THE Commission of this Gang of Desperado's was not seal'd with the Great Seal, which the two Houses had caus'd to be made, after that the Lord Keeper had retir'd to the King: That Seal frighten'd these Conspirators then; because the King's Effigies and Arms were upon it, and the Inscription was, *Charles*, by the Grace of God; which would have confounded their diabolical Enterprize. They had order'd it to be broken: but not being as yet resolv'd upon what sort of Seal they should cause to be engrav'd, these Commissioners were to act under their own particular Hands and Seals, with which a great many of their Crew were not very well provided. As the Seal is the King's Seal, so all the Courts are Royal; all Judges, the Kings Counsellors; and all Ordinances and Laws, Royal Statutes: Letters Patent, are Royal Patents; the Peace of the State, is the King's Peace; and all just War, is the War made by the King: He is the Fountain from whence all Authority springs; and it belongs to him to confer Titles and Marks of Honour. So that their Proceeding against the sacred Person of the King, may be compar'd to that of a Gang of Highway-Men, who having seiz'd a Traveller, should lead him into their lurking Hole, where, in order to pass away their Time merrily, they should appoint some of their Number to be Sham-Judges, who having interrogated him in the Terms and Forms of Justice, should condemn him to die, because they would not take away his Life, but with that insolent Ceremony.

WHAT

1649.

WHAT is very remarkable in this, is, that the *Jews*, who crucify'd the Son of God, by whom Kings Reign, took then Occaſion of the Conjuncture, which ſeem'd favourable to them: They preſented a Petition to the Council of War, who crucify'd him again, in the Perſon of the King, his Vicegerent in the Kingdoms, over which God had ſet him. By their Petition, they requeſted, that the Act of their Baniſhment might be repeal'd, and that they might have St. *Paul*'s Church for their Synagogue; for which, and the Library of *Oxford*, wherewith they deſir'd to begin their Traffick again, they offer'd five hundred thouſand Pounds; but the Council of War would have eight. The Brokers employ'd by the *Jews* in the Affair, were *Peters* and *Martin*. The Propoſal was made to the pretended Commons, with another Demand of the Council of War, which agreed very well with this, to wit, That no more Tithes be paid to the Miniſters. They were perſecuted for having pray'd for the King; though the Directory, eſtabliſh'd by the two Houſes, in Place of the Liturgy, ordain'd, that the King ſhould be pray'd for over all the Kingdom; as was done in *London*, where the Officers of the Army had often propos'd to have the Doors of all the Churches ſhut up; and where the Mayor and principal Aldermen, in Common-Council, having refus'd to declare, that the ſupreme Authority was in the pretended Houſe of Commons; that Houſe ordain'd, that forty Members of that Council might hold it, though the Mayor and Aldermen ſhould not be preſent; any Privilege, Charter, or other Uſage of the City to the contrary notwithſtanding.

POSTERITY will hardly believe, that the Nobility, which is very illuſtrious in *England*; that the People, who are brave and warlike; that the powerful City of *London*, which can raiſe forty thouſand good regular Militia, had fallen into ſo deep a Lethargy, as to ſuffer that the eighth Part of the Members of the Houſe of Commons, who ſcarcely repreſented the eighth Part of the Counties, Cities, and Boroughs of the Kingdom, all the other Members being either ſecluded or impriſon'd by the Army, ſhould ſuppreſs the Houſe of Peers, abrogate the Privileges of *London*, overturn the fundamental Laws of the Monarchy, and erect a Court of Juſtice for Trying their King: And that they had been ſo blinded, that they did not reflect upon the Reproach that that would draw upon the whole Nation; and that they did not conſpire together, in order bravely to oppoſe the Erection of this Butchery, to which they all expos'd themſelves. If a handful of profligate Men have had the Impudence, in the Horror of their Crimes, to trample upon all Laws, both divine and human, and even that which was the moſt ſacred and inviolable of the State, and to uſurp an Authority for taking the King's Life; who could be ſure of his own? So much the more as any Man was rais'd above the reſt, ſo much the more Reaſon had he to be afraid: If Men, who were not themſelves a Court of Juſtice, and could not ſo much as try the meaneſt Man of the Kingdom, not even though all the Members had been lawfully aſſembled in their Houſe: If, I ſay, ſuch Kind of People could conſtitute themſelves Judges of the King, who could have none but God; they, his mortal Enemies, who had declar'd by their Manifeſto's, that they had a mind to have his Life; they, whom the meaneſt Subject could have excepted againſt in all the Courts of Juſtice: If that, I ſay was eſtabliſh'd, ſuch a Faction, nay, a thouſand other Factions; might not they, in

1649. like manner, erect themſelves into Courts, in all the Corners of the Kingdom? After which, could there be any other Thing expected but Murders and Maſſacres? Would not all the Inhabitants of the Kingdom deſtroy one another? And would not the whole Kingdom, at laſt, become a Slaughter-houſe, and a frightful Deſart?

*The END of the* ELEVENTH BOOK.

THE

# THE HISTORY OF THE TROUBLES OF *GREAT-BRITAIN.*

## BOOK XII.

AT length we are come to the laſt Act of the moſt horrid Tragedy that Men have ever ſeen upon the Theatre of the World, to wit, to the fatal Cataſtrophe of the Troubles, whereof we have ſpoken, and which we look upon as Men commonly do upon old Age, at which every Body deſires to arrive; but when a Man is come to it, he would fain be able to draw back from it. However, it is in this Place of our Hiſtory that the Reader waits us: And as 'tis, chiefly, when the great Luminaries are eclips'd, that Men are moſt curious to obſerve them; ſo, perhaps, the Reader has only run over what we have written hitherto, in order, at laſt, to take notice of this ſo tragical a Concluſion. But he can hear of nothing now, but of Blood, and Spectacles of Horror, which ought to aſtoniſh Heaven, and make the Earth tremble. And I have ſo great a Reluctancy to give a Deſcription of it, beſides, that my Profeſſion ought to keep me from it, that I could wiſh to be excus'd from giving it: For how can I repreſent a great King, nay, one of the beſt of Kings, the Father of his Country, ending his Life upon a Scaffold, and that this Cruelty has been committed by a People whom he had ſo much lov'd? There is not a Soul ſo little ſenſible, but muſt be touch'd with Grief, nor a Heart, but

1649.

1649. but muſt be ready to break, at the Relation of the moſt ſtrange Thing that ever was ſeen under the Cope of Heaven. I could wiſh that I were allow'd to draw the Curtain upon this bloody Theatre, and to cover with a Veil the Grief which no Art can repreſent: However, I make theſe Wiſhes in vain, for the Picture muſt be finiſh'd; and as we have ſhewn his Moderation in his Proſperities, we muſt let his admirable Conſtancy be ſeen in his moſt deplorable Adverſities; and that as he has been always meek upon the Throne, he has been as ſtedfaſt and unſhaken in his Priſon: That he has always been himſelf, ſtill bearing with an even Mind both good and bad Fortunes: Proſperities did not in the leaſt ſwell his Courage, nor did Misfortunes damp it: He declin'd his own Grandeur in his good Fortune, and conquer'd himſelf in his bad: He triumph'd over the Rage of his Enemies, by his long Patience: His Fall has heighten'd the Glory of his Virtues, which the Darkneſs of that fatal Night have render'd more bright: In ſhort, he has erected glorious Trophies to himſelf with his own Sufferings, as the Sun makes Crowns to himſelf of the Clouds that would have cover'd him.

As ſoon as the Army had preſented to the Houſe of Commons that Remonſtrance of the 20th of *November*, which was an execrable Libel, the King's Ruin was no longer to be doubted: The King himſelf foreſaw that he ſhould be undone, as ſoon as he was kept cloſe Priſoner in *Carisbrook* Caſtle; whence, having prevail'd upon ſome of his Guards, he found Means to let ſuch of his Servants hear from him, as were ſtill in the Neighbourhood of the Iſland, and who had ſtopp'd there with a Deſign to wait an Opportunity of ſerving his Majeſty; amongſt others, he caſt his Eyes upon the Lord *Newburgh*, of the Family of *Levingſton* in *Scotland*: This Lord had always been ſo faithful and affectionate to him, that he would not have ſcrupled to venture his Life, if there had been Occaſion, in order to ſave that of his Maſter: In a Word, the King knew him to be capable of undertaking any thing for ſetting him at Liberty, if poſſible. His Majeſty then wrote to this Lord, and bid him order two good Horſes to be kept ready on the Sea-ſide, and to wait for him at a Village about three Miles from *Guilford*. *Newburgh* being gone thither, had Advice, that two Gentlemen, who had been order'd, as well as himſelf, to wait for his Majeſty, had juſt gone for *Southampton*, and that they had left Orders for him, to go in all Haſte to *London*. What had oblig'd them to do ſo, was, that the King having attempted to make his Eſcape through a Window of his Chamber, he never could get out but the half of his Body, and, ſtrive whatever he could, he was forc'd to give it over; however, without being diſcover'd. In order to facilitate his Eſcape, he found Means to get ſome *Aqua fortis*, which in a little time had eaten into ſome of the Iron Bars of the Windows. *Hammond*, who commanded in the Caſtle, having preſently perceiv'd it, and at the ſame time found out thoſe whom the King had practis'd upon, he turn'd them out of the Caſtle, and put others in their Place. Immediately after, the Treaty of Peace was begun in *Newport*, which made the King think no more of making his Eſcape.

In the mean time, *Newburgh* made ſhift to ſee the King, who being inform'd that the Army was labouring to break off the Treaty, and that, perhaps, the End would not anſwer the favourable Beginnings it had had; the King, I ſay, order'd *Newburgh* a ſecond time to cauſe ſome Horſes to be kept ready, and to put them into the Hands of a Gentleman whom he ſhould ſend him. Every thing having been prepar'd for the King's Eſcape,

Eſcape, according to the Orders his Majeſty himſelf had given, a Party of Horſe came from the Army, who carry'd him away by Force, and conducted him to *Hurſt* Caſtle in the County of *Southampton*. 1649.

*The King carry'd to* Hurſt-Caſtle *by* Harriſon.

THREE Days after the King was in that Caſtle, *Newburgh* found Means to convey a Letter to him, and at the ſame time treated with the Captain of a Frigat, in whom he had Confidence, and who promis'd him to carry the King to any Place he ſhould be pleas'd to order him. There was a ſort of a long Cauſeway that reach'd from the Caſtle to the Harbour of *Milford*, upon which the King walk'd every Day at eleven o' Clock in the Forenoon, with three or four Soldiers only to guard him; ſo that as Ships could anchor very near the Shore, the Long-Boat could eaſily come on Shore with a Score of Men, who, without running any Riſque, would have been able to bring off his Majeſty, and carry him in Safety on Board of the Frigat: But the Captain having in all Haſte fitted out his Ship in the *Thames*, and being ready to ſet Sail, a Party of Horſe, commanded by Colonel *Harriſon*, came to take the King, in order to conduct him to *Windſor-Caſtle*.

NEVERTHELESS, *Newburgh*, not deſpairing of ſucceeding in his Deſign, went immediately to *Bagſhot-Park*, where he then liv'd, and by which his Majeſty was to paſs, in going to *Windſor*. The King came there pretty ſoon in the Morning, and not thinking that *Harriſon* intended to make him dine in the Lodge, he ſent Word to *Newburgh*, to diſpatch, as ſoon as poſſible, one of his Servants, with two Horſes, to a Place of the Heath, call'd *Swintley-Bars*; and, that his Majeſty might at firſt Sight know him, he order'd him to put a pretty large Patch under his left Eye: But before the Horſes could be got out of the Stable, the King's Head-Cook came, who was a Man entirely at the Devotion of the Army, and who had Orders from *Harriſon* to dreſs Dinner there. The King ſeeing that, ſent again to tell *Newburgh*, that he wiſh'd ſome Way could be contriv'd for getting him convey'd privately out of the Lodge, if it was poſſible: But as he was ſo narrowly watch'd, that the Soldiers never loſt Sight of him, he had no way left him for eſcaping out of their Hands, but by the Swiftneſs of the Horſe upon which he ſhould be mounted, when he ſhould croſs the Heath. And as the Horſe, upon which the King had come, was not fit for performing that, he was made lame, to the End that, without any Suſpicion, he might take another Horſe out of *Newburgh*'s Stable. *Harriſon*, however, could hardly be perſuaded to let the King make uſe of him: But his Majeſty ſeeming very indifferent about it, *Harriſon* conſented that the King ſhould mount *Newburgh*'s Horſe; but he order'd the Troopers who conducted him, to keep cloſe about him the whole Way; which they perform'd ſo punctually, that it was impoſſible for him to get from them.

*The King dines at the Lord* Newburgh's, *where there was an Intention of making the King's Eſcape, but in vain.*

*NEWBURGH* follow'd the King to *Windſor*, where having alighted at an Inn, he found a Gentleman, who, in a handſome manner, offer'd to aſſiſt him in making his Majeſty's Eſcape, and alſo promis'd to get his Majeſty a Paſs-Key, for opening all the Gates; and likewiſe ſaid, that if his Majeſty would do him the Honour to truſt him, he durſt engage to convey him out by the Caſemates, which went under the Caſtle to the River-ſide, and which the Gariſon knew nothing of. *Newburgh* gave the King an Account of it, by a Letter which he got convey'd to him: And the King having the ſame Day receiv'd

*An Attempt to make his Eſcape from* Windſor-Caſtle, *but alſo in vain.*

1649. the Paſs-Key *, which the Gentleman had promis'd him, he ſent *Newburgh* Word, that he would truſt the Gentleman who had offer'd his Service ſo handſomly, and order'd him to have every Thing ready for his getting out of the Caſtle, and that the Ship he had hired might at the ſame time be in a Readineſs ſomewhere upon the Coaſt for carrying him to *Jerſey*, as ſoon as he could get to her. All that was done according to the King's Orders, but all was thwarted by the Misfortune that always attended his Majeſty's Affairs: For as all was ready for his Deliverance, which ſeem'd infallible, his Enemies intercepted two Letters, one from the Queen, and the other from *Newburgh*. As ſoon as they had decypher'd them, they ſearch'd the King, and found the Paſs-Key in his Pocket: An Account thereof having been ſent to *London*, two Days after he was carry'd thither, and impriſon'd in St. *James*'s Palace.

* *Paſſe-partout.*

*The King brought to St.* James's.

On the 19th of *January*, Mr. *Dandy*, Sergeant at Arms, carrying the Mace, rode to *Weſtminſter*, accompany'd by the Officers of the pretended High Court of Juſtice, bare-headed: Six Trumpets, who march'd before him, having ſounded in the *Palace-Yard*, Proclamation was made, to give Notice to the People, that the Commiſſioners of the High Court of Juſtice were to ſit To-morrow, for the firſt time, in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, where all thoſe, who had any Complaint to make againſt *Charles Stuart*, King of *England*, ſhould be heard. The like Proclamation was made in *Cheapſide*, St. *Paul*'s *Church-yard*, and at the *Old Exchange*. What muſt ſeem very ſtrange, is, that all that great Multitude of People, that had got together there, expreſs'd no more Reſentment of it, than the Stones of that ſtately Building near to which they were met.

It was on the 20th of *January* then, that theſe Parricides met in *Weſtminſter-Hall*: They choſe the upper End of the Hall for their Sitting, where they had caus'd Benches to be erected on both Sides, cover'd with ſcarlet Cloth, for the Commiſſioners; a Chair of State cover'd with red Velvet, with a Desk cover'd with a Carpet and Cuſhion of the ſame Velvet, for the pretended Preſident *Bradſhaw*. The Sword and Mace were carry'd before him, and he had for his Guard twenty Gentlemen, each carrying a Partizan, who were commanded by Colonel *Fox*. This petty Counſellor, rais'd to be a Judge, being ſeated, and next to him the Commiſſioners, the Uſhers open'd the Door of the Hall, which was preſently fill'd with Men and Women of all Ranks. After the Uſhers had commanded Silence, Colonel *Tomlinſon*, who had the Cuſtody of the King, had Orders to bring him before the Court. His Majeſty being come, ſurrounded with Guards, the Mace-Bearer receiv'd him at the Door of the Hall, and conducted him to the Bar, where there was another Chair of State cover'd with red Velvet, prepar'd for him. His Majeſty being ſeated therein, and ſtill keeping on his Hat, the Clerk read the Ordinance of the pretended Commons, containing a Power to Try the King; and as he nam'd the Commiſſioners, each of them ſtood up, and anſwer'd to his Name. The Clerk was ſeated at *Bradſhaw*'s Feet, at the End of a Table cover'd with a rich *Turky* Carpet, upon which were the Sword and Mace, with two ſtrong Boxes, wherein was the Charge againſt the King. This curſed Ordinance having been read, *Bradſhaw* turning towards the King, and caſting off all the Reſpect he ow'd to his ſacred Perſon, he call'd him by his Name, and told him, "That the Commons in Parliament aſſembled,

*The King brought to* Weſtminſter-Hall.

" being

" being ſenſibly affected with the unhappy State into which the King- 1649.
" dom was fallen, and with ſo much Blood as had been ſpilt therein,
" as he was charg'd with having been the principal Cauſe thereof; they
" had, by their own Authority, conſtituted this High Court of Juſtice,
" in which he ſhould hear read the Charge and Informations that had
" been given in againſt him, upon which the Court ſhould after-
" wards paſs their Judgment." Then *John Cook*, their Sollicitor-General, directing his Speech to *Bradſhaw*, calling him *My Lord*, ſaid, " That he charg'd *Charles Stuart* with High Treaſon, in the Behalf of " the Commons, and of all the People of *England*; and that, in their " Name, he requir'd, that the Depoſitions of the Witneſſes might be " read to him." The King offer'd to ſpeak before reading of the Charge, but was interrupted by *Bradſhaw*, who told him, " That he ſhould " be heard after the reading of the Charge that had been given in " againſt him."

*The Charge againſt the King.*

THE Sum of the Charge was, " That he had been admitted King " of *England*, and truſted with a limited Power to govern according to " Law; and, by his Oath and Office, was oblig'd to uſe the Power " committed to him for the Good and Benefit of the People; but that " he had, out of a wicked Deſign to erect to himſelf an Unlimited " and Tyrannical Power, and to overthrow the Rights and Liberties of " the People, Traitorouſly levy'd War againſt the preſent Parliament, " and the People therein repreſented." After this outrageous Preamble, it contain'd an Account of all the Battles, Sieges, and Rencounters wherein the King had been perſonally preſent, and of all the Commiſſions he had given out, as well in *England* as *Ireland*, for levying and commanding Troops. The Concluſion of it was, " That it thereby " appear'd, that the King was the Author of a bloody War, and that " he was guilty of all the Treaſons, Murders, Burnings, and Deſolations " with which the whole Nation in general had been afflicted ſince the " Beginning of the War." Whereupon *Cook*, in the Name of all the People, charg'd the King with being a Tyrant, Traitor, Murderer, and an irreconcileable Enemy to the Commonwealth of *England*; and requir'd, " that he might be obliged to anſwer to all the Particulars; to " the End that ſuch an Examination, Trial, and Judgment might be " had thereupon, as ſhould be agreeable to Juſtice."

DURING the reading of this defamatory and ſeditious Libel, the Silver Head of the Cane, which the King had in his Hand, fell to the Ground; and ſeeing that no Body offer'd to take it up again, he took it up himſelf: Then ſitting down again, he ſmiled to hear ſome Things truly ſurprizing, eſpecially when his Majeſty heard thoſe very injurious Words of Tyrant, Traitor, and Murderer, which were Things notoriouſly falſe, and altogether the Reverſe of his Majeſty's Temper; on the contrary, his greateſt Fault had been his too great Clemency; and it was ſurprizing to ſee how theſe deſperate Men could be ſo audacious as to aſſert them.

THIS inſolent Libel being read, *Bradſhaw* told the King, " That " he had heard the Charge of the Crimes of which he was accus'd, and " that the Court was prayed, on Behalf of the Commons of *England*, " that he might be put to anſwer thereto." A deep Silence was kept, in order to hear the King ſpeak, who ſaid, " That he had lately been in " the Iſle of *Wight*, where he had begun a Treaty, upon the publick

" Faith,

1649. " Faith, with the two Houſes; that he had proceeded therein with all " the Sincerity poſſible with their Commiſſioners, who were Men of " Honour, with whom he had good Reaſon to be well ſatisfy'd: And " as they were ready to ſign the Treaty, he had been carry'd out of " the Iſland by Force, without knowing why; and after having been " remov'd from Place to Place, he had been brought hither: That " he deſir'd then to know by what Authority all that was done: Not " but he very well knew that there were many Sorts of Authority, and " that there were even ſome exercis'd by Highway-men." He juſtly demanded a lawful Authority, and recommended to theſe pretended Judges, " That, before they went any further, they would, at leaſt, " remember that he was their King, and take Care not to heap up ſo " many Crimes one upon another, which would certainly draw down " the Judgments of God upon the Kingdom, ſtill greater and more " terrible than thoſe it had already felt: That, in the mean time, he " would not betray his own Dignity, nor proſtitute that Authority which " he held immediately of God, by a long and lawful Succeſſion of ſo " many Kings his Anceſtors.

His Majeſty ſaid theſe Things with his wonted Gravity, and Calmneſs of Temper; but, however, they did not in the leaſt affect theſe Parricides: On the contrary, *Bradſhaw*, in a very arrogant manner, anſwer'd the King, " That if he had rightly minded what he had told " him at firſt, he would have known by what Authority they pro- " ceeded: That it was that of the People of *England*, who had elected " him King, and who now required that he ſhould anſwer them: That " if he would not acknowledge the Authority of the Court, it would " proceed." The King reſuming the Diſcourſe, ſaid, " That it was " above a thouſand Years that the Kingdom of *England* had been " hereditary, but it had never been elective: That, beyond Compariſon, " he was more inclin'd to preſerve the Liberties of his People, than " any of his pretended Judges could be: That though he was account- " able to none but God, nevertheleſs, he ſhould anſwer all that was " laid to his Charge, if they would let him ſee by what lawful Autho- " rity he had been brought before them; and, that what he demanded, " was due to the meaneſt Subject, who likewiſe might very juſtly except " againſt them for his Judges.

*BRADSHAW* flew out into ſuch a Paſſion, that he told his Majeſty, " That his way of Anſwering being to interrogate the Court, it did not " become him, in the Condition he was then in." The King, without being mov'd by theſe ſo inſolent Words, continu'd to ſpeak, and ſaid, " That Lieutenant-Colonel *Cobbet*, who was there preſent, could teſtify, " that he had made him come out of the Iſle of *Wight* againſt his " Will; and that it was likewiſe by Force that he appear'd before " them, ſince he was not come there to ſubmit himſelf to their pre- " tended Court; and that his having refus'd to anſwer, ſhould not, how- " ever, hinder him from ſtill maintaining the juſt Privileges of the Houſe " of Commons; but that he heard no mention made of the Houſe of " Peers, without which there could be no Parliament, much leſs with- " out the King, who was naturally the Head of that great Body: And " is it thus (cry'd out his Majeſty) that it was propos'd to bring me " hither with Honour, and to conclude the Treaty with me; for the " Freedom and Security of which, the publick Faith was engaged?" And going on, he likewiſe ſaid, " That he acknowledg'd that he was

" oblig'd

" oblig'd to procure and maintain the Peace of the State, and that he 1649.
" would do it too, to his laſt Breath: but as Lawful Authority could
" not be reſiſted, without committing a Crime; ſo neither could
" a Tyrannical and altogether Unlawful Power be ſubmitted to, with-
" out Baſeneſs."

THE pretended Preſident, not able to argue the Caſe with the King, only told him, " That the Court, in Expectation of his final Anſwer, " adjourn'd their Meeting to *Monday* the 22d, and would preſerve the " Peace, of which he had ſpoken, in cauſing Juſtice to be done; and " that it was the chief Thing his Judges were labouring to bring about, " who were all very well perſuaded that their Authority was Lawful." He told no new Thing, in ſaying that he and his Accomplices thought themſelves ſufficiently authoriz'd; for all Aſſaſſins and Highway-men were no leſs convinc'd of their Power and Authority, and would fain overthrow likewiſe that, whereby they ought to be hang'd, or broke upon the Wheel: but he blaſphem'd againſt Heaven, when he added, that they deriv'd their Authority from God; ſeeing he hath ſo expreſly forbid, and even ſometimes ſeverely puniſh'd thoſe wicked Attempts, as we have ſhewn elſewhere: beſides, that the Puniſhment of *Korah* and his Aſſociates, whom the Earth ſwallow'd up alive, ought to have ſtruck Terror into all Men, having ſufficiently ſhewn them, that they muſt never riſe up againſt the Powers which God hath eſtabliſh'd upon the Earth.

As the Guards were carrying back the King, the Soldiers cry'd out aloud, *Juſtice! Juſtice! Execution!* On the contrary, the poor People, not able to forbear crying, *God ſave the King*, a great many of them were very ill us'd: And an old brutiſh Fellow, who was Roaring, rather than Crying, having had the Impudence to ſpit in the King's Face as he paſs'd, that good Prince, wiping it off with his Handkerchief, without the leaſt Emotion, only ſaid, *That his Saviour had ſuffer'd more Ignominy than that, for his Sake.*

ON *Monday* the 22d, the Parricides met again in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, whither the King having been brought, as before, *Cook* began to ſpeak, and ſaid to *Bradſhaw*, " That, at the laſt Meeting, he had produc'd, on " Behalf of the People of *England*, a Charge of High Treaſon againſt " the Priſoner at the Bar; and that having been requir'd to anſwer to " it, inſtead of complying, he had call'd in Queſtion the Authority " of the Court; and that now he requir'd, on Behalf of the People, " that the Priſoner might be put to make a poſitive Anſwer; and in " caſe he ſhould refuſe to do it, that the Matter of the Charge may be " taken *pro Confeſſo*, and the Court may proceed according to Juſtice." *Bradſhaw* having repeated the ſame Words to the King, added, " That " they expected he would give a poſitive Anſwer to the Particulars of the " Charge brought againſt him; and that if he did not do it, they had " Proofs ready at hand: And as for their Authority, both he and all the " Kingdom ought to be ſatisfy'd with it, becauſe it was the Authority " of the Commons of *England* in Parliament aſſembled." The King reply'd, " That as no Perſon could give what he had not; ſo the Com- " mons could not convey to any Men, whatever they be, the Authority " and Juriſdiction of a Court, which they never had; and that if they " had none, when they were lawfully aſſembled in a Body, he was " ſurpriz'd with what Impudence fifty or ſixty Conſpirators could lay



3

1649. " Claim to it, ſome whereof were Officers of the Army, and the reſt " were deſperately devoted to it." As to the Battles wherein the King had been preſent, they had been all fought in the Face of the Sun, as well as the Sieges of Towns whereof he was accus'd, which had been undertaken and carry'd on in the like manner. So that the Counſellor made himſelf ridiculous, when he laid ſuch Streſs upon the Proofs which, he ſaid, he had ready at hand: But this Counſellor would have been very much ſurpriz'd, if he had been ask'd, why he had not caus'd to be inſerted in the Charge, that infamous Declaration which the Houſe of Commons had caus'd to be publiſh'd againſt the King, when both Houſes voted no more Addreſſes to be made to his Majeſty? It was both the Time and Place to do it: For in that defamatory Libel, among the Crimes which they laid to the King's Charge, he was accus'd of having been Acceſſory to the poiſoning King *James*, his Father. It may be eaſily believ'd, that theſe real Parricides did not leave out that Article, out of any Deſign they might have to ſpare his Majeſty, ſince they had a mind to have his Life, and that that Pretence would have been the moſt plauſible of all thoſe they had ever been able to invent for making him loſe it; beſides, they did not put it in the Declaration, but only to palliate their Shame. So *Bradſhaw* muſt have been ſadly puzled, to find the leaſt Proof of it; and thus he would ſoon have been forc'd, with great Shame, to give over all this inſolent Grimace of the Forms of Juſtice.

THE King having a mind to urge the Reaſons why he neither could nor ought to acknowledge this pretended Court, he was interrupted by *Bradſhaw*, who ſaid, " That what the King did, was not agreeable to " the Proceedings of any Court; becauſe he took upon him to diſpute " the Authority of the Court, before which he appear'd as a Priſoner, " and a great Delinquent: That he ought to ſubmit himſelf to it, and " that it would not ſuffer its Authority to be call'd in Queſtion." The King having a mind to reſume the Diſcourſe, *Bradſhaw* interrupted him again, and told him, " That his Reaſons ſhould not be heard; becauſe " the Vote of the Commons, was the Law of the Kingdom, and that " he ought to have rul'd and reign'd by Law: In a word, That the " Court would take Notice of the Contempt he had ſhewn, and that the " Clerk ſhould record it."

AS there was nothing but moſt palpable Falſhoods in all this Diſcourſe, the King did not mind them; his Majeſty inſiſted only upon *Bradſhaw*'s having call'd him a Delinquent; and ask'd, " How it could be ſaid, " that a King was a Delinquent? ſince, by all the Laws of the King- " dom, none but thoſe who ſide with the King's Enemies can become " ſuch; and that, all the World over, every Man was allow'd to proteſt " againſt Proceedings that were done contrary to the Laws or Cuſtoms " of the Places where he was ſummon'd to appear; and that it was " alſo every-where allow'd, to demand to be referr'd to one's own " Judges." *Bradſhaw* reply'd, " That the King could not proteſt " againſt the Juriſdiction of the Court; and that it had its Authority " from the Commons of *England*, to whom both he, and all the Kings, " his Predeceſſors, had always been accountable." The King having demanded one ſingle Inſtance of it, *Bradſhaw*, who ſtill interrupted him, took it ill that he did not allow him to ſpeak, and told him, " That his Demurrer was of no Uſe to him, the Court having its Juriſ- " diction from the ſupreme Authority, which was inherent to the Com-

" mons

" mons of *England*." But the King having once more ask'd, " Who 1649.
" had made the Commons a Court of Juſtice ? " *Bradſhaw*, inſtead of anſwering, order'd the Clerk to read this, which was written in a Paper he had there ready at hand ; " *Charles Stuart* King of *England*, you have " been accus'd, on the Behalf of the People of *England*, of High " Treaſon, and many other Crimes ; the Court have determin'd, that " you ought to anſwer the ſame." The King having anſwer'd, " That " he would do it, as ſoon as they ſhould ſhew him their Authority ; " and having required, " That he might give in his Reaſons why he had " demanded that of them ; " *Bradſhaw* anſwer'd, " That it did not " become Priſoners to require." And as the King had reply'd, " That " he was not an ordinary Priſoner ; " *Bradſhaw* order'd the Guards to " take him away, ſince he had nothing elſe to ſay ; " and told him, " That the next time he ſhould appear before them, he ſhould know " their final Determination.

On *Tueſday* the 23d, the Parricides, to the Number of Seventy-three, met again, for the third time, in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, whither the King having been brought, *Cook*, directing his Diſcourſe to *Bradſhaw*, ſaid, " That this was the third time that the Court, out of meer Favour, " had caus'd the Priſoner to be brought to the Bar, before determining " any thing : That the firſt time, he had accus'd him of the greateſt " Treaſon that ever had been committed in *England* ; and that he had " humbly requeſted the Court, on Behalf of the People, that the Pri-" ſoner might be oblig'd to anſwer quickly to the Charge he had given " in againſt him ; but, inſtead of anſwering, he had diſputed the Juriſ-" diction of the Court : Whereupon it had granted him Yeſterday for " giving his poſitive Anſwer, as he had requir'd him to do, and that " the Priſoner might confeſs or deny the Facts contain'd in his Charge : " Nevertheleſs, that he had done neither ; on the contrary, he had " excepted againſt his Judges, who ought to have no Regard thereto, " nor any longer to delay pronouncing Judgment againſt him ; ſo much " the more, becauſe, according to Law, when a Priſoner refuſes to " anſwer to the Facts upon which he is interrogated, he tacitly con-" feſſeth the Things whereof he is accus'd by the Charge given in againſt " him ; and he is try'd as a Mute, as had often been done to Priſoners, " who deſerv'd more Favour than This at the Bar : That beſides all " that, the Commons, in whom the ſupreme Authority of the Common-" wealth is lodg'd, had declar'd, That all that was contain'd in the " Charge, was well known to all the World : That therefore he pray'd " the Court, or rather, that the innocent Blood that had been ſhed, " and which cry'd aloud, conjur'd it, to pronounce Judgment againſt " him."

Thus did this pitiful Pettifogger prattle, who was not aware that he diſcover'd to all the World, that the pretended Commons, his Maſters, had already condemn'd his Majeſty, before the Erection of this Sham-Court. Then *Bradſhaw*, looking upon the King, told him, " That the Court had been very ill pleas'd with his Behaviour, ſince " he had been brought before it, and that it might have already pro-" ceeded to pronounce Judgment againſt him, ſince Juſtice reſpects no " Man for his Quality, yet it had given him Time to anſwer poſitively, " whether he was Guilty, or Not Guilty of the Crimes laid to his " Charge." The King anſwer'd, " That the Day before he had begun " to ſpeak for the Liberties of the People, but he had been interrupted,

" and

1649. " and that he desir'd to know if he might do it yet." *Bradshaw* eply'd, " That he had already heard the Resolution of the Court " upon that Question; and that, without making so many Digressions, " he ought to answer to the Charge, and defend himself the best way " he could." To that the King answer'd, " For the Charge, he " valu'd it not a Rush; it is the Liberties of the People of *England* " that he stood for, and it was that alone he had at Heart: That if he " should acknowledge a new Court, he, who ought to be an Example " to every Body in maintaining Justice, and the old Laws, did not " know how he could answer that Obligation which God had laid upon " him, and whereof he he had spoken the first Day that he was brought " before this new Court."

THIS Discourse of the King's having nettled *Bradshaw*, he order'd the Clerk to do his Duty. The Clerk having read the same Paper he had done the Day before, the King said again, " That he wanted to " inform his Subjects of the Innocence and Justice of his Proceedings; " and that he had never made Use of the Authority with which God " had entrusted him, but so far as he had judg'd it necessary for the " Defence of their Liberties, and of the Royal Dignity: but that he " could not acknowledge a new Court, which had set itself up against " their Privileges, and which overturn'd all the fundamental Laws of " the Kingdom."

*BRADSHAW* having answer'd, " That this was the third time " the King had disown'd the Court, and put an Affront upon it; and " that his Actions, which were written in bloody Characters in all the " three Kingdoms, gave sufficient Testimony after what Manner he " had preserv'd the Privileges of the People;" he order'd the Clerk to record, That the King had refus'd to answer; and then having order'd the Guards to carry back the Prisoner after the usual manner, there were Fellows hired on set Purpose, who cry'd out loudly, *God bless the Kingdom of* England.

AT last, on *Saturday* the 27th, Sixty-seven of the Parricides met, for the last time, in *Westminster-Hall*, where *Bradshaw* was in a scarlet Robe. As soon as the King had been brought thither, and was in his Chair, he offer'd to speak; but *Bradshaw* told him, " That the Court " must be heard before he could speak:" And having summ'd up all that had pass'd in the former Meetings, he declar'd, " That the Court " had resolv'd to give its Judgment; but that the Prisoner should be " heard before Sentence, since he desir'd it; provided, however, that " he should not any more take upon him to call in question the Autho- " rity of the Court: but if he had any thing to say that might be of Use " to his Defence, he was allow'd to speak." As *Bradshaw* was saying, " That the King had been accus'd of Treason by all the People of " *England*;" a Lady, who was in the Galleries, cry'd out, *Not the half of the People*; but she was immediately silenc'd. We have not, as yet, been able to learn who this generous Lady was; but what she said, well deserves to be written upon Brass, and her Name ought to be transmitted to Posterity, in order to leave a lasting Reproach upon the Memories of such Numbers of Men as were then in that populous City of *London*, who had the Hard-heartedness to see their King butcher'd by a Gang of Men got together, while they had a regular Militia, more numerous by the half, at their Command.

THE

1649.

THE King then having Liberty to ſpeak, ſaid, "That ſince they "would not bear that he ſhould call their Authority in Queſtion, tho' "he thought it of great Importance towards the Peace of the Kingdom, "and the Liberties of the Subjects, he ſhould inſiſt no more upon that: "That he would only tell them, That for a long Time he had nothing "left him free but his Honour and Conſcience, which could not be "taken from him, and which ſhould ſtill be much more dear to him "than his Life: That if he had had a mind to prefer it to the Peace "of the Kingdom, and the Liberty of his Subjects, he could have "defended it a long Time, and, by that Means, put off the Sentence "they were ready to pronounce againſt him: For as he was not alto-"gether ignorant nor unexperienc'd in the Affairs of the World, if the "Love and ardent Affection he had for his Country had not out-"weigh'd his own Preſervation, he could have eaſily been able to "ſtruggle for his Life after another Manner than he had done: That it "was the Love he had for the Peace of the Kingdom, and the Pre-"ſervation of the Liberty of his Subjects, rather than any Intereſt which "concern'd him in particular, that made him deſire to be heard before "the Lords and Commons, in the *Painted Chamber*, before Sentence "was given: That though they ſhould grant him what, with ſo much "Juſtice, he demanded of them, the Delay would not be great; and "they ſhould conſider, that Men may more eaſily repent of having given "a Sentence too raſhly, than make it void after being given.

*BRADSHAW* anſwer'd, "That all that the King had ſaid, "amounted to nothing, but that he had a mind to decline the Juriſ-"diction of the Court." The Commiſſioners, however, roſe up, and retir'd for half an Hour into the *Court of Wards*; from whence being return'd to their Places, *Bradſhaw* told the King, "That they had "retir'd for Form's ſake only; that they had been but too dilatory; "and that, without conſidering what he propos'd, it was reſolv'd, that "they ſhould proceed to give Sentence; the Judges being ſo bound to "adminiſter ſpeedy Juſtice, that it was as bad to delay it, as to refuſe it "altogether."

THE King preſs'd them again, that he might be heard before the Lords and Commons, and alſo conjur'd theſe Sham-Commiſſioners, by the Love they pretended to have for the Publick Liberty, to conſent to it; but he ſpoke to Serpents that had their Ears ſtopp'd up. At laſt this deplorable Prince deſir'd, that what he had propos'd, might be recorded; and then he had the Patience to hear a long and tedious Speech, full of Calumnies, and ridiculous Abſurdities, which *Bradſhaw* made to him, in order to juſtify their Sentence.

HE told the King, "That he ought to have govern'd according to "the Laws: That, by his Coronation Oath, he was bound ſo to do; and, "that formerly the Barons had taken up Arms, in order to compel ſome "of his Predeceſſors to obſerve them." And ſurely the King had always acknowledg'd, that the Laws were the true Baſis which ſupported his Authority. He grounded all the Rights of his Royal Dignity there-upon, and never demanded any thing but what he could claim according to the Laws. Very far from having any other Thoughts, he very fre-quently ſaid to ſuch as had the Honour to approach his Perſon, "That "he was reſolv'd, that the meaneſt of his Subjects ſhould live ſecurely "under the Authority of the Laws; and that they ſhould no more be

1649. " infring'd for them, than for him." That is ſo true, that when he has had ſome Reaſon to conteſt with the two Houſes, he always quoted the Laws upon which he grounded his Demands, as the whole Series of this Hiſtory ſufficiently verifies. As for the Barons Wars which happen'd in the Time of King *John*, 'tis to be conſider'd, that *William* the Conqueror, *William* II. *Henry* I. *Stephen*, *Henry* II. and *Richard* I. had all enjoy'd the Rights of the Royal Sovereignty, according to the ancient Cuſtoms, which are the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, without ever having been diſturb'd in the Poſſeſſion thereof. In the Time of King *John*, the Barons and Commons finding that thoſe Cuſtoms had been violated, they preſs'd the King to reſtore them, as he did in the ſeventh Year of his Reign. After that, King *Henry* III. his Son, confirm'd them; and thoſe Laws have ſince been call'd *Magna Charta*, and *Charta de Foreſtis*, which is 423 Years ago.

But with what Impudence could theſe Parricides ſpeak of Laws? they, who had overthrown them all? For the Laws are expreſly thus; " That the King has no Equal in his Kingdom: That he can do no " Wrong: That to impriſon the King, in order to force him to conſent " to any Demands; To make War againſt him; To make an Attempt " upon his Crown, his Life, or upon the Queen's, or his eldeſt Son's; " To take away from him by Force his Counſellors; To uſurp the " Royal Authority; To counterfeit the Great Seal; To ſpread Reports " amongſt the People, in order to alienate their Affection from the " King; To alter, by Force, the eſtabliſh'd Religion and Laws; To " invite Foreigners to invade the Kingdom; To ſeize upon the King's " Forts, Caſtles, and Ships;" All theſe Acts, I ſay, are, by the Laws, Crimes of High Treaſon. Nevertheleſs, theſe ſo zealous Traitors had broke them all; and were ſo much the more guilty, becauſe, by theſe Laws, to have only a Deſign to depoſe the King, or to take away his Life, though the Deſign be not put in Execution, 'tis Treaſon, and puniſhable by Death. The Parliament decided it ſo againſt the Earl of *Arundel*, in the Time of *Richard* II. and, in like manner, againſt the Authors of the Gunpowder Treaſon, in the Reign of King *James*. In that of Queen *Elizabeth*, the Meetings which the Earl of *Eſſex* had, in order only to change ſome Perſons of the Queen's Council, were declar'd Treaſon by all the Judges of the Kingdom.

When the Lords and Commons fell into Rebellion, in order to ſhelter themſelves from theſe Laws, they invented theſe Diſtinctions; That the King was greater than each of his Subjects in particular, but not than all of them together: That, in the Laws, the Word *King*, is taken rather for the Dignity and Office, than for the Perſon; for his Body Politick, and not for his Natural Body. But theſe Gentlemen ought to know, that where the Law diſtinguiſheth not, no Diſtinction muſt be made; and that the Text of the Laws will not bear theſe Corruptions, ſince it expreſly ſays, That the King is not ſubject but to God alone, and that there is none above him but God. It contains alſo, in expreſs Terms, That if all the People of *England* ſhould break a League with a foreign Prince, without the King's Conſent; yet, for all that, the League would ſtill be in Force: That he is the Father of the Country; the Husband of the Kingdom, whom it marries, at his Coronation, by a Ring: Which clearly ſhews, that the whole Body of the Kingdom is inferior to the King. It was alſo the Opinion of the People of *Iſrael*, when, having a mind to diſſuade King *David* from going to

the War, they told him, *That his Life was more precious than that of ten thouſand Men of the People:* where, putting thus a certain Number for an uncertain, they meant, that it was more precious than all their Lives put together. 1649.

THE Diſtinction of the King's Political Body and Capacity, from his Natural Body and Capacity, was contrived by the two *Spencers*, Father and Son, in the Reign of *Edward* II. who, in order to cloke their Treaſon, alledg'd, That the Fidelity due to the King, was rather in regard of the firſt Capacity, than of the ſecond. Whence they concluded, as the Rebels of this Time have done, That if the King did not rightly govern his Subjects, they ought to depoſe him; and ſince that could not be done by the Laws, it ſhould be done by Force, and then to take care of the Government. But this falſe and pernicious Opinion was condemn'd with Execration, by a Meeting of Parliament, held by the ſame *Edward*, which, in the Statutes of *England*, is call'd *Exilium Hugonis*; and by another Meeting, held the firſt Year of the Reign of *Edward* III. Beſides, the Text of the Laws cannot bear this curſed Interpretation; for 'tis not the Dignity, but the Perſon of the King, that can be put in Priſon, that can have Wife and Children, and upon whoſe Life Traitors can make an Attempt.

THEN *Bradſhaw* ſpoke of "the Obligation the King was under to "call frequent Parliaments, and to conſent to all the Bills that ſhould "be preſented to him: That, formerly, the Parliament had met twice "a Year; and that afterwards, by a Law of *Edward* IIId's, it was to "meet every Year: That it was there that the Grievances of the People "were redreſs'd; and that all the Misfortunes that had befallen them "for ſome Years, proceeded only from the long Interruption of Par-"liaments; which are in *England*, what the *Tribunes* of the People "were in *Rome*, and the *Ephori* in *Sparta*: And, in ſhort, the King "having been forc'd to call this laſt Parliament, he had not given over "oppreſſing them; and attacking them, Root and Branch, all at once, "he deſign'd to imitate *Caligula*, who wiſh'd that all the People of "*Rome* had but one Head, that he might be able to ſtrike it off at "one ſingle Blow."

BUT this Counſellor, full of Deceit, could not be ignorant that, about two hundred Years after the Conqueſt, there was no form'd Body of Parliament in *England*, either as to the Number or Quality of the Members; but that down to *Edward* I. who was the ninth King after *William* the Conqueror, the Kings call'd for ſome Prelates and Barons, ſuch as they pleas'd, in order to make Laws, and regulate the Government of the State. And, perhaps, that before *Edward*, it will not be found that any King had call'd the Commons, in order to give their Vote in Parliament. Neither ought the Counſellor to be ignorant, that the Kings who have reign'd ſince *Edward* III. with the Applauſe of all their People, did not go by his Law, for calling Parliaments; becauſe the Affairs of the Kingdom did not require it ſo. And, what is yet more remarkable, the King had granted Triennial Parliaments; and that he was ready to grant them oftener, if the two Houſes had deſir'd it. This Counſellor took care not to quote what an ancient Author ſays, whom he himſelf names, who wrote a Book of the Manner of holding Parliaments, and who liv'd before the Conqueſt, "That the King is the "Head, the Beginning, and End of the Parliaments." 'Tis his Buſineſs to

1649. to call it; 'tis his Buſineſs to adjourn it; and, by the King's Death, 'tis at an end. The Lords are the principal Members of it, and the Commons the inferior. Properly ſpeaking, the King makes not one of the Eſtates; the three Eſtates, are compos'd of the Lords Spiritual, the Lords Temporal, and the Commons; but the King is in a Sphere exalted above all the three. The Bills of the Lords and Commons paſs not for Acts of Parliament, that is to ſay, for Laws, until the King has given his Royal Aſſent to them; and he may refuſe to give it. The Wiſdom of the Laws has thus provided: For, as has been ſaid elſewhere, the King being aſſiſted by his Council, and the Judges of the Kingdom, in the Houſe of Peers, he may ſee Reaſons why he ought not to conſent to all that the two Houſes propoſe to him. Would not the Commons take it ill, to be depriv'd of the Liberty they had a mind to rob the King of, and not to be allow'd not to conſent to ſome Things propos'd to them by the Houſe of Lords? And would not the Pratler ſay, that *Richard* III. would have been more careful of his Honour, had he refus'd the ignominious Bill, which the two Houſes preſented to him, for ſecuring him of the Crown? and that *Henry* VIII. would have done well, had he rejected that which has been call'd *The Law of the Six Articles?* And would not his Memory have been more reſpected, had not he given his Aſſent to a Bill which blemiſh'd the Birth of Queen *Elizabeth?*

'Tis falſe, that the Misfortunes of the Kingdom were owing to the Interruption of Parliaments; for it never was ſo happy and flouriſhing as at that Time: It was the earthly Paradiſe, whereof the Plenty, the profound Peace, the Riches of the People, the Splendor of all the Orders, the Magnificence and Sumptuouſneſs of the Court, at once created Jealouſy and Admiration in all the other Kingdoms of the World. On the contrary, all the Miſeries of the Kingdom proceeded from this laſt Parliament, which, very far from redreſſing the Grievances of the People, have made them ſink under the Burden. And *Bradſhaw* could never inſtance any thing that could bring more Diſgrace upon Parliaments, than when he ſpoke of this wretched one, which, like a horrid Tempeſt, has ſpoil'd all the Beauty of the State, and put it into a dreadful Confuſion: Neither did he ſpeak much to their Advantage, when he compar'd them to the *Tribunes*, whoſe Creation was owing to the Sedition of the People; and to the *Ephori*, whom he would be very loth to ſuffer in his own Houſe. Would he willingly bear that his Clerk had the Liberty to ſpeak as loud therein as himſelf? and that he ſhould take upon him to be his Equal and Companion? What Diſorder would there be in Families, if the Children were allow'd to cope with, and reſiſt their Fathers, or if Servants had a Right to controul their Maſters? For thereby it may be conceiv'd, what Confuſion, and even Deſolation, there would be, if ſuch Things were practis'd in a Kingdom, which ought to be conſider'd as one great Family, where the Power of thoſe private Men is center'd in the Prince, as God reunited in the Body of the Sun the firſt Light, which he had diffus'd upon the Embryo of the World.

'Tis no leſs falſe, that the King had been forc'd to call this laſt Parliament. 'Tis true, he let ſome Time paſs without calling one, in order to endeavour to ſtifle the Factions that had begun to break out in that which he had held before. He had obſerv'd, that there were ſome People who were peeviſh, who were not ſatisfy'd with their Conditions, and who complain'd that the State was not well govern'd, becauſe they had

had no Share in the Government. The Cauſes and Inſtruments of happy Times, are good Men. Parliaments are ſucceſsful, according to the Times in which they are held: For if the Time be turbulent and factious, the Parliament is ſo too; and to call one then, would be as great a Blunder in the Rules of Politicks, as it would be, according to the Rules of Phyſick, to take a Purge in very hot Weather, or during the Diſorders of a Fever. 1649.

BUT the King call'd this laſt Parliament of his own Accord, in order to remedy the Diſorders that might have been crept both into Religion and the State, and, by that Means likewiſe, to ſecure the Proſperity of his Subjects, to the End that he might preſerve their Affection and Good-Will, which he look'd upon as the greateſt temporal Bleſſing, which good Princes ought to draw upon themſelves; there being nothing, next to the Divine Protection, that can give them more Security, or do them more Honour. He alſo ſhew'd not to value that ſomething of his Royal Authority ſhould be diminiſh'd, well knowing that he could loſe nothing thereby, provided he could gain the Hearts and Love of his People: For that End, he conſented that ſeveral Courts and ſome Officers, which were chargeable to the People, ſhould be ſuppreſs'd; that ſeveral Taxes, which the Kings his Predeceſſors had levy'd, ſhould likewiſe be leſſen'd; that Triennial Parliaments ſhould ſit, and that they could not be adjourn'd without the Conſent of the two Houſes. That being the Caſe, was it not an intolerable Calumny, to accuſe the King of having had a Deſign to oppreſs the Parliament by Arms? For, as he himſelf ſaid, "He would "have had but little Foreſight, if, having intended to abrogate with "the Sword, the Laws which he had voluntarily but juſt made, he "ſhould have ty'd his Hands, at the Deſire of the Parliament." He ſaid right, that he had committed a Fault in Government, in raiſing the Parliament beyond what he ought to have done; not having thought, that after he had ſet it above the Pinacle, it would have thrown him from Top to Bottom.

AFTER that the Tumults of *London* had oblig'd the King to leave the Parliament, the two Houſes began to take too much upon them, and to ſay, That his Abſence ought not to hinder them from acting Magiſterially, ſince they could not be adjourn'd 'till they ſhould think fit; and, to juſtify their Actions, alledg'd, That the King was always virtually in Parliament. The *Scots* Covenanters, for their Part, acted after the ſame manner, and held General Aſſemblies, without any Perſon being preſent to repreſent his Majeſty. But that virtual Preſence is a Chimera, which the Laws have always condemn'd. Queen *Elizabeth* having ſummon'd a Parliament to meet on the 23d of *January*, in the firſt Year of her Reign, the Lords and Commons met at *Weſtminſter* on the Day appointed: But the Queen having fallen ill the 21ſt, ſhe could not be preſent; which made the Meeting to be put off to the 25th, wherein her Majeſty was preſent. Whereupon all the Judges of the Kingdom gave it as their Opinion, that the Seſſion of Parliament was not to be look'd upon to have begun the 23d, when the Lords and Commons met at *Weſtminſter*; but that the Beginning ought only to be reckon'd from the 25th, which was the Day on which the Queen was preſent in Perſon. If it was true, that the King was ſtill look'd upon as preſent in Parliament during its ſitting; why did the two Houſes ſend Propoſitions to his Majeſty at *Newcaſtle* and *Hampton-Court*, in order to get his Conſent? Why did they ſend Commiſſioners to the Iſle of *Wight*,

1649. to desire him to pass four Bills under his Hand, and by his Letters Patent? And if it should happen that the Lords should not be present at a Meeting of Parliament; would it not be ridiculous and Fool-hardy in the Commons, to pretend to have Power to act without them, grounding their Pretension upon that airy Notion of their Virtual Presence? From *Henry* III. to *Henry* VII. the Stile of the Acts of Parliament was, *The King, sitting in Parliament, ordains*; or, *The King, by the Advice of his Prelates and Barons, at the humble Request of the Commons, ordains.* In the Reign of *Henry* VII. the Stile was alter'd, and ever since it has continu'd to be thus; *It is ordained by the King, Lords, and Commons.* So that 'tis always the King's Assent, that gives Force to every thing that's resolv'd in Parliament; wherefore the Laws call the King, the Fountain of Justice, and the Soul of the Law.

THE Lords and Commons had done better, if they had ingenuously said, that after the King's Absence, they ceas'd to be a Parliament: For they are a Parliament by Virtue of the King's Writs, whereby the Prelates and Barons are summon'd, in order to consult with him upon Matters of Importance, which concern the Defence of the Kingdom and Church of *England.* But the Members, that were in the two Houses, gave the King no Advice: On the contrary, they had driven him away; they had put him in Prison; and having resolv'd to govern the Kingdom without him, they had forbid any more Addresses to be made to his Majesty, who could no longer treat with the Bishops, since they had been turn'd out of the House of Peers, contrary to their Privileges, contain'd in *Magna Charta,* and which have been confirm'd by all Parliaments: Besides, these Members gave themselves no more Trouble about the Defence of that Communion, which the King call'd the Church of *England*; since they had ruin'd it, having abolish'd Episcopacy and the Liturgy, and alienated all the Church-Lands: To which may be added, that tolerating, as they did, a vast Number of different Sects, there remain'd no longer any Form or Face of Religion in the Kingdom. Neither could it be said that they acted for its Defence; for they had made a League with Foreigners, in order to destroy it; and had exacted an Oath from all the Inhabitants of the Kingdom, that they should give no Relief or Assistance to his Majesty.

BUT it was a horrid Piece of Impudence, to compare the King to *Caligula*, and say, That he had thirsted after the Blood of his Subjects, and wanted nothing but the Ruin of his People: seeing this good Prince had no greater Pleasure in the World, than to see them happy. He cherish'd his Subjects as his own Children; and it may be said, If he fail'd in any thing, that it was his having been too good, and having held the Reins of Government a little too slack. After that he had try'd all manner of Means for removing the Misunderstanding betwixt him and the Parliament, even when *Essex* was marching against him at the Head of a powerful Army, he sent Proposals of Accommodation to the two Houses. He never had the least Advantage by Arms, but he presently sent to desire to treat with them about a Peace: And the Grief he had, for having consented, for Reasons of State, to the Death of the Earl of *Strafford*, shew'd plainly, that (as he himself has said) he was much more afraid of taking away the Life of any Body unjustly, than of losing his own.

*BRAD-*

*BRADSHAW* went on to tell him, "That though ſome Regard 1649.
"was had in *England* for the Royal Blood, yet the Kings grounded
"their Titles much better upon the Declaration of Parliament, than
"upon the Succeſſion of their Anceſtors: That, without having Occa-
"ſion to bring Inſtances of foreign Countries, the King, who could not be
"ignorant of the Hiſtory of his own Family, knew very well after what
"manner ſome of his Predeceſſors in *Scotland* had been treated by the
"Parliament; and that the Parliament of *England* had likewiſe depos'd
"two of them, to wit, *Edward* II. and *Richard* II." But this ma-
licious Counſellor could not be ignorant of the Laws, which he profeſs'd;
and his Heart bely'd his Mouth, when he ſaid, That the Kings grounded
their Titles much better upon the Declaration of Parliament, than upon
the long Succeſſion of their Predeceſſors. For, in the firſt Parliament
that was call'd by King *James*, the Lords and Commons therein repre-
ſenting (ſaid they) the whole Kingdom, and humbling their Hearts,
rather than their Knees, acknowledg'd him, with all Submiſſion, for
their Sovereign Lord, and that the Crown of *England* belong'd to him
by hereditary Right, and by a lawful Deſcent and Succeſſion: That they
promis'd him, and his Royal Poſterity, all manner of Fidelity and Obe-
dience, to the laſt Breath of their Lives; and that they moſt humbly
beſeech'd his Majeſty to accept of that humble Acknowledgment, for the
Firſt-fruits of their Fidelity. And becauſe it could not have the Force
of an Act of Parliament without his Royal Aſſent, they beſeech'd his
Majeſty, with the ſame Submiſſion, to be pleas'd to conſent to it. Beſides,
if there had been any Room for what *Bradſhaw* ſaid, Uſurpers would
have had as good Titles as the lawful Kings, ſince thoſe had always the
Parliament on their Side.

He had a mind to inſtance many Seditions and Revolts, that had been
fatal to ſome Princes in foreign Countries, as well as in *Great-Britain*:
But he did well to ſave himſelf that Trouble; for it was agreed, that he
and his Accomplices were not the firſt Parricides in the World; though
it may be ſaid that they have been the firſt in their manner of proceed-
ing, which never has had an Example amongſt the moſt ſavage and
cruel of all Men. 'Tis likewiſe falſe, to ſay, That the Parliament of
*Scotland* furniſhes them any Example of it; or that that of *England* had
ever attempted to depoſe any of their Kings with the Forms of Juſtice.
*Edward* II. and *Richard* II. were, indeed, forc'd to reſign the Crown,
the one to his Son, and the other to *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter*: but
the Parliament was alſo obliged to conſent to thoſe Reſignations,
by the armed Force that ſurrounded them. After all, theſe unfortu-
nate Princes were not condemn'd to die; on the contrary, it was
order'd that they ſhould ſtill be treated as Kings. And, what is yet
more remarkable, *Richard Mortimer*, who was the chief Actor in the
the Misfortune of *Edward* II. and in the crowning of *Edward* III.
four Years after, was condemn'd to die, as a Traitor and Enemy of the
King and Kingdom, for having caus'd *Edward* II. to be put to Death
in *Berkeley-Caſtle*; and that in full Parliament, King *Edward* III. pre-
ſent, and thereto conſenting: He was afterwards executed, with Sir
*Simon Bereford*, who was one of his Accomplices; and *Thomas de Gourney*,
and *William Ocle*, who had fled, were both declar'd Traitors by the
Parliament, which promis'd a great Reward to thoſe who ſhould bring
them to Juſtice.

At

1649. At laſt the Counſellor changing his Profeſſion, began to act the Part of a Preacher: for the Independents are all Prophets, and boaſt of being the Royal Prieſthood; as we ſhall ſhortly ſee *Cromwell* forſake Arms and the Tribunals, in order to mount the Pulpit and preach. *Bradſhaw* then exhorted the King to have a ſerious Remorſe for his Crimes; and this wretched Fellow, who had ſaid, in his Heart, there is no God, had the Impudence to ſpeak of his Judgments to his Majeſty, and even to quote ſome Paſſages of the holy Scripture. The King deſiring to be heard, the Clerk was commanded to read the Sentence: It contained, "That as the Commons of *England* had erected this Court of Juſtice "in order to try *Charles Stuart* King of *England*, he had been thrice "brought before the Court, where, the firſt Day, an Indictment, "charging him with Treaſon, and ſome other Crimes, having been "twice read, he had been required to anſwer thereto, which he had "always refuſ'd to do to the Court; which, for Reparation of all thoſe "Crimes, condemn'd him to be put to Death, by the ſevering his Head "from his Body." The Clerk having ended, *Bradſhaw* ſaid, "That "this Sentence was the Reſolution and Judgment of the whole Court." After which, all the Parricides ſtood up, in order to ſhew that they had conſented. The King deſiring to be heard, was ſnubb'd by *Bradſhaw*, who having order'd the Guards to carry back their Priſoner, told him, "That he could not be heard after Sentence." I leave all Men, who have not ſtifled, by the Crime, all the Faculties of their Soul, if this be not the moſt abominable and moſt extraordinary Sentence that has ever been pronounc'd in the World.

As the King could not, on the 22d of *January*, get Leave to tell his Reaſons againſt the Juriſdiction of this pretended Court, whatever Requeſt he made to it, he had a mind to give it them in Writing, but they were rejected. I was willing to ſet them down here as he left them written with his own Hand; the Subſtance whereof is as follows: "I ſhould have contented myſelf with the Proteſtation I made againſt "the Authority of this new Court, and with having let it ſee, that there "was no Power upon Earth that has a Right to call me before it. If "my own private Intereſt had only lain at Stake, perhaps I ſhould not "have as yet complain'd: but thinking myſelf oblig'd to maintain the "true Liberties of the People, over whom it has pleas'd God to ſet me, "I muſt not be ſilent, nor diſſemble, in this preſent Juncture; for none "of my Subjects can be ſure of enjoying either Goods, or Life, if Men "who have no lawful Power, take upon themſelves daily, whenever "they think fit, to make new Laws, and abrogate the old: Therefore "I was always expecting that you ſhould have given me Reaſons, againſt "thoſe which I brought, in order to prove that I was not to anſwer "before you, nor juſtify myſelf againſt your Charge, though it had "been as true, as it is frivolous and ridiculous: But ſince there is no "Help, and that I am not in a Condition at preſent to force you to it, "though no Man is oblig'd to prove a Negative; yet I ſhall not forbear "ſhewing you, that you cannot ſo much as be Judges of the meaneſt "of my Subjects, ſo far ought you to have been from thinking that you "can be mine; of me, I ſay, who am your King. When any Perſon "is to be try'd, he muſt be under the Juriſdiction of thoſe who are to "judge him, and he muſt be try'd either according to the Laws of God "only, or according to thoſe of the Country where he lives: And thoſe "who will act as Judges, muſt have a Character, that gives them a "lawful Power to judge him: But, I am very ſure that your Power

"cannot

1649.

" cannot be lawful, acording to the Law of God; becauſe it eſpecially
" recommends the Obedience due to Kings, and, in expreſs Terms,
" ſays, *That the Word of a King is of ſuch Power and Authority, that*
" *no Man may ſay unto him, What doſt thou?* As to the Laws of the
" Kingdom, they are no leſs againſt it; and I am perſuaded, that no
" Lawyer will maintain, that an Indictment can be laid againſt the
" King, ſince all Indictments muſt be drawn up in his Name; and that
" 'tis a conſtant Maxim in Law, That the King can do no Wrong to
" any Man. Beſides, the Laws, upon which you pretend to ground
" your Authority, are either old, or new: If they are old Laws, let me
" ſee them; if they are new, ſhew me by what Authority they were
" made. I leave all the World to judge, if the Houſe of Commons,
" which never was a Court of Juſtice, can erect one; and if it would
" not be a Paradox to all ſuch as have the leaſt Knowledge of the Laws,
" of *England*, to maintain, that the Commons may pretend to erect one
" both without the King and the Peers of the Kingdom. But ſuppoſe
" that the Commiſſion of the People of *England* ſhould be ſufficient to
" authorize you, you would ſtill be ſadly puzled to produce it: For 'tis
" certain, that you have never ask'd it of the tenth Part of the Men in
" *England*; although, in going that way to work, if you ſhould neglect
" to ask the Vote of the meaneſt Clown, you would do him Wrong:
" At leaſt, this pretended Commiſſion ought to have the Conſent of the
" Majority of the People, of what Condition ſoever they be; and 'tis
" what you have never been at the Pains to ask. Thus you ſee, that I
" not only defend my own Cauſe, but contend for the juſt Liberties of
" my poor Subjects, which conſiſt not in having a Share in the Govern-
" ment, but in living peaceably and ſecurely, under the Protection of the
" Laws. Neither ought I to forget, on this Occaſion, the Privileges of
" Parliament, which you have infring'd with the publick Faith, but
" even infring'd them after an unheard-of manner; with which, how-
" ever, I don't charge the two Houſes in a Body: For all the pre-
" tended Crimes whereof I am accus'd, have been committed long
" before the Treaty of *Newport*, wherein having granted all that I could
" grant, without wounding my Honour and Conſcience, I did not
" doubt but the two Houſes would have been ſatisfy'd therewith: but,
" however, I was carry'd out of the Iſland by Force, and brought as
" a common Priſoner before this pretended Court. But I plainly ſee
" that the Houſe of Peers has had no Hand in this Procedure: And as
" for that of the Commons, every Body knows that the greateſt Part of
" the Members have either been impriſon'd, or ſecluded: So that,
" though there had been nothing elſe but that, it would have been ſtill
" a Reaſon more than ſufficient, for grounding the Proteſtation I have
" made againſt this pretended Court. To conclude: The Peace of the
" Kingdom was what I had much at Heart; and I ſaw not how it
" could be expected, as long as an uſurped Power ſhould bear Sway
" without the Laws, and alter the whole Form of Government, under
" which this Kingdom has been ſo flouriſhing for many Ages. Aſſure
" yourſelves, that the People will never be beholden to you, for
" having made this Alteration; becauſe they will ſtill remember how
" happy they have been under the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, under
" that of the King my Father, and even under mine, before theſe
" unhappy Troubles: And as they will have juſt Reaſon to doubt if
" ever they ſhall enjoy ſo much Proſperity under a new Government;
" they will likewiſe plainly ſee, but too late, that I took up Arms,
" for no other End, but to maintain the fundamental Laws of the

1649. " Kingdom. Theſe are, in few Words, the Reaſons why I cannot " ſubmit myſelf to this pretended Authority, which you ſay you have, " without violating, nay, ruining that lawful Authority wherewith God " hath entruſted me, for the Management of the People whom he hath " been pleas'd to ſubject to me. Give me better Reaſons, if you have " any, that may make it appear that I am miſtaken, or elſe withdraw " your Action.

AFTER that the Sentence of Death had been pronounc'd againſt the King, his Majeſty lay two Nights in one of the Rooms of *White-Hall*, where the Soldiers, that were guarding him, drank hard, and committed a thouſand Inſolencies in his Preſence, without ſhewing him the leaſt Reſpect: They continually ſmoak'd Tobacco, the Smell of which was inſupportable to his Majeſty, as it had been to the King his Father. From the Room wherein he was, he could very well hear the Noiſe of the Carpenters, who were buſy the whole Night in erecting the Scaffold upon which he was to end his Life: For theſe Parricides were ſo thirſty after his Blood, that they would have put him to Death more than once, if it had been in their Power, affecting eſpecially to expoſe to his Sight, Death, with all thoſe fatal Implements which always attend it, that it might be the more terrible to him. 'Tis true, theſe good Men allow'd the Biſhop of *London* to aſſiſt him on this Occaſion; but they would have the *Balaam* of the Army to be join'd with him, in order to abate the Sweetneſs of the Comforts he might receive from the Biſhop, if that Man had not been there.

THE Biſhop having preach'd before his Majeſty on *Sunday*, the Leading Men of the Conſpirators caus'd to be preſented to him a Paper, containing many Articles, which overturn'd both the Laws and Religion of the Kingdom; and they offer'd to ſave his Life, if he would ſign them. His Majeſty having read ſome of them, return'd them their Paper; and told them, " That he choſe rather to lay down his Life " for his People, than ſo baſely to betray them to the Inſolence of a " Faction of the Army. "

THE Day before his Death, the King had the Satisfaction to ſee the Duke of *Glocester*, and Princeſs *Elizabeth*, his Children: He deſir'd that little Princeſs to tell the Queen, her Mother, " That he ſhould tenderly " preſerve the Love he had always had for her to his laſt Breath. " Then he bid her tell the Duke of *York* from him, " Not to look upon " the Prince of *Wales* hereafter as his eldeſt Brother, but as his Sovereign, " whom they were all to obey. " Then having taken the Duke of *Glocester* upon his Knee, he told him, " That he was going to die, and " that, perhaps, his Enemies would have a mind to make him King; " but he bid him be ſure not to conſent to it, as long as his two Bro- " thers were alive, and carefully remember what he was ſaying, if ever " it ſhould be mention'd to him. " That young Prince, looking his Majeſty earneſtly in the Face, anſwer'd him, " That he would rather " ſuffer himſelf to be torn in Pieces, than ever to conſent to it. " This Anſwer, which exceeded the Reach of his Age, very much comforted the King, who, careſſing them both very tenderly, entreated them not to be griev'd for his Death, which would be glorious to him, becauſe he died for maintaining the Proteſtant Religion, and the Laws of the Kingdom: At laſt, having embraced them, he gave them his Bleſſing, recommending the reading of ſome Books to them, which he nam'd,

in

in order to confirm them in the Religion of his Communion; and, above all, order'd them to be obedient to the Queen their Mother, and to love one another; hoping, from the Goodneſs of God, that his eldeſt Son would be eſtabliſh'd in his Throne, ſooner than he would have been if he had liv'd longer with them. 1648.

THAT very Day the pretended Houſe of Commons caus'd the Form of Publick Deeds to be altered, looking upon the King as already dead, and, inſtead of his Majeſty's Name, that of the Protectors of the Publick Liberty to be put therein; and inſtead of theſe Words, *againſt the Peace and Dignity of our Crown*, theſe, *againſt the Publick Peace*. The *King's Bench* was call'd the *Upper Bench*; all the Marks of Royalty, even to the King's Arms, were defaced where-ever they were found; and, out of a prodigious Fury, they caus'd the King's Statue to be broke, which ſome of themſelves had caus'd to be plac'd in the *Exchange* of *London*.

ON *Tueſday* the 30th of *January*, a fatal Day to *Great-Britain*, which ſhould wiſh that it were blotted out of all Records, and that Poſterity might for ever forget it; that Day, I ſay, about ten o' Clock in the Forenoon, the King was brought from St. *James*'s Palace, where he had lain that Night, to *White-Hall*. They made him walk through the Park on Foot, ſurrounded by a Regiment of Foot, which march'd, Drums beating, and Colours flying. The King went through the Gallery into the Cabinet-Chamber, where he continu'd his Devotions with the Biſhop of *London*. By the Rubrick of their Service, the Goſpel of the Day was the 27th Chapter of St. *Matthew*, wherein is the Paſſion of our Saviour, and in which may alſo be obſerv'd a great Reſemblance betwixt his Sufferings, and thoſe of his Anointed. His Majeſty having receiv'd the Sacrament in the Morning from the Hands of the Biſhop, he would neither dine, nor take any thing but a little Water and Wine, with a Bit of Bread, at the time that he was brought upon the Scaffold, which had been erected hard by the great Hall, call'd the *Banqueting-Houſe*. The Scaffold was hung round, and the Floor cover'd with black Cloth, and the Ax and Block laid in the middle of it, and where there were four Iron Rings, to which the King was to be made faſt, if he had offer'd to reſiſt. Several Companies of Foot, and Troops of Horſe, were poſted on every Side; and the People, who ought to have hid themſelves in their own Houſes, and there lamented for their Loſs, had flock'd thither from all Parts, in order to ſee this horrid Spectacle.

THE King went upon the Scaffold through a Window of the *Banqueting-Houſe*, accompany'd by the Biſhop of *London*, Colonel *Tomliſon*, and ſome other Officers of the Army, who were follow'd by a Guard of Musketeers, and other Soldiers arm'd with Partizans. His Majeſty being advanc'd upon the fore-part of the Scaffold, turn'd toward *Tomliſon*, and, with his uſual Mildneſs, direſted his Laſt Speech to him and the other Gentlemen upon the Scaffold, which was to this Effect:

*The King's Laſt Speech.*

" I SHALL be very little heard by any Body here, I ſhall therefore
" ſpeak a Word unto you here: Indeed, I could hold my Peace very
" well, if I did not think that holding my Peace, would make ſome Men
" think that I did ſubmit to the Guilt, as well as to the Puniſhment;
" but I think it my Duty, to God firſt, and to my Country, for to clear
" myſelf, both as an honeſt Man, a good King, and a good Chriſtian.
" I ſhall begin firſt with my Innocency: In troth, I think it not very

" needful

1649. " needful for me to inſiſt long upon this; for all the World knows
" that I never did begin a War with the two Houſes of Parliament;
" and I call God to witneſs, to whom I muſt ſhortly make an Account,
" that I never did intend to encroach upon their Privileges: They
" began upon me; it is the Militia they began upon: They confeſs'd
" that the Militia was mine, but they thought it fit to have it from
" me; and, to be ſhort, if any Body will look to the Dates of Com-
" miſſions, theirs and mine, and likewiſe to the Declarations, they will
" ſee clearly, that they began theſe unhappy Troubles, not I. So that,
" as to the Guilt of theſe enormous Crimes that are laid againſt me, I
" hope in God that God will clear me of it: I will not, I am in Cha-
" rity; God forbid that I ſhould lay it upon the two Houſes of Parlia-
" ment, there is no Neceſſity of either: I hope they are free of this
" Guilt; for I do believe that ill Inſtruments between them and me,
" have been the chief Cauſe of all this Bloodſhed; ſo that, by way of
" ſpeaking, as I find myſelf clear of this, I hope, and pray God, that
" they may be too: Yet, for all this, God forbid that I ſhould be ſo ill
" a Chriſtian, as not to ſay that God's Judgments are juſt upon me;
" many times he does pay Juſtice by an unjuſt Sentence, that is ordi-
" nary; I only ſay this, That an unjuſt Sentence *, that I ſuffer'd for
" to take Effect, is puniſh'd now by an unjuſt Sentence upon me; that
" is, ſo far I have ſaid, to ſhew you that I am an innocent Man. Now
" for to ſhew you that I am a good Chriſtian, I hope there is a good
" Man (pointing to Dr. *Juxon* Biſhop of *London*) that will bear me
" witneſs, that I have forgiven all the World, and even thoſe in parti-
" cular that have been the chief Cauſers of my Death; who they are
" God knows, I do not deſire to know, I pray God forgive them. But
" this is not all, my Charity muſt go farther; I wiſh that they may
" repent; for, indeed, they have committed a great Sin in that Parti-
" cular; I pray God, with St. *Stephen*, that this be not laid to their
" Charge; nay, not only ſo, but that they may take the right Way to
" the Peace of the Kingdom: for Charity commands me, not only to
" forgive particular Men, but to endeavour, to the laſt Gaſp, the Peace
" of the Kingdom. So, Sirs, I do wiſh with all my Soul, and I do hope
" there is ſome here that will carry it farther, that they may endeavour
" the Peace of the Kingdom. Now, Sirs, I muſt ſhew you both how
" you are out of the Way, and will put you in a Way: Firſt, you are
" out of the Way; for, certainly, all the Way you have ever had yet,
" as I could find by any thing, is the Way of Conqueſt. Certainly, this
" is an ill Way; for Conqueſt, Sirs, in my Opinion, is never juſt,
" except there be a good juſt Cauſe, either for Matter of Wrong, or juſt
" Title; and then, if you go beyond it, the firſt Quarrel that you have
" to it, that makes it unjuſt at the end, that was juſt at firſt: But if it
" be only Matter of Conqueſt, then it is a great Robbery; as a Pyrate
" ſaid to *Alexander*, that he was a great Robber; he was but a petty
" Robber: and ſo, Sirs, do I think, the Way that you are in, is much
" out of the Way. Now, Sirs, to put you in the Way: Believe it,
" You will never do right, nor God will never proſper you, until you
" give him his Due, the King his Due, (that is my Succeſſor), and the
" People their Due; I am as much for them, as any of you can be. You
" muſt give God his Due, by regulating rightly his Church, (according
" to the Scripture) which is now out of Order; for to ſet you in a Way
" particularly now, I cannot, but only this; A National Synod freely
" call'd, freely debating among themſelves, muſt ſettle this, when that every
" Opinion

* *Againſt the Earl of* Straf-ford.

" Opinion is freely and clearly heard. For the King, indeed, I will not, 1649.
" —— (then turning to a Gentleman that touch'd the Ax) he ſaid, Hurt
" not the Ax, that may hurt me; —— For the King, the Laws of the Land
" will clearly inſtruct you for that; therefore, becauſe it concerns my
" own Particular, I only give you a Touch of it. For the People,
" and, truly, I deſire their Liberty and Freedom, as much as any Body
" whoſoever; but I muſt tell you, that their Liberty and their Freedom
" conſiſts in having of Government, thoſe Laws, by which their Life
" and their Goods may be moſt their own. It is not in having Share in
" Government, Sirs, that is nothing pertaining to them; a Subject and
" a Sovereign are clean different Things; and therefore, until they do
" that, I mean, that you do put the People in that Liberty, as I ſay,
" certainly they will never enjoy themſelves. Sirs, It was for this, that
" now I am come here; if I would have given way to an arbitrary Way,
" for to have all Laws chang'd, according to the Power of the Sword,
" I needed not to have come here; and therefore I tell you, (and I
" pray God it be not laid to your Charge) that I am the Martyr of
" the People.

" In troth, Sirs, I ſhall not hold you much longer; for I will only ſay
" this to you, That, in troth, I could have deſir'd ſome little Time longer;
" becauſe that I would have put this, that I have ſaid, in a little more
" Order, and a little better digeſted it, than I have done; and therefore
" I hope you will excuſe me: I have deliver'd my Conſcience; I pray
" God that you do take thoſe Courſes that are beſt for the Good of the
" Kingdom, and your own Salvation."

His Majeſty having made this Speech, without ſhewing the leaſt Emotion, the Biſhop of *London* ſaid to him, " That tho' there was no Body
" that made any Doubt of his Majeſty's Religion, yet it may be expected
" that he ſhould ſay ſomewhat for the Satisfaction of the People." The King having thank'd him for putting him in mind of it, added; " In
" troth, Sirs, my Conſcience in Religion, I think, is very well known
" to the World; and therefore I declare before you all, That I die a
" Chriſtian, according to the Profeſſion of the Church of *England*, as
" I found it left me by my Father, and I think this honeſt Man (point-
" ing to the Biſhop of *London*) will witneſs it."

Then turning to Colonel *Hacker*, he ſaid, " Take care that they
" do not put me to Pain."

Then a Soldier touching the Ax, the King ſaid, " Take heed of
" the Ax; pray take heed of the Ax.

Then the King put off his Cloke, and his *George*, which he gave to the Biſhop, and recommended to him privately to ſend it to the Prince, his Son: At laſt, having thrown off his Doublet, and put on his Cloke again, he put his Hair under his Night-Cap, which the Biſhop deliver'd him.

Then the King, turning to the Biſhop, ſaid, " I have a good Cauſe,
" and a gracious God on my Side."

*The Biſhop.* " There is but one Stage more: This Stage is tur-
" bulent and troubleſome; it is a ſhort one; but you may conſider, it

1649. " will ſoon carry you a very great Way; it will carry you from Earth " to Heaven, and there you ſhall find a great deal of cordial Joy and " Comfort."

*King.* " I GO from a corruptible to an incorruptible Crown, where " no Diſturbance can be."

*Biſhop.* " YOU are exchang'd from a temporal to an eternal Crown: A good Exchange!

THEN the King, looking upon the Block on which he was to lay his Head, without the leaſt Terror, ask'd if it was firm? It having been anſwer'd, Yes; he caſt his Eyes upon two Monſters, who had come mask'd, in order to be the villainous Inſtruments of this prodigious Wickedneſs; (for the common Executioner would by no means come there, let them promiſe and threaten him ever ſo much): The King then told them, " That whenever he ſhould ſtretch forth his Hands, " they might put their Orders in Execution." Perhaps they had voted for them. And as his Majeſty had made a very ſhort Prayer, his Hands and Eyes lifted up towards Heaven, he kneeled down, and fitting himſelf upon the Block, as one of theſe wretched Butchers came near him, in order to put his Hair higher up, the King, thinking that he was going to ſtrike, told him, That he ſhould wait the Sign; but after ſuch a manner, that ſhew'd his Mind was no ways diſturb'd, that it continu'd firm in its uſual State, and that it was not in the leaſt prepoſſeſs'd with the Fear of Death. A little after, the King having ſtretch'd forth his Hands, at one Blow his Head was ſevered from his Body: And as the ſecond of theſe Villains had expos'd it to the Eyes of the People, the Soldiers that ſurrounded the Scaffold cry'd out hideouſly, or rather, houled like the Devils that poſſeſs'd them. The Body was put in a Coffin cover'd with black Velvet, and carry'd into *White-Hall*: It was afterwards remov'd to St. *James*'s, where having been put into a leaden Coffin, and for ſome time expos'd to the View of the People, the Duke of *Lenox*, a Prince of the Blood, who, on that ſad Occaſion, generouſly imitated the Piety of *Joſeph* of *Arimathea*, the Marquis of *Hertford*, the Earl of *Southampton*, and the Biſhop of *London*, paid their laſt Duty to him, and conducted him to *Windſor*, where he was interr'd in the Royal Chapel, by *Henry* VIII. the Parricides having a mind, by all means, that the beſt of all their Kings ſhould be laid near him, of whom there was greater Ground of Complaint; and they did not ſuffer the uſual Funeral Solemnities to be perform'd, nor any other thing to be engrav'd upon the Lead, but theſe Words, *Charles King of England.*

*His Character.* THUS died *Charles* I. King of *Great-Britain*, in the 49th Year of his Age, and the 25th of his Reign. He was one of the moſt accompliſhed Princes of the Age he liv'd in, as well upon Account of the Gifts of Nature, as the Comelineſs of his Perſon, and his admirable Qualities. He had an excellent Underſtanding, a ſolid Judgment, and an Expreſſion wonderfully noble and eloquent. He was extremely affable, and, with a great Mildneſs, qualify'd the Majeſty that appear'd in his Countenance, when he gave Audience to his People: He lov'd them tenderly; and as he was a great Lover of Juſtice, he would have it equally adminiſter'd to all his Subjects. Before the Rebellion, nothing was heard in the Streets, but, *God ſave the King*; and in the Country, every one eat his Bread in Peace. As his Moderation was exemplary in Proſperity, which always

always attends Peace, his Reſolution and Courage were no leſs ſo in the Fury of War. Never was there a Prince more temperate or more chaſte than he, nor yet more courteous, more clement and ſweet-natur'd: In a Word, he was moſt devout, according to the Way of his Communion, for which he had a great Veneration, and ſhew'd a very great Reſpect to all his Clergy: In ſhort, he had all the Virtues of a King, with all thoſe of private Men; and as he had no Vice for making the Shadowings of the Picture, it will, in ſome meaſure, remain imperfect, becauſe the Original was perfect. 1649.

BUT this Prince has drawn an immortal one * of himſelf, wherein all theſe incomparable Virtues plainly appear: One would ſay, that the political Reflections that he has made therein, are taken from *Tacitus*, and that the Prayers have been pick'd out of St. *Bernard*; both are noble Proofs of the extraordinary Piety and Ability of this great King. As ſoon as this excellent Work began to appear, the Parricides, full of Rage, to ſee that ſo noble a Monument was left of his Memory, and which might make the People very ſenſible of the Loſs they had ſuſtain'd; theſe curſed Murderers, I ſay, did their utmoſt Endeavours to have it ſuppreſs'd: but in ſpite of all the Precautions they had taken, it has been printed in, almoſt, all the Languages in the World, to their eternal Infamy and Confuſion, and to fright them yet more than *Belſhazzar* was, when he ſaw the Writing of the Hand that came out of the Wall. * Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ.

THE next Day after the King's Death, the pretended Commons caus'd a Proclamation to be publiſh'd, That no Perſon ſhould preſume to declare *Charles Stuart*, commonly call'd the *Prince of Wales*, or any other Perſon, to be King, or Chief Magiſtrate of *England* or *Ireland*, or any Dominions belonging thereunto, under the Pain of Treaſon. This Proclamation did not prevent the ſpreading many printed Copies through the City of *London*, of a Proclamation declaring the Prince of *Wales* King of *England*, &c. But that City was not at all mov'd thereby; on the contrary, having loſt all Senſe of its own Strength, and quite forgot its former Liberty, it ſuffer'd itſelf to be enſlav'd, and gave itſelf up to the Tyrants that had uſurp'd the Throne of their Maſter.

AS ſome Peers were waiting the Anſwer to a Propoſition they had made to the Commons, of conferring with them upon the Government of the State, this pretended Houſe voted, "That the Houſe of Peers "in Parliament is uſeleſs, and dangerous, and ought to be aboliſh'd." It annull'd all their Privileges, and, as a Favour, made them capable of repreſenting Towns and Counties. The Peers enter'd a long Proteſtation againſt that Vote; but it was but a weak Reſentment without Effect, for they had unhappily render'd themſelves incapable of ſupporting it. *The Commons aboliſh the Houſe of Peers.*

AT laſt, this Houſe had the Impudence to vote againſt the Office of Kingſhip, by declaring, "That it had been found by Experience, that "the Office of a King in this Nation, or to have the Power thereof in "any ſingle Perſon, was unneceſſary, burthenſome, and dangerous to the "Liberty, Safety, and publick Intereſt of the Nation, and therefore that "it ſhould be aboliſh'd, and, to that Purpoſe, an Act ſhould be forth-"with prepared:" At the ſame time, it made null and void the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and appointed another to be taken in Place thereof; obliging them who took it, to be faithful to the Commonwealth of *England*. *Vote againſt the Office of Kingſhip.*

MORE

1649. MORE Difficulty was found, as to the Oath to be taken by all the Members of the Council of State; for, after that forty Perſons had been nam'd for compoſing that Council, the pretended Commons would oblige them to declare by Oath, "That they approv'd of the Proceed-"ings of this pretended Houſe, and of the High Court of Juſtice, in all "they had done, as well againſt the King, as in aboliſhing the Houſe "of Peers; and that they acknowledg'd, That the ſupreme Power was "lodg'd in the Houſe of Commons." *Cromwell* having made a Report to the Houſe, That there were only nineteen of the Members choſen for that Council, who had taken the Oath in the Terms that had been propos'd, and that the reſt, making no Scruple to own that the ſovereign Authority was lodg'd in the Houſe of Commons, could not, however, approve either of the King's Death, or the aboliſhing the Houſe of Peers; whereupon, he himſelf found out this Medium, that, without making any mention in the Oath of whatever had paſs'd, it ſhould only oblige them to own the lawful Authority of the Commons, who had ordain'd, with Fulneſs of Power, That the Nation ſhould henceforth be govern'd after the manner of a Common-wealth, without either King or Peers. To which they all acquieſced.

THE Council had a new Great Seal, whereon was engraven St. *George*'s Croſs, which, of old, was the Arms of *England*, (for thoſe which the Kings bore, were compos'd of the two Leopards of *Normandy*, and of that of *Guienne*) with a Harp, which is the Arms of *Ireland*. They likewiſe coin'd new Money of the ſame Stamp. And when they made themſelves Maſters of the Low Country of *Scotland*, they did not put the Lion of *Scoland* in their Coat of Arms: but, in order the more eaſily to prevail upon the *Scots*, they were willing to incorporate them with themſelves into one Nation, looking upon *Scotland* as the Northern Part of *England*. The Expedient would not have been bad, if theſe two Nations had then had any Inclination to love one another: but, very far from that, they have felt the noble Wrath of the Lion, which does not eaſily ſubmit to a foreign Yoke.

WE have told, that after fifty or ſixty Members, whom the Army had left in the Houſe of Commons, had begun to uſurp the Authority of Parliament, this pretended Houſe had revok'd the Orders they had given, as well for the Ranſom of the Duke of *Hamilton*, as for the Baniſhment of the Earls of *Holland* and *Norwich*, the Lords *Capel* and *Loughborough*, who were alſo Priſoners of War, except *Loughborough*, who had made his Eſcape out of Priſon. Now the pretended Commons, notwithſtanding that, about the End of *February*, appointed a new High Court of Juſtice, but, for the moſt part, compos'd of other Commiſſioners, in order to try theſe Lords, and Sir *John Owen*, who had been taken in *Wales*. They were all condemn'd to die as Traitors, for having taken up Arms againſt the Parliament of *England*. The Quarter, which they had all got, was interpreted after a ridiculous and unheard of manner, as if they had done them ſome Favour in ſaving them from the Sword of the Soldiers, in order to make them die by that of the Hangman.

THE Duke of *Hamilton*, being a *Scots-man*, puzzled them a little; for the Council, who pleaded againſt him for the pretended Common-wealth of *England*, falſely alledg'd, that, as being a *Scots-man*, he was a Subject thereof; becauſe it appear'd that the Kings of *Scotland* had ſeveral times done Homage to thoſe of *England*. That was very falſe: There never

never was one but *Baliol*, who, in order to get Aſſiſtance from *Edward* I. King of *England*, againſt his Competitor *Robert* I. ignominiouſly conſented to hold the Crown of *Edward*. But though, perhaps, *Robert*'s Pretenſions were not better grounded than *Baliol*'s; yet, out of Hatred to his Baſeneſs, which was look'd upon as an inexpiable Crime by all Ranks of People in the Kingdom, they deſerted him, and ſided with *Robert*, who was advanc'd to the Throne. 'Tis true, the Duke's Father was Naturalized in *England*, and he himſelf was a *Poſt-natus*, that is to ſay, he was born ſince King *James* had ſucceeded, after Queen *Elizabeth*'s Death, to the Crown of *England*, of which he was a Peer; as being Earl of *Cambridge*: But it was likewiſe true, that there were Artieles ſign'd between him and *Lambert*, which were ſtill in Force; though the Duke, having made his Eſcape out of *Windſor-Caſtle*, had unhappily been diſcover'd by a Soldier in *Southwark*, from whence he was carry'd Priſoner into the Tower. 1649.

An Expreſs was ſent to *Argyle*, in order to know his Sentiment of the Matter: But he, who had no mind to have a Competitor in *Scotland*, where he knew the Duke's Intereſt to be much greater than his own, refus'd to be reconciled with him at any Rate. The Puritan Clergy were likewiſe his irreconcilable Enemies, and had condemn'd him to Death in *Scotland*, before Sentence had been pronounc'd againſt him in *England*. However, this Sentence would not have been put in Execution, if he would have diſcover'd thoſe with whom he had kept a private Correſpondence, *Cromwell* having viſited him in Priſon for that End, as the Patriarch *Peters* had alſo done; but they could get nothing out of the Duke, who generouſly ſacrific'd his Life, in order to ſave thoſe of the faithful Servants of the King his Maſter.

The 9th of *March* was appointed for the bloody Execution of all the Lords that had been condemn'd, except the Earl of *Norwich*, and Sir *John Owen*. A great many Perſons of Quality had preſented Petitions to the pretended Houſe of Commons, begging the Lives of them all; and the Houſe having debated thereupon, it was carry'd almoſt unanimouſly to ſave Sir *John Owen*'s Life; but that of the Earl of *Norwich* was ſav'd by one Vote only, and Orders were given for executing the other three. About ten o' Clock in the Forenoon they were brought from St. *James*'s Palace, by Lieutenant Colonel *Beecher*, to Sir *Thomas Cotton*'s Houſe near *Weſtminſter-Hall*, where having continu'd together about two Hours, praying and conferring with their Chaplains, the Duke of *Hamilton*, taking his Leave of thoſe who were to follow him, encouraged them with a Reſolution not to be expreſs'd, and went out firſt to mount the Scaffold; it was erected in *New Palace-Yard*, where *Fairfax*'s Regiment of Horſe, and ſeveral Companies of *Hudſon*'s and *Pride*'s Regiments of Foot, were drawn up.

The Duke having mounted the Scaffold, with Dr. *Sibbald* his Chaplain, and two of his Servants, the Earl of *Denbigh*, his Brother-in-Law, who was in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, deſir'd to ſpeak with one of the two. *Beecher* ſuffer'd the Servant to go to him, and in the mean time the Duke diſcours'd with his Chaplain. The Gentleman being return'd, and having whiſper'd to the Duke what the Earl had told him, which, probably, was nothing elſe, but that having done his utmoſt with the pretended Commons for ſaving his Life, he had not been able to prevail upon them; and what made it be thought ſo, was, that the Duke

1649. answer'd aloud, with a great deal of Firmneſs and Reſolution, *There's no Remedy then.* Then advancing towards the People, he ſaid, "That "never having lov'd to ſpeak in Publick, he ſhould willingly have "excus'd himſelf from it at preſent, if he had not found himſelf oblig'd "to confute ſome baſe Slanders with which he had been charg'd; and "that he knew there were ſome People, who, without any Ground, had "aſſerted, That whatever Pretence he had made uſe of for taking up "Arms for the King's Service, he had other Deſigns: That that was "moſt falſe; and as it was not a time to diſſemble, he proteſted before "God, That he never intended any other thing by the Command of the "Army, which the Parliament of *Scotland* had committed to his Charge, "but what the Parliament itſelf had ſolemnly declar'd." Moreover, he added, "That he had all manner of Reaſon to love and ſerve the late "King, both as his King and Maſter: That the moſt happy Years of "his Education had been ſpent near his Majeſty; and beſides all that, "he had had the Honour to be of his Houſhold." He concluded, with declaring, "That he died in the Proteſtant Communion, wherein he "had been educated; and that though he may have ſome Reluctancy "to die a violent Death, yet he moſt heartily forgave all thoſe who had "been the Cauſe of it;" and then proteſted, "That he carry'd no "Hatred againſt any Perſon into the Grave with him." Then he kneel'd, and made a very devout Prayer, after the manner of his Communion. At laſt he roſe up, and, with an undaunted Countenance, embrac'd his Chaplain and Servants; and, turning towards the Executioner, he forbid him to touch any Thing that belong'd to him, and that his Servants would ſatisfy him for what might be his Due on this Occaſion; then he forgave him, as he ſincerely did all the World. This Nobleman, having put his Hair under a Night-Cap he had ready, he fitted himſelf upon the Block, without the leaſt Emotion, and told the Executioner, That when he ſhould ſtretch forth his Right-Hand, he might do his Office, if he thought fit. After he had pray'd a very ſhort Time, at one Blow his Head was ſevered from his Body, and having been receiv'd by his Servants in a red Sarcenet Scarf, they put it, with the Body, into a Coffin, which they had caus'd to be brought upon the Scaffold, from whence it was immediately carry'd to Sir *John Hamilton*'s Houſe in the *Meuſe*.

*Duke* Hamilton's *Laſt Speech.*

*Duke* Hamilton *beheaded.*

THUS died *James* the firſt Duke of the illuſtrious Family of *Hamilton*. He was a Nobleman of great Judgment, and admirably ſkill'd in the Management of Affairs: He had alſo acquir'd ſome Experience in War, long before theſe laſt Troubles; for when the King of *Sweden* had declar'd for the Prince *Palatine*, and heartily eſpous'd his Intereſt, the late King ſent him into *Germany* at the Head of a very fine Army, in order to join the great *Guſtavus*: He had always had a good Share in the moſt important Affairs of State, ever ſince his Majeſty had call'd him to be about his Perſon; and after he had ſerv'd him with his Advice in time of Peace, he expos'd his Life for his Service in the War, and at laſt loſt it with great Reſolution for his Intereſt, which he always expreſs'd to be very dear to him to the very laſt.

*His Character.*

AFTER this Execution, the Guards made the Earl of *Holland* mount the Scaffold; who having ſpoke for ſome time with Mr. *Bolton*, his Chaplain, he told the People, "That he was of the Proteſtant Religion, "for which his Family had always had a great deal of Zeal, but that he "had not liv'd according to the Rules which that Religion teacheth; "and

*The Earl of* Holland *mounts the Scaffold next.*

*His Laſt Speech.*

" and that, becauſe of his Sins, God had ſuffer'd that he ſhould die as 1649.
" he was going to do: That, however, he was not aſham'd to follow
" the King his Maſter in this kind of Death; nor had he any Hatred
" againſt any Perſon; and he pray'd to God, that the King, his Son,
" might be eſtabliſh'd upon his Throne without any more Bloodſhed:
" He alſo pray'd for the Proſperity of the famous Univerſity of *Cam-*
" *bridge*, of which he was Chancellor; and he declar'd, That the
" Deſign he had had, and for which he was going to die, had not been
" undertaken, but for the Honour of the King, and the Parliament of
" the Kingdom." Then he embrac'd Mr. *Bolton*, and his Servants; and having call'd the Executioner, he gave him ten Jacobus's, telling him, That they were of more Value than his Cloaths; and likewiſe told him, To give the Blow, when he ſhould ſtretch forth his Hand. At laſt he fell upon his Knees, and, after a ſhort Prayer, he ſtretch'd himſelf upon the Block, with great Reſolution, and without expreſſing the leaſt Fear of Death, which he ſuffer'd as ſoon as he had ſtretch'd forth his Hand.

THIS Earl ow'd all his Fortune to King *James*, and King *Charles*, who had rais'd him to the chief Offices of the Kingdom. There had, indeed, been ſomething Blame-worthy in his Conduct, in the Beginning of the Troubles, but he has waſh'd it away ſince with his Blood, dying a very affectionate and faithful Servant of the King his Maſter.

AT laſt the Lord *Capel* was brought upon the Scaffold, which was full of Blood: He came there attended only by two of his Servants, having taken Leave of his Chaplain by the Way. When he got upon the Fore-part of the Scaffold, he ſpoke to the People, but with a Tone which look'd rather like the Voice of a General ſpeaking at the Head of an Army, than of a Man that was going to die: The Subſtance of his Speech was, " That he died a Proteſtant, according to the Religion
" profeſs'd in the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of *England*, and
" that he had never lik'd any other: That though he was put to Death
" contrary to all the Forms and Laws of the Kingdom, he bore no Ill-
" Will to any Perſon: That he ſuffer'd for keeping the Fifth Com-
" mandment, believing that Chriſtians were thereby commanded to obey
" Magiſtrates; but, nevertheleſs, he muſt own, after ſo great an
" Example as that of the King his Maſter, that he had conſented to
" the Earl of *Strafford*'s Death; not that he had had any Hatred againſt
" him, but that he thought it a Piece of Cowardlineſs to ſuffer himſelf
" to be carry'd away with the Stream, in oppoſing that Injuſtice: That
" having had that Opportunity of mentioning the late King, of glorious
" Memory, he could not forbear ſaying, That he was the moſt accom-
" pliſh'd Prince that ever had reign'd; and that as he had had the
" Honour to be of the King, his Son's, Council, he had narrowly look'd
" into all his Actions, and found himſelf oblig'd likewiſe to ſay, That
" he was a moſt promiſing Prince; that he pray'd to God that he would
" be pleas'd to reſtore him to his Kingdoms." He concluded, with begging " that God would be pleas'd to comfort his Wife, and give
" her Grace, on that Occaſion, to ſubmit her Will to his, which was
" always juſt and holy." Then he call'd the Executioner, and giving him five Jacobus's, he deſir'd him not to ſtrip him upon the Scaffold; and that if he muſt have ſomething more for the Value of his Cloaths, his Servants would ſatisfy him, but that he left the whole Care of his Body to them. Then he kneel'd down, and having made his Prayer, and

*The Lord* Capel *mounts the Scaffold.*

*His Laſt Speech.*

deſir'd

1649. deſir'd thoſe of the People, he ſeveral times fitted himſelf to the Block; and looking Death in the Face without the leaſt Terror, he only took it ill that his Servants ſhould cry as they did, and deſir'd them to retire a little, in order to make Room for him who was to cut off his Head: And as he had ſtretch'd forth his Hands, he ſaid to the Executioner, with an admirable Tranquillity of Mind, That when he ſhould hold up his Right-Hand, he might ſtrike boldly, and that he forgave him with all his Heart: Very ſoon after, he held it up, and receiv'd the Stroke.

*His Character.* He was a moſt gallant and generous Nobleman, who had perform'd Wonders at the Siege of *Colcheſter*; and when the pretended Commons had ſeiz'd upon his Son, who was at School in *London*, and had ſent him to *Fairfax*, with Orders to treat him after the ſame manner as the Beſieged ſhould treat the Committee of the County, *Capel* begg'd of *Norwich*, and the other General Officers in the Town, not to regard his Son in the leaſt, looking upon it as a great Glory, that both he and his Children ſhould loſe their Lives for the Service of the King their Maſter.

*LANGHORN*, *Powel*, and *Poyer*, who had all been up in Arms for the King, were ſtill in Priſon: The pretended Commons referr'd them to a Court-Martial, having been made Priſoners at Diſcretion by *Cromwell*, in the Principality of *Wales*. The Sentence of the Court-Martial was, That one of the three ſhould be ſhot; and having made them caſt Lots, the Lot fell on *Poyer*, who had ſo bravely ſtood out the Siege of *Pembroke*.

The Parricides murder'd all theſe Noblemen before they caus'd their pretended Act to be publiſh'd for aboliſhing the Kingly Office. On the 23d of *March* they ſent the Order to the Mayor of *London*; who having had Honour and Courage enough to refuſe it, he was ſummon'd before the Commons, who fined him in two thouſand Pounds, and ſent him Priſoner into the Tower; and having depriv'd him of the Mayoralty, they made Alderman *Andrews*, a Man fit for their Purpoſe, to be elected in his Stead. But when this Mayor in Perſon, accompany'd by fourteen Aldermen, went to cauſe that ſcandalous and villainous Act to be publiſh'd, the People cry'd out, *We will have none of it*; *God bleſs King* Charles *the Second*: And, undoubtedly, the Multitude of People, would have ſpoil'd the Sport, if ſome Troops of Horſe, which had been kept in Readineſs on Purpoſe, had not diſpers'd them.

As the Houſe of Peers had likewiſe been aboliſh'd, the pretended Commons, not thinking it convenient to leave the Admiralty in the Hands of a Peer of the Kingdom, took the Earl of *Warwick*'s Commiſſion from him, and gave it to three Colonels, *Popham*, *Blake*, and *Dean*, of whom they were very ſure.

At the ſame time, they order'd, That no Miniſter ſhould teach in their Pulpits any thing relating to State Affairs. 'Tis not there, truly, that they ſhould be treated of: It had been much for the King's Advantage, if from the Beginning of the Troubles, he had iſſued out the like Orders; for there were a great many Miniſters in both Kingdoms, who were arrant Fire-brands of Sedition; and beſides, there were others, who were not diſaffected, but who, by all means, would take upon them to ſpeak ſomething of State Affairs, though they had not ſo much Pru-

dence

dence and Diſcretion to wind themſelves out of them, as thoſe tickliſh Times requir'd, when Vows and Prayers were much more proper than political Deciſions. 1649.

THE Parricides, who liv'd in continual Alarms, were ſtill afraid that the People, opening their Eyes, and coming to be affected with the Murder of their good King, would riſe up againſt them, and pay the Obedience and Fidelity they ow'd to the King, his Son. Notwithſtanding their threatening the Miniſters who pray'd for him, and made uſe of the Liturgy, there were ſtill ſome who did both; and the Means they uſed for alienating the Minds of the People from thoſe Preachers, were ſo inſolent and fooliſh, that they had quite contrary Effects to what they had intended, endearing them the more to their Paſtors: A very remarkable Inſtance whereof happen'd in the Beginning of *Lent*, in the Church of *Walton* upon *Thames*; for the Miniſter of the Place having preach'd an Afternoon's Sermon, as he had come down from the Pulpit, ſix Soldiers enter'd the Church, one of whom carry'd in his Right-Hand a lighted Candle in a Lantern, and in the Left-Hand four others that were not lighted: He ſaid to the People, "That he had a "Meſſage to deliver them, from God." Having ſaid that, he had a mind to get up into the Pulpit: But the People having ſtopp'd him, and being unwilling to hear him in the Church, as they had almoſt all withdrawn into the Church-Yard, he began to ſpeak, and tell them, "That God had reveal'd to him, in a Viſion, to diſcover five "Lights to them: 1. That the *Sabbath-Day* (meaning *Sunday*) "being only a *Jewiſh* Ceremony, and not in the leaſt uſeful, was "aboliſh'd, and that it was there that he ought to extinguiſh his "firſt Candle," (that was the Burden of all his Revelations); but the Wind was ſo great, that he could not light it. 2. "That "Tythes were but ceremonial too, and that they were only a heavy "Burden to the Saints, and a Diſcouragement to thoſe that till'd "the Ground. 3. That Miniſters being no longer of any Uſe, "they were aboliſh'd, as Antichriſtian; Jeſus Chriſt himſelf being "deſcended into the Hearts of his Saints, and his Spirit enlightening "them with holy Inſpirations. 4. That all Magiſtrates were likewiſe "aboliſh'd; for they were of no Uſe but to overbear the Liberty "of the Saints, obliging them to keep cloſe to the human Laws; "and that Jeſus Chriſt, by his Spirit, was come amongſt them, and "that he had eſtabliſh'd the Kingdom of Saints upon Earth. 5. That "the Bible (taking it out of his Pocket) for which they had a great "Regard, was in like manner aboliſh'd, ſince it contain'd nothing "but deſpicable Rudiments, and Milk fit for Children; but that "Jeſus Chriſt being deſcended in Glory amongſt his Saints, he "imparted to them a greater Meaſure of his Spirit, than this Book "could do; therefore he had commanded him to burn it." Having done ſpeaking, he took the Candle out of the Lantern, and ſet the Bible on Fire. Who would not be affected with the deplorable State to which Schiſm has brought Religion in *England*, which formerly was ſo Chriſtian, and ſo Catholick?

ON *Low-Sunday*, ſix Preachers in Buff-Coats mounted the Pulpit in *Weſtminſter*, one after another, and try'd the Patience of their Hearers: At laſt the Spirit mov'd *Cromwell*, who being got into the

1649. Pulpit, did nothing for a long time but ſigh, and having his Eyes turn'd towards Heaven, as if he had been in an Ecſtacy; then having pray'd about an Hour, he made a Sermon which laſted another Hour and a half. In his Prayer he beſeech'd God, in Imitation of *Moſes*, to free him from the Burden of this great People of *England*, which was too heavy for his Shoulders: But what has ſince happen'd in that Kingdom, has ſhewn with how much Sincerity he then made that Prayer.

He propos'd, in the pretended Houſe of Commons, to eſtabliſh Presbyterian Government, and employ'd his Emiſſaries to draw in the Presbyterians: He made it to be told them, "That they had "quarrel'd with the late King about the Political Government, which "was harder to adjuſt than the Government of the Church, whatever "might be pretended to the contrary: That they had no leſs made "War againſt him, than the Independents, who had only finiſh'd "what others had begun; inſomuch that the King, his Succeſſor, "look'd upon them both equally guilty, and, for his own Intereſt, "would be oblig'd to ruin them both." But the Presbyterians, who neither ſuffer'd themſelves to be wheedled nor frighted, ſtopp'd their Ears to all the Propoſitions that came to them from the Parricides. It was upon that Account, that, not ſtanding any longer in Awe to mock God, they appointed a Faſt to be kept on the 19th of *Auguſt*, to ask Pardon of God, for the Ingratitude of the People, who had not been thankful for the Favour God had ſhewn them, in having deliver'd them from Monarchy, and plac'd them in a free Commonwealth.

In the mean time, the Levellers bore impatiently that the ſupreme Authority ſhould be in the Hands of a pretended Council of State, which, as well as the Council of War, *Cromwell* turn'd and winded as he pleas'd: He had made Uſe of thoſe Levellers for murdering the King, aboliſhing the Houſe of Peers, and ſecluding above two-thirds of the Members of the Houſe of Commons: Thus ſeeing himſelf Maſter, he could no longer bear the Thoughts of an equal Repreſentative of the People, or of popular Aſſemblies, which the Levellers demanded. They ſpoke ſo loud thereof, that, in order to ſtrike Terror into them, ſix or ſeven Soldiers of Captain *Savage*'s Company were ſhot, in St. *Paul*'s Church-Yard at *London*: And an Act was afterwards paſs'd, declaring it to be Treaſon, to ſay, that the eſtabliſh'd Government was Tyrannical; and to deny, that the ſupreme Authority of the Nation was in the Houſe of Commons: That it ſhould likewiſe be Treaſon, to make an Attempt upon the General's Life, and upon that of the Lieutenant-General; to raiſe Mutinies in the Army; to kill any Member of the Houſe of Commons, or any Officer of Juſtice, in the Diſcharge of his Office.

The Levellers, in order to oppoſe theſe Violences, took the Field, and rendezvous'd near *Banbury*, in the County of *Oxford*, where, finding themſelves to be about four or five thouſand Men, they publiſh'd a Declaration: But, for want of keeping a good Outlook, *Fairfax* ſurpriz'd them, and kill'd ſeven hundred of them; the Defeat of the whole Party being reſerv'd to *Cromwell*, who routed

routed them, and took all the Leaders Priſoners. The Commons having had an Account of the Victory, order'd a general Day of Thankſgiving for that great Mercy; and the Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, who were of the Cabal, in order to honour the Solemnity, reſolv'd to give a Dinner in the City to the pretended Houſe of Commons, the Council of State, and the General Officers of the Army. This Thankſgiving was kept on the 7th of *June*, in *Chriſt's Church*, where the Mayor, going to meet the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, deliver'd him the Sword, as had uſually been done to the King, and receiv'd it afterwards from the Speaker, on the Part of the Commonwealth, as the King return'd it to the Mayor. Then they were ſumptuouſly entertain'd in *Grocers-Hall*, and, after the Feaſt, *Fairfax* and *Cromwell* had very fine Preſents of Plate made them. But *Fairfax*'s Power began then to decline very much; for *Cromwell* was very ſoon after choſen *Generaliſſimo*, in order to go to *Ireland*, with very ample Power, and the Choice of the Troops, which were drawn out of the Gariſons and Army. 1649.

My Deſign is not to follow him into that Kingdom; 'tis only to let you ſee how the King's Murder was taken in *Scotland*, where there was not a Man that did not expreſs both an Abhorrence and a deep Reſentment of it. As ſoon as the News thereof was come, the Parliament caus'd King *Charles* II. to be ſolemnly proclaim'd King of *Great-Britain*: The Croſs, which is in the High Street, being very richly hung, all the Nobility went thither in their Robes: The Chancellor himſelf carrying the Proclamation, read it to Lyon King at Arms, who proclaim'd it aloud to the People. By this Act, they openly diſclaim'd the Murder of the late King, and alſo acknowledg'd all the Titles of the King, his Son, and the undoubted Right he had to ſucceed to the Crown: but they would not entruſt him either with the Sword or Sceptre, 'till after he had ſign'd the Covenant.

*The Marquis of Huntly try'd, and condemn'd to be beheaded.*

In the mean time they try'd the Marquis of *Huntly*, whom they had kept Priſoner in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* ſince the Month of *October*, of the Year 1647. The Marquis was condemn'd to be beheaded the 22d of *March*, for having been always faithful to his Prince; for thoſe who pronounc'd that cruel Sentence, could accuſe him of no other Crime. 'Twas thus that the *Scots* Covenanters butcher'd his Majeſty's beſt Friends, at the ſame time that they were treating with him. *Huntly* being got upon the Scaffold, a Miniſter ask'd him, "If, for the Peace of his Conſcience, he did not deſire to be "abſolv'd from the Cenſure of Excommunication, which the General "Aſſembly had fulminated againſt him?" *Huntly* anſwer'd him, "That he was not us'd to hear falſe Prophets, ſuch as he was, and "deſir'd him to be gone." Then turning towards the People, he ſaid, "That he was going to die, for having ſpent ſome Years of his "Life in the King his Maſter's Service, and for having given him "ſome weak Proofs of his Fidelity and Obedience: That he was "very ſorry, as they ought all to be, that he was not the firſt, of all "his Majeſty's Subjects, who had ſuffer'd for that Cauſe, which was "ſo glorious, that it had ſweeten'd to him all the Bitterneſs of "Death. He encourag'd all the King's good Subjects not to be "diſhearten'd becauſe of what had happen'd to him; but, on the "contrary,

*His Laſt Speech.*

1649. "contrary, to look upon the Scaffold as a Theatre of Honour, "and to abhor the Doctrine and Example of thoſe who ſhould "diſſuade them from the Obedience which, by all Laws, divine and "human, they are obliged to pay to their Sovereign Lord." He declar'd, "That he had Charity enough to forgive all thoſe who voted "for his Death, in the Sentence that had been pronounc'd againſt "him; though, far from being guilty of Treaſon, they could not "convict him of ever having done any thing contrary to the Laws: "That he did not doubt but he was a great Offender in the Sight "of God, and deſired to be aſſiſted with the Prayers of all ſuch as "were well-affected to his Majeſty, without troubling himſelf with "the Prayers of thoſe who were not." Having ſpoken after this manner, he threw off his Doublet, put his Hair under a Night-Cap he had upon his Head; and then, having ſaid a Prayer, and embrac'd all his Friends that were upon the Scaffold, without the leaſt Perturbation, he encounter'd Death, and, with a very ſerene Countenance, ſaid to the Executioner, That he might perform his Office when he pleas'd.

*His Character.* THIS Nobleman was, without doubt, the moſt powerful Subject the King had in all his Kingdoms; ſo that if he could have been reconcil'd with *Montroſe*, and got the better of the Diſcontent he had, becauſe *Montroſe* commanded in Chief, they, being join'd together, would have been able to keep the beſt Part of the Kingdom of *Scotland* under the King's Obedience, in ſpite of whatever the Covenanters could have done againſt them. He had excellent Parts; and both by his Looks, and every Thing about him, he appear'd to be a Man of great Quality. When the moſt Chriſtian King, *Lewis* XIII. was pleas'd to call for the Troop of *Scots* Guards, this Nobleman carry'd it over to *France* more richly accouter'd than ever it had been ſeen there, conſiſting altogether of Gentlemen, and having for Lieutenant the Lord *Gray*, who is one of the moſt ancient Barons of *Scotland*, and who contributed much to the Levying of the Troop. And when the Troubles of that Kingdom had oblig'd *Huntly* to return to *Scotland*, with his moſt virtuous Lady, who was Siſter to the Marquis of *Argyle*, and who had been but juſt brought to Bed of Twins, a Son and a Daughter, they left them to the Care of *William Davidſon*, Doctor of Phyſick, who has acquir'd a great deal of Honour, by the Care he has ſince taken of their Education, having caus'd them both to be brought up according to their Quality, at his own Charge, and thereby ſet a rare Example of Friendſhip and Reſpect for that illuſtrious Family, though his own was very numerous. In the Time of the firſt Zeal for the Covenant, which ran like a Torrent through the whole Kingdom, the Marquis's Father, who was one of the greateſt Men that *Scotland* had produc'd for many Ages, was taken in his ſtately Caſtle of *Strathbogy*, and carry'd Priſoner to that of *Edinburgh*; however, he was ſet at Liberty ſome time after, and died at *Dundee* in returning Home: He had always made publick Profeſſion of the Catholick Religion, the Exerciſe whereof was perform'd with Splendor and Solemnity in all his Houſes. After his Death, the Perſecution againſt the Catholicks increaſing, the worthy Marchioneſs, his Widow, who was of the Houſe of *Lenox*, had the Satisfaction to come and die in *France*, where ſhe was born. While they were both alive, their

their ſecond Son, the brave Viſcount of *Melgum* unfortunately periſh'd by Fire, in the Houſe of a Gentleman of his Acquaintance, whom he had gone to viſit. The Piety of Queen *Anne* of *Auſtria*, who has done his only Daughter the Honour to keep her about her Majeſty, occaſions that tragical Hiſtory to be well known at the Court of *France*. 1649.

When *Huntly* was put to Death, the King was at the *Hague*, where he was like to ſink under the Grief he had for the Loſs of the King his Father, when the News of his Death was brought him; and that he might not forget a Day ſo fatal for him and all *Great-Britain*, he has always faſted every *Tueſday* ſince. The Duke of *Hamilton*, Brother to the late Duke, and a great Part of the moſt conſiderable Noblemen of the Kingdom, went to wait upon his Majeſty, who, at the ſame time, ſent for *Montroſe*.

In the Sixth Book of this *Hiſtory*, we have told, that *Montroſe* having laid down his Arms, by the King's Orders, went to *Norway*, and from thence having gone through *Denmark*, where he was receiv'd with ſuch a Welcome as was due to a Man of his Quality and Merit, he came to *France*. His Fame had got there long before him: but though it was very great, and that commonly Men don't anſwer to what is ſaid of them when one ſees them, yet all thoſe who had known that great Man, agreed, that they had not heard ſo much ſaid to the Advantage of that Nobleman, as ſo brave and famous a General deſerv'd.

The Cardinal *de Retz*, then Coadjutor of *Paris*, contracted a very particular Friendſhip with *Montroſe*, who told him, "That he "would conform himſelf to the Condition in which the King his "Maſter was; that he would ſet up no Equipage for appearing at "Court: That he had a great Family, (meaning his chief Officers, "and ſome Noblemen that had follow'd him), and that he had "little left for maintaining it; but that he would leave a Part of it "at the Academy; and as for himſelf, he would retire to the "Country: That, in the mean time, 'till he ſhould be able to do "ſomething for the King his Maſter, as he was unwilling to ſit idle, "he ſhould be very glad to follow the Inclination which his Birth "gave him, and to ſerve *France* with four thouſand good Men, "whom he would bring with him into the Service; and that they "were Men who had given very good Proofs of their Fidelity and "Bravery. The Propoſal was made to the Court by that Prelate: "but not being able to adjuſt Matters, *Montroſe* went to *Germany*, "where the Emperor made him Velt-Marſhal of the Empire, and "gave him the Command of a Body of twelve thouſand Men; "which *Montroſe* accepted of, upon Condition, that he might return "the Staff to his Imperial Majeſty, as ſoon as the Service of the King "his Maſter ſhould call him elſewhere."

The King then having ſent for him, he call'd for his Friends, ſhew'd them his Majeſty's Letter, and told them, That, in the Matter he was to adviſe with them, he begg'd of them to conſider only what Honour requir'd of him. They underſtood very well what he meant, and were all of his Opinion: So that having taken Leave of the

1649. Emperor, he came in all Haſte to wait upon the King his Maſter. His Majeſty gave him ſuch a Reception as his Services had deſerv'd of him, and did all he could to reconcile him with the Duke of *Hamilton*. *Montroſe* did not ſhew great Averſion to it, but ſome unlucky Misfortune prevented it from taking Effect: So that the *Scots* Commiſſioners, who were come to treat with the King, in order to deliver up the Government to him, taking Advantage of the Variance that was betwixt theſe two Noblemen, which then divided the whole Court, they propos'd ſuch ridiculous Conditions to his Majeſty, that, by all means, they would have him to ſign the Covenant. They were ſo obſtinate in it, and ſuffering themſelves to be guided by *Argyle* and the Clergy, they us'd ſo many Delays in their Treaty, that they gave *Cromwell* Time to ravage *Ireland*, whence they might have expected Relief, and alſo Time to return ſoon enough into *England*, to intermeddle in their Affairs.

We don't intend to treat of the Particulars of this Reign, nor to enter upon it: But, to put an End to this Hiſtory, we ſhall be ſatisfy'd with only ſhewing, how *Montroſe*, who had been order'd by the King to throw himſelf into *Scotland*, in order to oblige the Covenanters to think of more reaſonable Propoſitions; how, I ſay, that Hero crown'd his excellent Life by a glorious Death, though it appear'd ignominious to vulgar Souls.

There have been few Men that have put an End to great Undertakings: God did not even ſuffer that great Prophet, who ſpoke to him Face to Face, to introduce his People into the Land which he had promiſed; he reſerv'd the Honour thereof to *Joſhua*, his Succeſſor. In a Word; whatever has had a Beginning, ſtill contains a ſort of Corruption in the Principles of its Generation; and the moſt perfect Creatures in the World, are ſtill ſenſible of the Nothing from whence they had their Riſe.

1650. It ſeem'd that the Marquis of *Montroſe* was a Man choſen of God, for raiſing up again the overturn'd Throne of his Prince: In the Reign of the late King, his Maſter, he had put a Damp upon the Rebellion in *Scotland*, and had carry'd his victorious Arms over all the Kingdom. Under the Protection of his Majeſty who now reigns, he poſted through *Germany*, *Sweden*, and *Denmark*, in order to ſollicit the Northern Powers, and to engage them in the moſt juſt and moſt glorious Quarrel that ever was heard of in the World, and in which, it may be ſaid, that Kings are greatly concern'd: And having, by that gentle Violence which Virtue commonly makes uſe of to force great Souls, oblig'd a great Number of Officers and old Soldiers, among thoſe warlike Nations, to follow his Fortune, he ſent a Part of them before him to the Iſlands of *Orkney*, and carry'd thither the reſt with himſelf; from thence he wrote to all his Friends, and to all ſuch as he had known to have the Royal Cauſe at Heart; and to facilitate their joining him, he landed on the Continent, follow'd by thoſe brave Foreigners, and ſome Militia of the Iſlands, commanded by good Officers, who, in many Actions, had given Proofs of their Valour during all the firſt Troubles. But a fatal Day put a Stop to the Progreſs of ſo favourable Beginnings, and blaſted all their Hopes; the Fortune of War having made that excellent

Man

Man fall into the Hands of the Covenanters, over whom he had ſo often triumph'd. 1650.

*MONTROSE* having ſecur'd *Orkney* for a Place of Retreat, landed in *Caithneſs* with a thouſand Men: He had no Horſe; and could take no more Foot with him, without leaving the Iſlands unprovided of Soldiers. Having divided them into two Bodies, he gave the Command of the firſt to Colonel *Hurry*, who march'd with it to the Caſtle of *Dumbeth*, which he took by Capitulation. *Montroſe* being come there, left Major *Whiteford* in it; and having paſs'd the *Brora*, he march'd to *Glenmuick*, where he waited the raiſing of a Regiment of four hundred Men which he had order'd. The People of *Sutherland* hid themſelves, and gave him no Intelligence of the Enemy's March, who having made themſelves Maſters of the Paſſes of the Shire of *Roſs*, prevented him from having any News of his Friends.

He ſent *Hurry* to *Balnagown*, who eſpouſed the Cauſe; and he himſelf having advanc'd near to *Taine*, on the Borders of *Roſs*, he order'd Major *Lille*, with a Detachment of Musketeers, to march through a Wood, where he might find the Gentry of the Shire. *Lille* had no ſooner enter'd the Wood, than he diſcover'd the Enemy's Scouts, with which he acquainted *Montroſe*, who order'd him to halt, and advancing himſelf, he ſaw the Enemy marching out of an Ambuſcade, and who attack'd him in three Bodies. The Engagement was both ſharp and bloody. *Montroſe* had his Horſe ſhot under him; and young *Menzies* of *Pitfoddels*, who carry'd the Royal Standard, with Major *Guthry*, were kill'd cloſe by him: but as the Match was not equal, and that the Enemy's Horſe broke through every-where, the Royaliſts gave Ground, and were bore down by the Number of the Enemy: At laſt the brave Lord *Frendraught* did an Action worthy of Remembrance; for he gave his Horſe to *Montroſe*, and ſurrender'd himſelf Priſoner, well knowing that if that Nobleman ſhould get off, the Face of Affairs would ſoon be alter'd. *Montroſe* ſwam over the River, accompany'd by the gallant Sir *Edward St. Clair*, and *St. Clair* of *Brim*, a Gentleman of *Caithneſs*. At the ſame time *Balnagown* ſeiz'd upon *Hurry*, and the new Levies diſpers'd themſelves. *Montroſe* got into a very deep Valley, where having continued two Days, he ſent *Brim*, who knew the Country, to look for ſome Proviſions; but he having betray'd him, a Party of the Country People came upon him immediately, who, after having promis'd him all manner of good Uſage, baſely ſold him to *David Leſly*. *

As ſoon as the News of his being taken was brought to the Parliament then ſitting at *Edinburgh*, his Death was reſolv'd upon, without regarding the King's Authority in the leaſt, by whoſe Order he had taken up Arms. Neither did they ſtick to diſpleaſe the King, nor to give his Majeſty ſo juſt Grounds of Reſentment; though they might well have judg'd that he would have good Reaſon to believe that they did not deal honeſtly with him, and that he could not with Safety put himſelf into their Hands, ſince they were making ſo fatal Preparations for his Reception, and that they were marking out his Way with the Blood of his Lieutenant-General. They did not at all conſider that the illuſtrious *Montroſe* was a Priſoner of War, and likewiſe forgot the good

* *Biſhop* Wiſheart, *Author of* Montroſe's *Life, writes, that it was* Mackleod *of* Aſſint, *who betray'd* Montroſe; *but in every thing elſe relating to* Montroſe, *through this whole Hiſtory, our Author and the Biſhop agree.*

Treatment

1650. Treatment their Priſoners had receiv'd from him; ſo that, trampling under Foot all Laws both divine and human, all in a Fury they appointed Commiſſioners for Trying him, even before he was brought to *Edinburgh*.

On the 17th of *May* 1650, in the Morning, the Commiſſioners met, and in the Afternoon of the ſame Day they preſented to the Parliament the Sentence they had drawn up: It was to this Effect, "That "as ſoon as *James Graham* (which was the Name of this matchleſs "Marquis) ſhould come to the City, he ſhould be met by the Ma-"giſtrates, and the Hangman, at the Gate: That he ſhould be ty'd "with Cords upon a Cart, bare-headed: That the Hangman ſhould "ride upon the Horſe that was to draw the Cart, cover'd before him, "and ſo be brought through the City: That the Marquis ſhould be "hang'd on a Gibbet thirty Foot high until he ſhould be dead, which "Gibbet ſhould, for that End, be erected before the Croſs on the High "Street: That he ſhould remain expos'd there for the Space of three "Hours, with the Hiſtory of his Battles, written in Latin, and his "Declaration hanging about his Neck: After which, he ſhould be "beheaded, and quarter'd: That his Head ſhould be fix'd upon the Priſon-"Houſe of *Edinburgh*: That his Arms and Legs ſhould be put upon "the Gates of the Towns of *Sterling*, *Glaſgow*, *Perth* aliàs *St. John-"ſtoun*, and *Aberdeen*: That, in caſe he ſhould repent, (whereby the "Sentence of Excommunication might be taken off by the Church) the "Trunk of his Body ſhould be bury'd in the *Grey Friars*; if not, it "ſhould be bury'd under a Gibbet of four Pillars, without the City.

The next Day, the 18th, about four o' Clock in the Afternoon, he came to the Water-Gate, where, according to his Sentence, he was met by the Magiſtrates, with their Guards, and the Hangman driving the Cart: As ſoon as he came within the Gate, the Magiſtrates ſhew'd him the Sentence; and he read it with as compos'd a Countenance, as if it had been ſome Affair about which he was indifferent. After having read it, he return'd it to them, and ſaid, "That he would willingly obey; and "that he was only ſorry, that through him, his Majeſty, whoſe Perſon "he repreſented, ſhould be ſo diſhonour'd." Then he went up into the Cart, which he then look'd upon as a Triumphal Chariot, and, according to his Sentence, was carry'd to the Priſon, all the other Priſoners walking bare-headed before him, tied two and two together, like Highway-men. All the way as he paſs'd, there appear'd in him ſo much Courage and Reſolution, and ſo much Majeſty was ſeen in his Countenance, in the Condition he was in, that the Minds of the People towards him were alter'd all of ſudden; their Hatred turn'd into Compaſſion; and their intended Curſes, into Tears and Prayers for him.

When he was taken from the Cart, he gave the Hangman a Piece of Gold, telling him, "That he gave him that, becauſe he had driven "the Cart ſo well." It was ſeven o' Clock at Night when he enter'd the Priſon, whither he could have eaſily been brought by a ſhorter Way; but theſe Gentlemen were pleas'd to deal ſo by him, and make him paſs through the High Street, which is the whole Length of the City, in order to give that Divertiſement to the People: Their Malice was not confin'd to that; they caus'd the Cart to be ſtopt for ſome time before the Earl of *Murray*'s Houſe, where, by an unparallel'd Baſeneſs, *Argyle*, with the chief Men of his Cabal, who never durſt look *Montroſe* in the Face,

Face while he had his Sword in his Hand, appear'd then in the Windows and Balcony, in order merrily to feed their Sight with a Spectacle which ſtruck Horror into all good Men: But *Montroſe* aſtoniſh'd them with his Looks, and his Reſolution confounded them. 1650.

As ſoon as he was in the Priſon, the Parliament ſent him ſome of their Members, with two Miniſters, to examine him: but he refus'd to anſwer, and declar'd, That he would not acknowledge that Parliament, until he ſhould be ſatisfy'd that the Treaty between his Royal Maſter and them was concluded, and that they had ſatisfy'd his Majeſty. Which being reported to the Parliament, they delay'd any farther Proceeding 'till *Monday*, when they order'd their Commiſſioners to tell him, That the King and They were agreed. Then *Montroſe* deſir'd to be at Reſt, for he was fatigu'd with the long Journey he had made; and added, *That the Compliment they had put upon him the Day of his entering the City, ought to ſatisfy them.*

The next Day, being *Sunday*, he was again teaz'd by the Miniſters, who ſtill purſu'd him with Threatnings, but could not diſturb the Tranquillity of his Mind. As they were going to leave him, he told them, "That his Enemies were miſtaken, if they imagin'd they had loaded "him with Infamy the Day before; for, on the contrary, he look'd upon "that Day as the moſt glorious for him that ever he had ſpent in his Life: "That God had powerfully ſupported him by the Preſence of his Spirit, "which fill'd his own with all the Comforts imaginable, and which had "given him Strength to deſpiſe the Injuries that Men could do him, "and to behold him for whoſe Cauſe he ſuffer'd, and for which he was "ſtill ready to undergo the moſt violent Attacks which the Malice of "Men could deviſe for ſhaking his Conſtancy, ſtill hoping that God "would not forſake him."

Upon *Monday* in the Forenoon he was brought before the Parliament, where the Chancellor, in a long ſtudy'd Speech, upbraided him with "having broke both the Covenant, and the Solemn League betwixt the "two Nations: That he had diſturb'd the Kingdom; and having join'd "with the *Iriſh* Rebels, he had ſhed a great deal of innocent Blood." The Chancellor, after having very much enlarg'd upon theſe Particulars, ſaying, "That God had ſuffer'd that he ſhould fall into their Hands, "that he might be puniſh'd according as his great Crimes deſerved." *Montroſe* being allow'd, anſwer'd, with his uſual Gravity, "Since you "have aſſur'd me that you have agreed with the King, I look upon you "as if his Majeſty preſided in your Meeting, and 'tis on that Account "that I ſhew you this Reſpect, and ſpeak to you uncover'd: My Care "hath always been, never to do any thing unworthy of a good Chriſtian, "and a loyal Subject: 'Tis true, I engag'd in the firſt Covenant; but 'tis "likewiſe true, that I defended it as vigorouſly as, in Conſcience and "Honour, I could, until I perceiv'd that ſome private Perſons, under "Colour of Religion, intended to deprive the King of his Authority, "and to ſeize upon it for themſelves. When it was thought fit that, in "order to diſtinguiſh thoſe that were well-affected, from thoſe that were "not, a Bond ſhould be ſubſcrib'd, wherein his Majeſty's faithful Servants, "having ſufficiently provided for the Security of Religion, oblig'd themſelves to maintain his Royal Perſon and Authority; I, indeed, ſubſcrib'd "it with a great deal of Zeal: but as for the League between the two "Nations, I thank God I had no Hand in it, ſo could not break it; but



3

1650. " how far Religion hath been advanc'd by it, and the ſad Conſequences " that have follow'd it, theſe poor diſtreſſed Kingdoms can witneſs. " When his late Majeſty, of glorious Memory, had almoſt ſubdued thoſe " Enemies that roſe againſt him in *England*, and that a Faction of this " Kingdom went in to their Aſſiſtance, his Majeſty was pleas'd to honour " me with his Commiſſion, in order to give a Diverſion to thoſe Forces " that were going from hence againſt him. I acknowledg'd his Majeſty's " Command moſt juſt, and thought myſelf bound both in Conſcience " and Duty to obey it. What my Carriage was towards my Country- " men on that Occaſion, you yourſelves can bear witneſs: 'Tis almoſt " impoſſible to prevent Diſorders in an Army; but the leaſt that I could " diſcover in mine, were ſeverely puniſh'd; never was any Man's Blood " ſpilt but in Battle, and even then many thouſand Lives have I pre- " ſerved. In fine, As I had taken up Arms by the late King, my Lord " and Maſter's Orders, by the ſame Orders I alſo laid them down, and " went out of the Kingdom. I am not return'd, but by the Authority " of his Majeſty who now reigns, and who has ſucceeded to the Kingdoms " of his Anceſtors: The Orders he gave me are altogether juſt, and my " Obedience is altogether honourable: The King meant nothing elſe, " but to oblige you not to put off the Treaty any longer; for he well " knew, that as ſoon as you ſhould return to your Duty, I would lay " down my Arms, and retire. Theſe Reaſons, I think, ſhould oblige " you, not to hurry on your Sentence as you do, but to conſider the Juſtice " of the Quarrel, my Maſter's Commands, and the Moderation of my " Conduct; that I may be treated not only as a Chriſtian, but likewiſe as " a faithful Subject, and as your Brother and good Countryman: Be not " too raſh in an Affair of this Importance, but let me be judg'd by the " Laws of God, the Laws of Nature and Nations, and the Laws of this " Land: If you do otherwiſe, I do here appeal from you to the righteous " Judge of the World, who, at the Laſt Day, muſt be both your Judge " and mine, and who will deal with every one of us according as we " ſhall have dealt with others." He deliver'd this Speech with a Grace and Preſence of Mind that ſurpriz'd them all; and it was obſerv'd, that he appear'd before that Tribunal with the ſame Countenance as ſome of thoſe, who were ſitting there, had ſeen him formerly have at the Head of an Army: 'Tis true, that, on that Occaſion, they had not ſeen him ſo near, nor with the ſame Confidence, that they beheld him then.

AFTER which, the Chancellor order'd the Clerk to read over the Sentence once more. *Montroſe* heard it, without diſcovering the leaſt Emotion: But as he was going to make ſome Anſwer, the Chancellor bid him hold his Tongue, and order'd him to be carry'd back to Priſon. He was no ſooner there, than the Miniſters attack'd him afreſh, ſtill ſtriving to terrify him with the extraordinary Rigour of the Sentence: but they loſt their Labour, having to do with a Man who explain'd it after quite another manner than they imagin'd; for he told them, " That " he was extremely oblig'd to the Parliament, for the Honour they were " pleas'd to do him; becauſe he took it for a greater Honour to have his " Head put upon the Top of the Priſon for the Cauſe he defended, than " to have his Picture plac'd in the moſt honourable Part of the King's " Bed-Chamber: That he could not enough admire the Care the Parlia- " ment took, to perpetuate his Memory, and to prevent that his Loyalty " might not be forgot, having order'd laſting Monuments, for Poſterity, " to be put up in the four principal Cities of the Kingdom; and that he " wiſh'd that his Body could furniſh Fleſh enough to ſend a Piece of it

" to

" to every City in Chriſtendom, that there might every-where be Marks 1650.
" of his Loyalty to his King and Country."

THE Night between *Monday* and *Tueſday*, being the laſt he was to live, he ſpent it all in Praying, having a Guard ſtill in the Room with him. The next Day, being the 21ſt, having put on a Suit of Scarlet Cloaths, laced all over with Gold Lace, he waited for the laſt Hour of his Life with a Tranquillity of Mind not to be expreſs'd. About three o' Clock in the Afternoon the Magiſtrates of the City went to receive him from the Priſon, from whence he walk'd on Foot up to the Scaffold, with as much Courage and Chearfulneſs as if he had been going to make his Entry into ſome Town that he had taken: And becauſe he well foreſaw that his Friends would not be allow'd to come near him, nor that he ſhould be permitted to ſpeak to the People, he threw a Paper among them, which contain'd the Speech he deſign'd to have made, the Subſtance whereof was this:

" I SHOULD be very ſorry if this kind of Death I am going to
" ſuffer, ſhould give any Ground of Scandal, or be capable of making
" any bad Impreſſion upon the Minds of good Chriſtians: Is it not well
" known that the Righteous are ſometimes afflicted; and that, on the
" contrary, the Wicked are proſperous, which they ſeem not to deſerve?
" Is it not often ſeen, that the juſt Man periſheth in his Uprightneſs, and
" the wicked Man proſpers in his Iniquity? All thoſe to whom I have
" the Honour to be known, and who know the Particulars of my Life,
" have no Reaſon to be ſcandaliz'd at my Death; ſince many great Men,
" who, beyond Compariſon, were of greater Worth than I, have been
" dealt with in this manner. Nevertheleſs, I muſt acknowledge that
" God's Judgments are juſt; for I ſhould deſerve to ſuffer a more ſevere
" Treatment, if it had been poſſible that my Enemies could have con-
" triv'd one, becauſe of the Sins I have committed as a private Man;
" and therefore I ſubmit to the good Will of God, not conſidering Men
" but as Inſtruments, which he is pleas'd to make uſe of, for executing
" his Juſtice upon me: Therefore, I pray him to forgive them my Death,
" as I do heartily forgive them; and, very far from having the leaſt
" Reſentment, I don't ſo much as complain of it, nor lay it to any
" Man's Charge: I only think myſelf oblig'd, for my own Vindication,
" to ſay, That all I have done in this Kingdom, hath been by the King's
" Commands, and for his Defence; for I believ'd, that, next to the
" Fear of God, the firſt Duty of a good Chriſtian, was, to honour the
" King, according to the Laws of God, and thoſe of Nature; beſides,
" that 'tis the Sentiment of all Nations. So I have not ſinn'd againſt
" Man, but againſt God, 'tis againſt him alone that I have ſinned; and
" becauſe with him there's Fulneſs of Mercy, and abundance of Favour,
" I appear before the Tribunal of his Juſtice with a holy Confidence. I
" doubt not but there may be ſome good Men that will judge ill of me,
" becauſe, perhaps, they look upon me to be excommunicated; but 'tis
" for a Cauſe that deſerv'd Bleſſings, and publick Acclamations: ſo that
" I am in no Pain about having incurr'd that Cenſure; yet I wiſh it
" were taken off, provided it were done without wounding either my
" Conſcience or Honour: If they refuſe to do it upon theſe Conditions,
" I appeal to God, who, I hope, will be both my Judge and Saviour.

" I KNOW there are ſome who have given out, That I had laid the
" Blame of all that has paſs'd, upon the late King. God forbid! 'tis
" a moſt

1650. " a moſt wicked Calumny: I very well know that that great Prince " always led the Life of a Saint, and died a Martyr: I pray God, I may " ſo end my Life as he did his; and, if it were lawful to wiſh that my " Soul were in the Place of any Man's Soul, I ſhould wiſh it were in the " ſame State with his. As for the King, his Son, who now reigns, I am " bound to give him this Character, That he is a very hopeful Prince; " that it will be his People's Fault, if they don't live happy under his " Government; that his Commands to me were moſt juſt; that he will " perform whatever he ſhall promiſe his People: God grant that they " may do the ſame, and that he be not betray'd by thoſe very Men whom " he honours moſt with his Confidence, as the King his Father was. " Thus, having a mind, to my laſt Breath, to continue faithful to the " Memory of the Father, ſo I die faithful to the Perſon of the Son. " Don't think that 'tis Obſtinacy or Hard-heartedneſs that makes me " continue ſtedfaſt in my firſt Sentiments; 'tis the Light of my own Con- " ſcience, which is ſeconded by the working of the good Spirit of God " that is within me; 'tis he that enables me to look Death in the Face " without Fear, though it ſhould appear to me a thouſand times more " frightful than it is: Let him be glorified in my Death, which I em- " brace with Joy. To conclude; I deſire of thoſe who are in Charity " with me, that they may aſſiſt me with their Prayers, heartily offering " mine to all ſuch as are not: So I leave my Soul to God, my moſt " faithful Services to my Prince, my affectionate Reſpects to my Friends, " and my Memory and Charity to all Men."

HAVING thrown this Paper, they brought him the Hiſtory of his Battles, in Latin, and his Declaration, tied together with a Cord, in order to be put about his Neck; which having been done, he ſaid, " That the " King his Maſter had formerly honour'd him with the Order of the " Garter; but that he reckon'd himſelf much more honourably adorn'd " with the Collar that had been juſt now put about his Neck, than with " that of the Garter." After they had tied his Arms, the Weight of which the Rebels had formerly felt, he aſk'd them, ſmiling, " If " they thought there was yet any thing left for them to do, in the merry " Mood they were in, for loading him with Infamy; if there was, he " bid them not ſpare him, for he would willingly ſuffer whatever they " could do to him."

THUS died this great Hero with an unſhaken Courage, in the 38th Year of his Age. All the Shadowings that Rage and Fury have thrown upon the Deſcription of his Death, have only ſerv'd to heighten the excellent Virtues of his Life, which they have render'd more bright: His Perſon hath honour'd the Puniſhment, inſtead of having been thereby diſhonour'd; it was ignominious to thoſe only who intended it as ſuch, and not to him that receiv'd it; as the Arrows, which the Barbarians ſhot againſt the Sun, fell again upon their own Heads, whereby they were both frighted and enraged. But let not Malice triumph; her Endeavours are fruitleſs: *Montroſe* is not dead; he is ſtill alive, and will always live, by his great Name, and the Nobleneſs of his Actions, both which are immortalized.

THE News of his Misfortune being carried to *Paris*, the Cardinal *de Retz*, then his Uncle's Coadjutor, was ſenſibly affected therewith, and immediately ſent an Expreſs to Court, in order to get from his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty the moſt effectual Letter that could be penn'd, for requeſting

requeſting of the Parliament of *Scotland* the Life of that great Man: But before the Gentleman, who was to carry the Letter thither, was ready to ſet out, the Poſt brought the News of *Montroſe*'s Murder. 1650.

The King's Letter was worded thus:

MOST DEAR AND GREAT FRIENDS,

*The King of France's Letter in Favour of Montroſe.*

" HAVING heard that the Marquis of *Montroſe* was taken Priſoner " in the laſt Battle he fought in *Scotland*, and conſidering that that " Misfortune happen'd to him by the Fortune of War, in executing the " Commiſſion of our moſt dear and well-beloved Brother the King of " *Great-Britain*; that he has always behav'd himſelf with great Pru- " dence, Honour, and Virtue, and that he has thereby deſerv'd our Favour " and particular Affection; beſides, having a Regard to the moſt humble " Requeſt that has been made to us in his Favour, by the Archbiſhop of " *Corinth*, Coadjutor in the Archbiſhoprick of our good City of *Paris*: " We find ourſelves mov'd to write this to you, by the Advice of the " Queen Regent, our moſt honoured Lady and Mother, in order to " intreat you to ſet the ſaid Marquis at Liberty, and not to ſuffer him to " meet with any ill Uſage. We hope that you will regard our Recom- " mendation, which we moſt affectionately ſend you, and that you will " prefer the Mildneſs of Clemency to the Rigor of Puniſhment, which, it " may be ſaid, he hath not deſerv'd, ſince he hath bravely diſcharg'd his " chief Duty, in obeying the King, both his and your Sovereign, who, " one Day, may remember the Favour you ſhall ſhew to one of his " Servants, upon whoſe Account we purpoſely ſend this Gentleman, " who will aſſure you of our Affection, to whom you may give Credit in " whatever he ſhall tell you from us; and let you know, that our Sollici- " tations in Favour of the ſaid Marquis of *Montroſe*, are made as heartily " as we pray God to take you, MOST DEAR AND GREAT " FRIENDS, under his holy and worthy Protection.

*Given at* Compeigne, *the* 10*th Day of* June, 1650.

THIS Letter ſerves now for honouring the Memory of *Montroſe*: And the Character which the ſame Prelate gives him every-where, is likewiſe very advantageous to him; for he has always ſaid, That of all the Men he had ever ſeen, *Montroſe* gave him the moſt perfect Notion of the great Men of ancient *Greece* and ancient *Rome* all at once.

SOME Days after *Montroſe*'s Execution, which has given ſo great Reaſon to exclaim againſt *Scotland*, and has ſo much blemiſh'd its Reputation, Captain *Spotſwood* of *Derby*, Grandchild of Chancellor *Spotſwood*, Captain *Stirling*, Sir *William Hay* of *Delgity*, and Colonel *Hurry*, who were taken with *Montroſe*, were likewiſe beheaded in the ſame Place where their General had been executed: And though they were all very young, except *Hurry*, who was a gallant old Officer, yet they ſhew'd ſo much Courage and Greatneſs of Soul in Dying, that it was plainly ſeen, they preferr'd ſo glorious a Death to a longer Life.

WE doubt not but thoſe who are pleas'd to dive into this fatal Revolution of *Great Britain*, will be both aſtoniſh'd and frighted, ſo much the more ſtill, becauſe it has happen'd there, not in the Reign of a King, ſuch as *Henry* VIII. was, but under the Reign of the beſt of all the Kings that ever ſway'd the Sceptre either in *Scotland* or *England*. Thus it was that *Rome* abounded with all manner of Riches under the Empire of *Caius*,

1650. whom Nature ſeem'd to have produc'd, in order to ſhew what great Vices can do in a proſperous Fortune: Beſides, it was againſt his Will that *Rome* was ſo happy; for he was wont to wiſh for Defeats of Armies, Conflagrations, and Earthquakes, or a Peſtilence, and the Devaſtation of Provinces; and he was ſorry that his Reign had not been remarkable by ſome publick Calamity, as that of *Auguſtus* had been by the Defeat of the Legions in *Germany*, and alſo that of *Tiberius* by the Fall of the Theatres at *Fidenæ*. On the contrary of that, the dreadful Burning of Mount *Veſuvius* was follow'd by a Peſtilence and Famine in many Places of the Empire; and a Fire having broke out in *Rome*, it laſted three Days and three Nights, and burnt to Aſhes the moſt magnificent Temples and ſtately Buidings that were in it; and all that, I ſay, in the Reign of *Titus*, who was call'd The Delight of Mankind; and who ſaid, That he had miſ-ſpent the Day, wherein he had done no good to any Perſon. Theſe Judgments of God, which the Wit of Man cannot fathom, made the Royal Prophet cry out, That *the Lord is terrible in his Doing towards the Children of Men.*

BUT we wiſh that the extraordinary Revolution, the Hiſtory whereof we are finiſhing, may teach all Men, who ſhall take the Trouble to read it, two very important Things: One, That out of the Catholick Communion, nothing is to be found but Confuſion and Irreligion in Religion: That all Communions that are ſeparated from it, ſtill labour to reform, without ever being reformed; and that there is not one amongſt them, that does not very juſtly deſerve to be cut off from the Church; out of which a Man may, indeed, have Faith, and the Sacraments, but neither Charity, nor Salvation; As we have ſhewn in a moſt humble Remonſtrance, which we have preſented to King *Charles* II. The other Thing is, That when the Obedience that is due to the Powers which God hath eſtabliſh'd, is withdrawn, whatever their Subjects may promiſe themſelves, or be flatter'd with, they never find in Effect but Miſery and Ruin.

'TIS impoſſible but the Tribe of *Levi* will be inviolably attach'd to *Moſes*; and that the ſacred Unction, whereof Kings are made Partakers, will ſubject the Houſe of *Aaron* to them, and cloſely unite the Croſier with the Sceptre, and the Mitre with the Crown. The Experience of all Ages has alſo ſhewn, in all States, that one of theſe Powers cannot be attack'd, but the other muſt feel the Counter-Blow: As we ſee, when the Sceptre was wreſted out of the Hands of *Judah*, the Prieſthood was no longer the Inheritance of *Levi*; and even before they were both quite ruin'd, the Diſorders that happen'd in the Political Government, bred Confuſion in the Eccleſiaſtical Government; the Succeſſion of Prieſts was interrupted; a ſchiſmatical High-Prieſt was eſtabliſh'd upon Mount *Gerizim*; and at *Jeruſalem* the High-Prieſts were chang'd from Year to Year, and even ſometimes oftener, according as Pretenders to that Dignity appear'd, and offer'd more Money than thoſe who poſſeſs'd it had given: At laſt the Prieſthood departed from the Houſe of *Aaron*, and the Sanctuary was prophaned.

NOBILITY is a Ray and an Emanation of Royal Majeſty; ſo that when it falls into Rebellion, it degrades itſelf, and ſtains its own Character. Though the Nobility of *England* had caſt a Blemiſh upon that Majeſty, in the Perſon of their Prince, they ſtill thought to preſerve their Rank, and wonted Dignity: but they were groſly miſtaken; they had

had diſcover'd the Myſtery of Government, and having ſhaken the Corner-Stone, the whole Fabrick tumbled down. 'Tis an Error, which is but too common to all that Body, not to value enough their firſt Obligations, though they are the ſtrongeſt, and to which all others ought to give Way: For, as 'tis a conſtant Rule in Divinity, That 'tis better to obey God than Men, when they are of contrary Opinions, with Regard to active Obedience, becauſe otherwiſe a Man muſt, after the Example of St. *Maurice* and his Companions, ſuffer every thing, rather than do any thing that never ſo little wounds his Conſcience; ſo there is no Obligation that Subjects contract, that ever can exempt them from what they owe to their Prince, whoſe they are as ſoon as they have a Being. 1650.

THE People ſhould conſider, that whatever Pretence the Nobility may uſe, and whatever Shew they may make of pitying them, and being willing to relieve them, they never ſo much as think upon them, and that there never was one of them that ever drew his Sword for their Relief: They ſhould likewiſe remember, that that Publick Good, with which the Authors of Civil Wars flatter the Credulous, vaniſheth as ſoon as they have made their Reconciliation in the Cabinet. So that the greateſt Benefit that accrues to the innocent People that eſpouſe their Intereſts, is like to that of a Man, who, in order to avoid the Mouth of a Lion, ſhould go to throw himſelf under the Paws of a Bear; or of another, who, as the Prophet ſaith, leaning his Hand on the Wall, ſhould feel himſelf bit by a Serpent. In ſhort, As a lawful Reformation cannot be made in the Church, but by the Authority of the Biſhops only, to whom God hath committed the Government thereof; ſo there can be no lawful Reformation in the Political Government of the State, but by the Prince, who is God's Vicegerent therein, and who takes the Sword from the Altar, to ſhew that he holds his Authority of none but God Almighty. 'Tis true, that both may ſometimes do amiſs, but theſe are only Faults; whereas, whatever is attempted againſt them, is a criminal Encroachment.

THIS being the Caſe, as without doubt it is, the People muſt be the Ark, wherein *Aaron*'s Rod, and the Tables of the Law, are kept. Let them inviolably preſerve a due Reſpect for the Prince and the Prieſts: Let the two Powers, the Spiritual and Temporal, ſtretch forth their Wings upon this Ark, like Cherubims: Let their Faces look lovingly one to another; and let them both likewiſe caſt their Eyes upon the Ark; for then the Cloud of the Protection of God will cover it continually, and they ſhall be call'd the People bleſſed of God, to the End of the World.

*The END of the* TWELFTH BOOK.

# AN
# ACCOUNT
OF THE
# TRUE CAUSES
AND
# Favourable Conjunctures
Which Contributed to the
# RESTORATION
OF
# King CHARLES II.

---

Written in *French* by D. RIORDAN *de Muſcry.*

---

*LONDON:*
Printed in the Year M. DCC. XXXIV.

THOUGH *the following Piece be not written by the Author of the foregoing Hiſtory; yet being join'd, and having relation thereunto, I thought fit likewiſe to render it into* Engliſh.

*THE Reader will find, that the Author, in the ſhort Account he gives of General* Monk's *Life, is miſtaken, in making him a Native of the County of* Middleſex, *inſtead of* Devonſhire: *but as the Miſtake is not very material, ſo it ought not to leſſen the Credit of the other Matters of Fact contain'd in the enſuing Relation; unleſs they be found to diſagree with better-vouch'd Hiſtories of thoſe Times: And as 'tis not my Buſineſs to cenſure this Work; ſo neither ſhall I, by commending it here, beſpeak the Reader's good Opinion of it, but leave him to judge thereof as he ſhall ſee Cauſe.*

# AN ACCOUNT OF THE RESTORATION OF King CHARLES II.

MY Deſign is not to ſhew myſelf a great Politician, nor to diſcover Secrets to Men of greater Penetration: I can only, without Preſumption, affirm, that I have not been ignorant of whatever hath contributed to dethrone the late King of *Great-Britain*, and to reſtore his Son: That my Buſineſs led me to know thoſe who were acting againſt them, their Enemies having always been mine; and that I was at no ſmall Pains to perſuade them to their Duty, or break their Meaſures; yet they perſiſted obſtinately in their pernicious Principles. But before I begin the Relation, I find myſelf oblig'd to give this Teſtimony to Juſtice and Truth, (tho' the moſt Part of Men be of a contrary Opinion) That the King of *England*, next to God, owes his Reſtauration, firſt to his own Conduct, and then to the Wiſdom and Prudence of the Marquis of *Ormond*, who, among the ſecond Cauſes of that great Revolution, has been, as it were, the Principal.

AT preſent all *Europe* juſtly admires, how three very conſiderable Armies, which lorded it over *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, whereof all the Generals had acted as Provoſt-Marſhals and Tip-Staves againſt the late King, have, in ſome manner, given their Votes for the Return of a Prince, whoſe Father they had murder'd; of a Prince, whoſe Eſcape out of their Hands was owing to Divine Providence: how Men, who

who of their own Accord had agreed to be his moſt cruel Enemies, come now, notwithſtanding all the Ordinances they had caus'd to be made againſt his Life and Crown; notwithſtanding the Oaths ſo often repeated againſt his Service; after having carry'd Things ſo far, that they had depriv'd themſelves of all Hopes of Pardon: come, I ſay, of their own Accord, not as Officers, whom Ambition had miſ-led, with a Deſign to make Excuſes, and to capitulate; but as Criminals, who, conſcious of their horrid Crime, had loſt the Uſe of their Reaſon and Senſes; to ſubmit, without Conditions, to the Mercy of him whom, theſe twelve Years, they call'd by no other Name but that of the Common Enemy.

FOREIGNERS, perhaps, may attribute this Change, to the great Number of Friends which the Continuance of Monarchy, for ſo many Ages, may have acquir'd and preſerv'd to the Royal Family of *England*, which, without doubt, is one of the moſt ancient of *Europe*. And, indeed, if all the great Families of the three Kingdoms of *Great-Britain* were ſtrictly enquir'd into, very few of them would be found that did not owe their Fortunes and Riſe to it: And it may be ſaid, that, with reſpect to the Nobility of thoſe Countries, it is what the Trunk and Root are, in regard of the Branches. What ſtill confirms this Opinion, is, that in *England* there is no Reverſion of Places and Offices; ſo that all Favours come immediately from the Prince, who commonly beſtows them according to his Inclination, and the Eſteem he has for the Perſons; inſomuch that they are not always given upon Account of Merit or Services, but rather according to every Man's good or bad Fate. And as the Laws of *England* are ſevere beyond Imagination, and never diſpens'd with, Forfeitures have always been, as it were the Field wherein the Bounty of the Kings has had Room to take its full Latitude: For the Rigour of the Laws is ſo great there, that no Diſtinction is made between the Degrees of High Treaſon; ſo that Eſtates are not only forfeited there for having taken up Arms againſt the State, but likewiſe for the leaſt want of Reſpect to the Prince; for any licentious Word concerning his Actions or Perſon, and the leaſt Cenſure of his Council, are accounted Treaſon: And one of the Articles of the Laws of *England* the moſt to be fear'd, is what they call in *Engliſh*, *He has ſpoken Treaſon*; for 'tis a publick Crime, and any Body has a Right to proſecute it, and declare himſelf a Party. Many Families have thereby been undone, to all Intents and Purpoſes; becauſe, after having been outlaw'd, their Poſterity are never reſtor'd. 'Tis by that Means, that the Prince's Favourites become very rich in Land; the Unfortunate being expos'd to their Avarice, and the Venality of falſe Witneſſes. Many great Families have been ſo rais'd in *England*, and yet a much greater Number in *Ireland*; and therefore they were beholden to the Bounty of the Prince for their Fortunes. But notwithſtanding ſuch ſtrong Obligations, thoſe who, both out of Duty and Gratitude, ought to have been the moſt attach'd to the Royal Intereſt, have been its moſt irreconcileable Enemies, and the moſt paſſionate Followers of *Cromwell*.

THE Nobility and Gentry of *England*, who had begun the War, having found to their Coſt, and after ſad Experience, that their Intereſt was inſeparable from that of their Kings, had at length rejected the Employments which *Cromwell* offer'd them, and confin'd themſelves to their own Houſes, where they endeavour'd to live in Quiet, and divert themſelves with Hunting, that they might not be ſuſpected by that Uſurper, who wanted but the leaſt Pretence, in order to extinguiſh them altogether

gether; ſo that there was ſcarce one Gentleman to be found; that would debaſe himſelf ſo far as to take the higheſt Poſts in the Troops of the pretended Common-wealth. *Cromwell* having conſider'd their Reſolutions, fram'd two Projects, which were to be the Foundation and Support of his Uſurpation: The firſt was, From thenceforth not to beſtow either Civil or Military Offices upon Gentlemen, though, in outward Appearance, he cajol'd them, treating them as his Equals, and even not putting on his Hat in their Preſence, that he might the better indulge them in the Lethargy into which they were fallen.

THE ſecond was, To draw a new Nobility and Gentry out of the Scum of the People; witneſs *Hacker* a Dray-man, and *Harriſon*; the firſt he made a Colonel, the other a Major-General. By the Choice he made of that ſort of Men, he eloquently perſuaded the Populace, that he regarded nothing but Merit; that he had a mind the laſt Man of *England* ſhould enjoy as great Privileges as the firſt: And when he caus'd the Head of a Gentleman to be ſtruck off, he aſſur'd the People that it was a pretended King; ſo that the Name of Cavalier became contemptible, as if it had been a Reproach to be a Gentleman. Beſides, in order the better to colour this Deſign, he always preach'd, and made others preach againſt Luxury, the Diſtinction of Qualities, the Carriage and Manner of Living of Gentlemen, which he call'd Oſtentation, Pride, and Vanity, prejudicial to the Common-wealth. All the Officers that had deſerted the King, and ſided with the Rebels, in order to pleaſe the Uſurper, became ſo many Preachers, who talk'd of nothing but the holy Scripture, and Chriſtian Liberty. In outward Appearance they liv'd very regularly, and were very frugal; for they manag'd their Pay, when they had got it, as if they had never been to receive any more in their Lives. As for their Diet, they confin'd themſelves to the Allowance of the meaneſt Soldier; a Tavern was look'd upon, among them, as a Hell; and leſt they ſhould be ſuſpected of ſhifting Sides, the ſame Cloaths they wore when but ſingle Soldiers, ſerv'd them ſtill when they were Captains and Colonels; ſo that the Merchant got very little of their Money: Thus did they hoard up all the Money, which was no more employ'd in Commerce, for fear of a Revolution. Thus the Nobility and Gentry being baniſh'd the Towns, the Youth ſpending their Eſtates out of the Kingdom, and the Officers of the Army hoarding up Money, without laying any of it out, the Merchants and Tradeſmen of *London* have been reduc'd to very great Straits; which, without diſtinguiſhing the Innocent from the Guilty, hath ſeverely enough reveng'd the Countenance which that City ſeem'd to have given to the firſt Commotions.

BUT as Intereſt is the God of our Age, who has more magnificent Temples, and more illuſtrious Victims in *England*, than in all the reſt of the World, Divine Providence has made Uſe of that Motive to ſtir up the famous City of *London* to its Duty: ſo that nothing more was wanting to bring it entirely back to it, but ſome favourable Opportunity to ſhew the Averſion it had conceiv'd againſt the tyrannical Government.

THE only Obſtacle to this great Change, was *Cromwell*'s Conduct, who appear'd more formidable to the *Engliſh*, than the *Polyphemus* of the Fable: They repreſented him as having *Argus*'s Eyes, and *Briareus*'s Hands; and they knew that he had an infallible Expedient to load with

the publick Hatred all ſuch as diſpleas'd him, or who might be in a Condition to act contrary to his Authority.

THOUGH by ſuch Means he had acquir'd the Reputation of a great Politician, yet he did not deſerve it; for this Conduct of his was no Myſtery, in a Country where both Religion and Honour had fallen under a general Contempt: 'Tis certain that falſe Witneſſes had ſerv'd him much better than his Cabinet Council; he had them of all Kinds; and it may be plainly ſeen that he had a good Store of them, ſince he had made above two hundred appear againſt the late King; ſo many Plots diſcover'd, ſo many Deſigns fruſtrated, wherein ſome unhappy Men ſtill loſt their Lives, in order to terrify the real Conſpirators, were the worthy Productions of that ſanctify'd Gang.

AMONG all thoſe falſe Witneſſes, the Miniſters were the moſt uſeful Tools for ruining ſuch as he had a mind to be rid of: They began to preach againſt the looſe and diſorderly Life of the Party accuſed, without mentioning Affairs of State; and, by Degrees, made the People believe, that the Perſon deſign'd to be ruin'd, or turn'd out of his Place, had chang'd his Religion; that he had a mind to introduce a new Doctrine, and was not of the eſtabliſh'd Church. Thus he made the late King to be charg'd with being a *Roman* Catholick; the Earl of *Manchester* and *Fairfax*, with being Presbyterians; and Colonel *Lilburn*, with being a Leveller, and deſigning to introduce the Community of Goods; Major-General *Harriſon*, with being the Ring-Leader of the Fifth-Monarchy-Men; *Lambert*, with being an Anabaptiſt; Sir *Henry Vane*, with being a Jeſuit, and aſpiring to a Cardinal's Hat; the Earl of *Pembroke*, with being a Quaker; and the wretched *Naylor*, with having declar'd that he was Jeſus Chriſt. Behold the Goddeſs *Egeria* of this great *Numa*; behold the Hind of this new *Sertorius*, whoſe Politicks, though very indifferent, yet were very dreadful, ſeeing they threaten'd utter Ruin, as well for Religion as Politicks.

THESE unavoidable Means of ruining the Innocent being known by a Part of his Council, at length they came to the Knowledge of the People, inſomuch that from thenceforth they began to undeceive themſelves, and to look for Means to oppoſe the Tyranny: but it was too late; it was too powerfully eſtabliſh'd; it had already aſſum'd the Face and Manner of a lawful Government, and the People had conceiv'd in their Minds a Democratical State, which they call'd, The great Work.

AS in this Eſtabliſhment they promis'd themſelves compleat Happineſs, it was the Scope of the publick Prayers, and the Object of private Ambition; and, by theſe deceitful and chimerical Baits, the Sham-Protector was lucky enough to have inſnar'd three Kingdoms, the People whereof believ'd his fair Promiſes, or counterfeited the Credulous ſo well, that their Belief could no longer be doubted.

WHILST Villany was eſtabliſhing itſelf upon the Throne, and the greateſt wicked Man of our Age was thus deluding the Vulgar, he likewiſe, by Degrees, undeceiv'd the Republicans, who were a powerful Faction of the moſt wealthy Merchants, who, in the Beginning of the Wars, had ſided with the Earl of *Eſſex*, and afterwards with the Earl of *Manchester*. The Ring-Leader of this Faction was Sir *Heny Vane*, a Man of great Ability, and full of Malice. Sir *Arthur Haſlerig* was

of

of it too, being puſh'd on purely by Avarice to lay hold of all Opportunities of doing Miſchief, and gathering Riches. They were properly the *Brutus* and *Caſſius* of this new Republick; *Eſcot* was the *Cicero* of it. And tho' they follow'd and ſtrengthen'd the Protector's Party, their only Deſign was, to ſecure themſelves; and then, when Occaſion ſhould offer, to rid themſelves of *Cromwell*, whom they yet ſupported, becauſe they found it would be eaſier to ruin an unjuſt and cruel Uſurper, than a lawful and juſt Monarch.

SIR *Henry Vane* made very cunning Attempts in order to diſpoſſeſs him, thinking himſelf much more worthy of the Command than he. Beſides, 'tis known, that 'twas he that ſupported *Lambert*, when, in full Parliament, he was ſo bold as to declare, "That his Sword had cut "off the Roots of Royalty; and that he kept it ſtill, in order to draw it "againſt the firſt that ſhould dare, under the Title of King, to make an "Attempt upon the publick Liberty, for which he would die." The Protector contented himſelf with calmly breaking *Lambert*, and ſending away *Vane* to his own Houſe, having always kept fair with that crafty, bold, and untractable Man, as the only Perſon againſt whom he had nothing to object; for *Vane* had never been ſuſpected of the leaſt Affection for Monarchy, which was the only Crime the Informers were employ'd about, and that could be puniſhed. And though he was a ſworn Enemy to Monarchy, having perſuaded his Followers of a fifth Monarchy, which he call'd *The Empire of good Men*; for all that he ſometimes ſaid in publick, and made it be told the Army, That if they had a mind to continue Monarchy, the Family of *Stuart* was at leaſt as good as that of *William* the Conqueror: That as for his Part, he did not underſtand the Politicks of thoſe who had turn'd out the Kings, in order to admit a ſingle Perſon to govern: That between King and Protector there was no Difference but in the Name; and that *Marc Anthony* was not ſo good as *Julius Cæſar*. Sometimes he ſpoke myſtically of the King's Death, whom he call'd *Tarquin*; and ſometimes he pretended to Revelation: In a Word, he knew ſo well how to keep in with the Protector's Party, that he oblig'd him to heap Riches upon him, and to give him one of the firſt Places in the Council. The Protector knew very well that he was his Enemy: but he was afraid, that, by the Ruin of this Man, the Royal Family would be deliver'd from one of the moſt dangerous Enemies it had; and it was upon that Conſideration he was ſav'd.

NOTWITHSTANDING *Cromwell*'s Severity, *Vane* boldly laid the Foundation of a Common-wealth, of which he was to manage the Pen, and *Lambert* the Sword. And this Scheme would alſo have been carry'd in *Cromwell*'s Council, if his rebellious Troops had not ſtuck cloſe to his Intereſt, which they look'd upon to be their own: Therefore they reſolv'd to put it off 'till the Protector's Death, and to engage him into ſome ſlippery Buſineſs that might beget him Enemies.

EVER ſince that Time, nothing paſs'd in all *Europe* but *Cromwell* took Care to be acquainted with it: He declar'd himſelf Protector of the Calvinſts; and the Friendſhip he ſhew'd them, was the Cauſe of that Religion's prevailing in *England* above all others at preſent. The Valley of *Lucern* afforded him an Opportunity of making his court to the Hugonots of *France*: The Return of the King of *Poland*, and the Puniſhment of the Proteſtants, who had ſided with *Sweden*

*Sweden* and *Brandenburg* againſt *Poland*, afforded him Means of inſinuating himſelf very far into the Favour of the Proteſtants of *Germany*, and the *Hans-Towns*; for which Ends he impoſed extraordinary Taxes of vaſt Sums, of which he kept two Parts for himſelf, and with great Oſtentation gave ſome ſmall Sums to the moſt clamorous of their Miniſters.

If now and then the People grumbled at the too heavy Taxes, he ſaid, That they were rais'd for no other End but to make War upon Antichriſt: That the Time was come that the Whore of *Babylon* was to be deſtroy'd: That the Squadron of Men of War, which he kept upon the Coaſts of *Leghorn* and *Cadiz*, ſhould not return 'till after the taking of *Rome*, and the entire Extirpation of the Inquiſition: That *Spain* was reduc'd to Extremities; and that Popery was at an end, if they would furniſh him with Money but for one Year only: That beſides, the Republican Age was come, and that in ten Years there ſhould be no more Kings: That the Empire had paſs'd through all the World, having been in *Aſſyria*, in *Media*, in *Perſia*, in *Greece*, in *Italy*, in *Germany*; and then it was *England*'s Turn to poſſeſs it, where it was to continue as long as it did in *Rome*.

The People of *England*, who are naturally proud, ſuperſtitious, and viſionary, gave Credit to theſe Impoſtures, and eſpecially the godly or zealous Puritans, with Eagerneſs advanc'd their Money for accompliſhing this great Work, which was to be finiſh'd every Year. The War with *Spain* thoroughly ſanctify'd all the Protector's Actions. A Deſcent in *Italy* was likewiſe expected; and the Citizens of *London* were made believe that the Pope ſhould be brought Priſoner to *Newgate*, while he was managing the Conſiſtory by his Envoys at *Rome*. Theſe empty Promiſes brought him ready Money to pay the Fleet and the Army: All the Conſpiracies and Attempts againſt his Perſon and Government were regulated according to the monthly Courſe of the Moon, ſometimes increaſing, and ſometimes decreaſing; and he never accus'd any but the leading Men of the weakeſt Religion, or of the lateſt Superſtition, in order to engage in his Preſervation all the Godly, who (as he ſaid) would have been deſtroy'd, if the Plots had ſucceeded.

These Tricks having been often practis'd, at length were diſcover'd, inſomuch that that Mine was no more ſprung: beſides, his pretending to intereſt himſelf ſo much in the Affairs of *Flanders* and *Denmark* diſguſted a great many of his Council, and almoſt all the People, who publiſh'd every-where, that he little minded the Intereſts of *Sweden*, which were the ſame to him as thoſe of *Denmark*; and that they plainly ſaw, that nothing could be expected from the Succeſs of that War, but the Ruin of the Fleet, and an exceſſive Expence, which they were ſcarce able to bear. In the mean time, the *Oſtenders* very much diſturb'd the Commerce, and the *Dunkirkers* took a vaſt Number of Prizes in the Channel; inſomuch that the Merchants of *London*, and other Traders, produc'd an Account of ſeventeen hundred Ships taken from the *Engliſh*, ſince the Rupture with *Spain*. Theſe Loſſes very much provok'd the People, and made them ſo bold as to demand a Peace with *Spain*. *Cromwell* was a little alarm'd at this Demand, ſo much the more that *Spain* was willing to accept of all manner of Propoſals of Accommodation. The *Spaniards* offer'd to indemnify him; to allow him to trade to the *Indies*; to give him the half

half of their Conqueſts, and to aſſiſt him in taking *Calais* and *Boulogne*. On the other hand, the *French* offer'd to aſſiſt him in taking *Dunkirk*; thereby giving him to underſtand, that he ſhould be Maſter of the *Oſtenders*, and cut off his Catholick Majeſty's Subjects from the Sea. For the ſame End, they concerted with him the Attempt upon *Oſtend*, which coſt him very dear; and the Siege of *Dunkirk*, which he undertook with an Expence of Men and Ships, of Money and Proviſions; which plainly ſhew'd that he was truly of a mercenary Temper, but that he was ſo to his Coſt. *England* carry'd *Dunkirk*, or rather bought it dearer by this Treaty, than can be imagin'd: And, indeed, the *Engliſh* plainly confeſs, that then *Cromwell* found a Man more cunning than himſelf.

THE Reaſon why he made War abroad, was, that having already had ſeven or eight Years Peace in *England*, the moſt Part of that Army which had made him victorious, had retir'd home; and its Officers not being employ'd, were living frugally upon what they had got: beſides, he had ſo enrich'd his Troops, as to make them deſpiſe War; and the Recruits he made, were compos'd of Men who had a Revolution in View, in order to take from the Veterans what they had robb'd from others: That oblig'd him to ſend abroad all ſuch as were troubleſome to him, and to join them to the *French*, without caring much whether they liv'd or dy'd. Indeed, 'tis certain that the Peace was general betwixt the two Nations; but, in the Army, the *French* and *Engliſh* Troops were in a State of War, and treated one another like Enemies. The Hedges and Water-gangs could give a better Account of theſe private Quarrels; and I am certain, that though the *Spaniards* were the declar'd Enemies of the *Engliſh*, yet the *French*, out of the general Hatred they bore the Protector's Men, kill'd more of them; and that they treated more kindly, and with more Affection, the meaneſt *Engliſh* Royaliſt of the Enemy's Army, than the moſt conſiderable of the Regicides.

AT this Juncture, the Miſunderſtanding began to encreaſe between *Sweden* and *Denmark*, the one accuſing the other of Treachery: The *Swedes* maintain'd, That the *Danes* were treating under-hand with the Houſe of *Auſtria*; and, on the other hand, the *Poles* and *Danes* exclaim'd againſt the *Swedes*, and affirm'd, That the Invaſion they had made, was contrary to the Law of Nations, and the Articles of the Peace of *Roſchild*: That it was by no Means lawful to attack a Neighbour unawares, and beſiege him in his Capital, without openly declaring War againſt him: And that, upon the Credit of certain Letters, which are ſaid to have been intercepted, no Attempt could be made upon the Liberty and Crown of a juſt and lawful Prince, without deſtroying the Faith of a Treaty, and the Reputation of a State. I ſhall not ſay which of the two was to blame, the Motive of that Rupture not being well known but in the Cabinet-Council of thoſe two Princes: but what makes it to be ſuſpected that there was not fair Dealing on one Side, is, that *Cromwell* had been the chief Inſtrument of that Surprize. The *Dutch* ſeeing, by the Part he took in the Affairs of the *Sound*, that he had a mind to make himſelf Maſter of the *Baltick* Sea, and of the Commerce of *Germany*; and that he had ſhar'd all the Advantages with the King of *Sweden*, by a Treaty which *Whitlock*, his Ambaſſador at that Prince's Court, had begun, and which *Meadow*, his Succeſſor, had concluded; were ſo much alarm'd, that, ſince the Beginning of their Republick, they had not contributed with ſo great Eagerneſs to the fitting out of a Fleet, as

they did to that which was deſign'd for the Relief of *Denmark*. But becauſe they were afraid that the *Engliſh* and *Swedes* were enter'd into an Offenſive and Defenſive Alliance, they acted very cautiouſly at firſt; inſomuch that they declar'd they would not move, but for the Good of the two Crowns, and the Proteſtant Intereſt, which was very much weaken'd in *Germany* by this Quarrel. Mean while, *Cromwell*, for his Part, was fitting out a ſtrong Fleet for aſſiing the *Swedes*, and hop'd to draw the *Dutch* into a Quarrel with him: He was already Maſter of *Dunkirk*; and the *Swedes* having promis'd to give him *Cronenborg* and *Elſenore*, he already look'd upon the *Dutch* as his Tributaries: He gave the Command of this Fleet to Admiral *Mountague*, who may juſtly be ſaid to have been one of the firſt that aim'd at the Reſtoration of his Prince, with whom he always kept a ſettled Correſpondence, by the Means of the Abbot *Montague*, and Sir *John Digby*.

WITH the Thoughts of theſe vaſt Deſigns, *Cromwell* fell ſick, and died: Before he made his Exit, having a mind to ſettle his Authority upon his Poſterity, he caus'd to be produc'd the *Petition* and *Advice* of a Parliament of his own making, whereby full Power had been given him to chuſe a ſingle Perſon, who, under the Title of Protector, ſhould exerciſe the Sovereign Authority.

*RICHARD CROMWELL*, his Son, was therefore choſen and appointed to ſucceed him: This was a poor Wretch, who look'd more like a Clown than a Gentleman, mean-ſpirited, and whom Preferment could never alter. To give a Deſcription of him in few Words: He had neither Reſolution nor Senſe; and was as ill cut out for doing Good as his Father, but not ſo well for doing Miſchief; being commendable for this one thing, that having a perfect Knowledge of himſelf, he thought he was incapable of commanding: Beſides, there are ſome who maintain, that he ſtill had a mind to obey; and that if he had had Reſolution enough, he would have call'd home the King.

SOME affirm, that he had kept a Correſpondence with his Majeſty: And indeed, as ſoon as *Cromwell* was dead, the King knew all that paſſed in the Council; but 'tis probable that it was by the Means of Sir *Anthony-Aſhly Cooper*, who was then of the Protector's Council, and who at preſent is of the King's.

IN the mean time, all the Protector's Expreſſes had no ſooner paſs'd the Sea, than they carry'd their Diſpatches to the King, who was at *Bruges*, and eſpecially thoſe who were going to *Germany*. Admiral *Mountague* alſo open'd his Mind to the King, but begg'd of his Majeſty not to expoſe him but in due Seaſon, becauſe of the Difficulty he had to manage the Fleet, the moſt Part of the Officers whereof were ſtrongly attach'd to *Cromwell*'s Faction. This Admiral loſt no Time nor Opportunity of negotiating on his Part; and 'tis believ'd that General *Monk* and he were the firſt that concerted the Means of calling home the King. At the ſame time *Monk* ſent to the King an *Iriſh* Gentleman call'd *Holmes*, at preſent Captain of a Frigate, and let his Majeſty know that he was ready to ſerve him, and would ſlip no Opportunity of doing it. He was always wont to declare, that he was a good *Engliſhman*, and a moſt faithful Servant of his Country. Now becauſe all *Europe* knows him, I will here give a ſhort Account of his Life, his Fortune, and Qualities: He was born in the County of *Middleſex*: He had, firſt

of

of all, made ſome Campaigns in *Holland*, and had been a Lieutenant of Foot there; afterwards he had retir'd to his own Country, ſome Miles from *London*, where he had an Eſtate of two hundred Pounds a Year. Having continu'd at his own Houſe 'till the Beginning of the Civil Wars, he engag'd himſelf in the King's Service, was a Captain therein, and ſerv'd with Succeſs and Reputation. In the mean time, the King's Army being weak in *Ireland*, his Majeſty order'd Soldiers to be levy'd, and ſent *Monk* into that Kingdom with a Regiment of Foot, in order to ſerve there under the Command of the Marquis of *Ormond*, then Lord Lieutenant and General in Chief of the King's Troops: He ſerv'd there to very good Purpoſe, 'till the King's Affairs began to grow worſe and worſe in *England:* Then his Majeſty recall'd the greateſt Part of the Troops which he had ſent againſt the Roman Catholicks of *Ireland*, and among the reſt Colonel *Monk*. As this was a Civil War, and that a Man might have Friends and Concerns on each Side, the Marquis made the Oath of Fidelity to the King to be tender'd to all the Officers that were to be ſent over to *England* to his Majeſty's Aſſiſtance; and becauſe there was a Clauſe in this Oath, which is call'd the *Oath of Supremacy*, which was contrary to the Belief of the Puritans and Roman Catholicks, Colonel *Monk* refus'd to take it. The Marquis taking this Refuſal as a Diſobedience to the King's Orders, and the Laws of the Kingdom, caus'd him to be made Priſoner of State, and ſent him along with the auxiliary Troops, to juſtify himſelf in *England*. Theſe Troops being arriv'd at *Cheſter*, and, according to their Orders, marching to join the Marquis of *Newcaſtle*, were met by a Party of *Cromwell*'s Men, who defeated them, and took Colonel *Monk*. The Colonel, though he was Priſoner in his own Party, defended himſelf gallantly, and got good Quarters; but continu'd in the Hands of the Rebels, who put him in Priſon. The Royaliſts having been almoſt all routed, it was not in the King's Power to redeem all the Priſoners; which oblig'd the Colonel to mind his own Buſineſs. He was in good Repute in his own Party; for which Cauſe, *Cromwell* having known the Reaſon of his Diſgrace, propos'd to him Conditions, upon which he might not only recover his Liberty, but have a Command in the Army, whereof *Fairfax* was then General under the Authority of the Parliament. *Monk* accepted the Offer; and becauſe he had ſerv'd in *Ireland*, and was well known there, it was thought fit to ſend him thither with his Regiment. This was done, perhaps, becauſe they were not very ſure that an Officer, who had an Affection for the King, would fight heartily againſt his Perſon: But 'tis cerain, however Matters may have been manag'd, whether by the Parliament, or the Colonel's Management, that he never fought in Perſon againſt his Prince, nor acted directly againſt his Intereſt.

AFTER the Protector's Death, the Army grew very inſolent, becauſe they had poor *Richard* in their Hands, upon whom they could ſet what Ranſom they pleas'd. At firſt they began to demand their Arrears of him, which oblig'd him to crave the Aſſiſtance of a Parliament, which prov'd the Cauſe of his Ruin. This Parliament was compos'd of a great many Gentlemen, who made it their whole Study to get rid of this Simpleton, and among the reſt, Sir *Henry Vane:* He renew'd his old Complaints; and, without enlarging much upon the Liberty which he ſaid was oppreſs'd, upon the loſt Privileges, and the Contempt of the Laws, he explain'd his Thoughts, in theſe Terms:

" GEN-

" GENTLEMEN, After having done what lay in the Power of " honeſt Men; after having, by a ſingular Favour of Providence, ſur- " mounted all the Obſtacles that ſtood in the Way to our Liberty; " after having driven out the Tyranny which call'd itſelf Hereditary " upon the Throne, and broken the Yoke of the Family of *Stuart*, " which Length of Time ſeem'd to have made natural to us; we firmly " believ'd that there ſhould not be found among us Men bold enough " to ſtrike at the Liberty which we have recover'd, at the Expence of " our Blood and Lives. If you have not quite forgot our firſt Deſigns, " you will own with me, that the States of three Kingdoms have not " drain'd the publick Treaſure, and ſacrific'd ſo many illuſtrious Victims, " for any other End, but to free themſelves from Slavery; to which, I " doubt not but you have an Averſion altogether *Roman*. But I know " not by what Misfortune is happen'd, what heretofore happen'd to " thoſe who poiſon'd the Emperor *Titus*, in order to have *Domitian*; " who made away with *Auguſtus*, in order to have *Tiberius*; and who " gave poiſon'd Muſhrooms to *Claudius*, in order to exalt *Nero*. I own " to you, that theſe Compariſons are but little ſuitable to the Subject " I am ſpeaking of, ſeeing the People of *Rome* were then plung'd into " Riotouſneſs, and quite deprav'd by Luxury, and that they ſuffer'd the " *Cæſars*, who were deſign'd for the Empire, to be their Maſters; " whereas thoſe of *England*, who are the moſt orderly and virtuous People " in the World, ſuffer in this Empire an Idiot, void both of Courage " and Senſe, nay, without the leaſt Ambition; who can ſhew no other " Right but a Sheet of Paper, obtain'd by the Licentiouſneſs of an Army, " from the Weakneſs of ſome ill-meaning Men. I grant it, that *Oliver* " *Cromwell* reign'd contrary to the Oath of Fidelity he had taken to " the Parliament; contrary to the Reſpect due to his Country; con- " trary to the Regard he ought to have had to a Set of Men, to whom " he was indebted for all his Greatneſs. He, indeed, had ſome Merit, " Fortune herſelf had declar'd for him: He had made Way for himſelf " to the Government by his gallant Actions: He commanded an Army " which had made him triumph over his Enemies, and a People who " had acknowledg'd him for General. But *Richard Cromwell!* what are " his Titles? what is his Merit? He never has drawn a Sword; he " never commanded ſo much as his own Servants: And he is made a " King; a Man without Birth, without Courage, without Conduct! " As for my Part, Gentlemen, I declare to you, that the having borne " with ſuch a Maſter, ſhall never be laid to my Charge. "

ASSOON as he had ended his Speech, the Viſcount of *Falkland*, whoſe Father had been Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*, made Anſwer, and ſaid, " That, without doubt, the Parliament was met in order to obviate " that Confuſion, and that the Houſe ought to come to a Vote upon it. " Then, to oblige ſome of the leading Members, ſuch as *Fleetwood* and *Desborough*, to back him, he added, " That they ſtill had their *Brutus's* " and their *Caſſius's*; That they were ready to oppoſe Tyranny; and, " That a Common-wealth muſt be eſtabliſhed. "

HERE *Lambert* thinks he has a fair Game to play; he addreſſes himſelf to *Fleetwood*, and tells him, " That he had nothing to do but " to get the Conſent of the Army; That he may depend upon the " Parliament; And that, for his Part, he wiſh'd for a Common-wealth, " and deſired nothing but the Employment which *Cromwell* had taken

" from

" from him. " It was not a very hard Task for *Fleetwood* to practiſe upon an Army that had already inſulted the Protector's Tomb, and who ſaw that *Richard* was led by the Noſe by the firſt that had Acceſs to him. *Lambert* gave the Soldiers to underſtand, that they never would get Payment of their Arrears, but by compelling *Richard* to it, who had all the Money of the Kingdom. Then they flock'd to *White-hall*, carry'd away by Force this unfortunate Man's Dinner; demanded of him a General, becauſe he was not fit to command; that their Officers might always be Members of Parliament; that the Military and Civil Offices might be equal in Number and Power; and that, for the future, no Buſineſs which concerns them be mention'd, without being imparted to them; that they be entirely exempted from the Power of the Protector and Parliament; and that henceforth they may be allow'd not to acknowledge any other Authority but that of their Generals, whereof the Nomination ſhould depend upon the Majority of the Officers that ſhould be choſen by the whole Body for that End. And in order ſo vigorouſly to back their Demands, that they ſhould not be refus'd, they adviſ'd all the Officers of the Army to draw near to *London*, for this great Work.

AT that Time, a Gentleman of the North of *England*, and of one of the moſt Noble Families of the Kingdom, nam'd *Howard*, whom the Ambition of Youth had engag'd in the Protector's Intereſt, and who had been Captain of his Guards, perceiving that, by the ſecret Practices of *Vane*, *Lambert*, *Fleetwood*, and *Desborough*, the Protectoral Authority was like to come to nought, took this Opportunity to tell *Richard*, " That the Matter in Queſtion, was no longer either the Government, " or Command: That the Demands of the Army were full of Inſo- " lence: That *Lambert*'s Deceit appear'd plainly: That *Vane* had drawn " them up: That it behov'd him to act with the Vigour of a Man, " whoſe Authority was founded upon Violence: That the late Pro- " tector, his Father, never let himſelf be ſurpriz'd: That he had been " guilty of more than one Action, which, to all outward Appearance, " were not juſt, in order to ſatisfy his Ambition: That all the Right " of his Family conſiſted in that of Arms: That the Death of the four " Perſons above mention'd, would ſecure to him both his Fortune and " Greatneſs: That beſides, he ſhould not accuſe him of putting him " upon a very dangerous Affair; ſince he offer'd to execute the whole " himſelf, and that he deſir'd nothing but his Approbation."

IN ſo preſſing an Affair, where both Life, Honour, and Fortune were at Stake, poor *Richard* diſcover'd ſo much Weakneſs, that, inſtead of a bold Reſolution, he anſwer'd him, " That he was very much " oblig'd to him, for ſo generouſly offering to expoſe his Life for him, " with ſo much Courage, againſt ſo powerful a Faction; but he had " a mind to let all the World know, that, in his Life, he never had " done, nor would do Injury to any Perſon: That beſides, he ſhould " be very ſorry that the Meaneſt of the Kingdom ſhould loſe his Life, " on Account of a Dignity that was a Burden to him: That he was " reſolv'd not to ſhed Blood; that too much had been ſhed in that " unhappy Quarrel; and that he choſe rather to loſe All, than to come " to theſe Extremities."

*HOWARD*, ſurpriz'd at this Declaration, could not forbear repreſenting to him, That he would find the Politicks of *Lambert*'s Faction were quite contrary to his; and that, by his Cowardlineſs, he expos'd

both his own Life, and the Lives of all his Friends; and he continu'd to preſs him in theſe Terms:

"CAN the Succeſſor of *Cromwell* inſiſt upon the Juſtification of his "Actions? And have you never made a Diſtinction between a Lawful "Prince and an Uſurper? Aſſure yourſelf, that were you milder than "*Trajan*, and more liberal than the Emperor *Titus*, the People will, "nevertheleſs, reckon you among their Tyrants; that your Fall will "be follow'd by a publick Rejoicing, and that even your moſt intimate "Friends will ſhed Tears at the Death of thoſe who have conſpired "againſt you. If a Deſign be hatching againſt the Life of him who has "no other Title but the Number of Troops, nor any other Right to a "Throne but the Uſurpation of his Father; Can you imagine that the "Space of ten Years has been able to make the flagrant Injuſtice, which "rais'd your Family, to be forgotten, when *England*, *Scotland*, and "*Ireland* are ſtill ſhedding Tears of Blood, for the Murder of the late "King, the Exile of their Sovereign, the cruel Death of *Strafford*, *Capel*, "*Holland*, *Montroſe*, *O-Neil*, and thoſe unheard-of Outlawries which "have enrich'd your Troops, and utterly ruin'd the moſt eminent Fami-"lies of theſe Kingdoms? I readily grant that you are innocent of all "theſe Crimes: but, in ſhort, you are found in the Place of the Guilty, "and reap the Benefit of his Actions. 'Tis you that will be account-"able for them; and the ſame Force and Violence that have juſtify'd "the Things paſt, are neceſſary to ſecure the future: ſo 'tis your Buſi-"neſs to conſider if you will do entire Juſtice: In which Caſe, you "muſt renounce the Power you uſurp, and reſign a Sceptre you cannot "ſway. On the contrary, if you have a mind to counterfeit the So-"vereign, in order to preſerve your Conqueſts, you muſt make uſe of "the ſame Means which rais'd your Predeceſſor. Aſſure yourſelf, that "neither Clemency, nor Equity, nor other royal Virtues, can preſerve "your Perſon and Greatneſs; that all Virtues change their Name, "when they are practis'd by an Uſurper; that his Clemency paſſes "for Timidity, and Meanneſs of Spirit; his Power for Oppreſſion; "his Favours, for Duties incumbent upon him; his Severity, for "Cruelty; that he muſt expect, by Terror, Threatnings, and the Fear "of Puniſhment, the Security which a lawful Prince cannot have but "by the Reſpect and Affection of his People; that the juſteſt Actions "of an Uſurper cannot avoid being blam'd by all the World, inſtead of "claiming Praiſe, which is a Tribute due only to lawful Princes, and "the Reward of their Virtue." And as he ſaw him ſtill inſenſible and irreſolute, he thought himſelf no longer in Safety, and retir'd.

ALTHOUGH *Howard* gave this Advice, which ſeem'd neceſſary for continuing the Authority in this Family, yet he did it not out of any Zeal he had for it; his Deſign was only to bring on the Quarrel ſo far, that it could not be made up amicably; for he had already treated under-hand with the King, and he has ſerv'd him ſince againſt *Lambert* and his Party, to very good Purpoſe.

*LAMBERT*, who kept the new Protector beſet by his Creatures, had an Account of *Howard*'s Boldneſs, and the Protector's Anſwer; ſo that he and his Party reſolv'd to deprive him of the Command of the Troops. This Deſign being form'd, the Meetings increaſe, the Troops beſiege *White-hall*, keep the Protector in a manner Priſoner for ſix Days, and at laſt force him to reſign all the Power he had over the Army, and

to

to yield it up to *Fleetwood*, to whom *Lambert* was appointed Major-General. If *Howard* had been catch'd, he would have been very ſeverely handled, but by good Luck he made his Eſcape.

THE Protector being thus depriv'd of the Command of the Army, the Parliament begins to divide; the Army domineers over it, and exerciſeth the ſame Inſolence towards it, with which they had turn'd out *Richard*: For it may be ſaid, that, from that Time, he was no longer more than a Cypher, and from General, he was beome the Army's Secretary, always having the Pen in his Hand for ſigning ſometimes the Impriſonment of one Friend, ſometimes the depoſing of another, and in a ſhort time his own. In the mean while, the Friends to Monarchy found Means to ſow Diviſion among theſe Generals; they ſhew'd to each of them ſeparately, and as a great Secret, ſometimes the Copy of a Letter from the King, ſometimes a counterfeit Letter from ſome Body to the King; inſomuch that theſe Artifices made them very jealous of one another; and thoſe that were Royaliſts began firſt to accuſe the Republicans of a Correſpondence with the King.

ON the other hand, the Parliament was very much perplex'd, not knowing what Courſe to take; whether to declare for the People, who were diſpirited, and diſarm'd; or for the Army, which was compos'd of deſperate Men, who regarded neither Law nor Goſpel. However, it was reſolv'd to oppoſe the Tyranny of the Troops, becauſe they had propos'd to deprive the Parliament of the Direction of all the Affairs of State, and were reſolv'd to confine them to Civil Affairs. But the Parliament had not the Courage to maintain their Reſolution with Vigour; and all the Members being ſadly frighted, left the Houſe one after another. At laſt, the Army, afraid of having to do with the whole Kingdom, oblig'd the Protector to diſſolve the Parliament; and before the Parliament broke up, forc'd it to deprive the Protector of all military Power.

*LAMBERT*, fluſh'd with the Succeſs of his Affairs, which he look'd upon to be in a very fair Way, makes a Speech to the Army, cauſes a new Oath of Fidelity to be taken to it, and takes it himſelf: but as no more Money could be rais'd, the Army wanting Pay, began to grumble, and demand a Parliament. *Lambert* being forc'd to call one; but that there might be no Room for ſuſpecting the Members of it, he ſends for thoſe of the old Parliament that had condemn'd the late King: He thought that thoſe being reſolute Men, would readily back ſuch as ſhould oppoſe Monarchy: But he had not conſider'd that they were Men that regarded neither Law nor Goſpel, and were void of Gratitude; that all the People being perſuaded of their Wickedneſs and Treachery, abhorr'd them as a Pack of Knaves; and that there was not a Gentleman in the Kingdom that did not look upon them as the unjuſt Judges of ſo many Men of Honour, of Fathers, Brothers, Couſins, who had been either hang'd or murder'd, baniſh'd or ruin'd by their unjuſt Sentences; that, in ſhort, this Parliament was accounted the moſt dangerous Scourge wherewith Heaven had ever puniſh'd *England*. At length, the Relations and Children of thoſe whom they had ſo unjuſtly perſecuted, and the Royaliſts, who had made a ſort of Truce with the Protector, or whom Oaths, or Friends, and the Functions of a forc'd Duty had, in a manner lull'd aſleep, ſtart up of a ſudden at the Appearance of theſe Comets, the Aſpect whereof was like to be fatal to all honeſt Men; upon

upon their remounting the Throne, which will ſerve them for Scaffolds, they renew all the dangerous Propoſitions of their pretended Commonwealth, exerciſe all Severities againſt the Roman Catholicks and Royaliſts, and exclude them and their Succeſſors from all Offices of Truſt, pretending to ſet up a Senate like that of *Venice*, whereof *Fleetwood* was to be *Doge*, and *Lambert Proveditor*.

In the mean time, the Royaliſts, and ſuch as were not, by private Intereſt, biaſs'd to the Republican Party, turn'd their Thoughts to the three Princes, young, vigorous, and allied by Blood to all the Kings of *Europe*, three Grandſons of *Henry* the Great, whoſe Courage and Merit were known to all the World. On the other hand, thoſe who neither lov'd Monarchy nor the Royal Family, and who were engag'd in a particular and oppoſite Intereſt, began ſeriouſly to think of preventing the Wrath of a Prince, whoſe Return ſeem'd to them infallible, either by Conſent, or by Force: They ſaw, that the War which had kept the other Kings from revenging the Death of their Brother, was now at an End; that *France* and *Spain*, whoſe Diſcord had fomented that of *England*, and encourag'd the Rebels, had juſt enter'd into a ſtrict Alliance: They well knew that the two Crowns would powerfully aſſiſt the King, and that their Ambaſſador in *France* had been deſpis'd, as ſoon as *Pimentel* had had a Conference at *Lyons*; that his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty was well inform'd of the Death of his Uncle, and very much provok'd that the *Engliſh* had ſlighted his Alliance; that *Spain* was already at open War with them, and that *France* would very ſoon join in it, in order ſeverely to puniſh the Parricide they had committed. All theſe Thoughts very much alarm'd them; which having been artfully confirm'd by the Royaliſts, oblig'd ſuch as had no ſelfiſh Ends, not to ſay the People in general, to ſhun a War which they muſt have maintain'd in Favour of Rogues, againſt honeſt Men, and whereof even the moſt proſperous Succeſs would have been the utter Ruin of the Kingdom.

In the mean while, the Nobility and Gentry, by the Means of Colonel *Tuke*, and *John Mordant* the King's Agent, reſolve upon recalling his Majeſty, and making Way for him through the County of *Kent*; but whereas *Lambert*'s Army was at *London*, which borders with that County, they were afraid to expoſe the King's Perſon to a Battle, wherein the Number of the Enemy would have certainly prevail'd: However, the King, who is as brave and reſolute as any Man in his Kingdoms, thought there was no Danger in this Attempt, provided that the City of *London* were of his Side; for that End the Pulſes of the Citizens are felt, and all were found ready to receive him; nay, a great many Merchants offer'd Arms, and ſent ſome to ſeveral Parts of the County, and Soldiers were privately liſted in *London*. The Journey-men, who are a conſiderable Body, arm'd themſelves, and enquir'd every-where after the Royal Party, in order to join it: but, as it uſually happens to great Undertakings, an *Engliſh* Knight diſcover'd the Deſign, whereby the King's Reſtauration was retarded for ſome Time.

This Knight was Sir *Richard Willis*, whom, for a long Time, the King had look'd upon as one of the moſt truſty of his Council, and who, nevertheleſs, was moſt treacherous: It was he that had diſcover'd all the King's Deſigns to *Cromwell*; inſomuch that that Protector, whoſe Genius ſeem'd to penetrate to the moſt ſecret Receſſes of Mens Souls, had his Lights from the Treachery of this *Willis*, who was his hired Spy.

And

AND though this Man had not a great Concern for the Eſtabliſhment of a Common-wealth, yet the Conſciouſneſs of his Crimes oblig'd him to oppoſe Monarchy with all his Might.

WHILST that was contriving in *England*, Admiral *Montague*, who was then in the *Sound*, having had Advice of the Protector's being degraded, and receiv'd Orders from the King to favour the Riſing of the Nobility and Gentry, with a Part of his Naval Forces, was reſolv'd to put his Orders in Execution, and had pitch'd upon ſeven Men of War, commanded by his beſt Friends, who took an Oath of Fidelity to the King; and, under Pretence of convoying ſome Merchant-Ships that were coming through the *Sound*, went to *Fluſhing*, inſtead of returning to *Cronenborg*: He had order'd them to wait there for his own and the King's Orders. And whilſt the Royal Party was gathering Strength, he himſelf remain'd in the Mouth of the *Sound*, near *Cronenborg*, where he gave the *Swedes* fair Words, and pretended to be waiting the Orders of the new Parliament for fighting the *Dutch*, with whom, nevertheleſs, he carry'd himſelf very civilly, notwithſtanding the Hoſtilities which they committed againſt the *Swedes*, even in Sight of his Fleet.

BUT the Accompliſhment of his Hopes, which ſeem'd to him ſo near, appear'd very remote, by the News he receiv'd from the Court itſelf, and other Places, that *Lambert* was in the Field, Maſter of the City, and of the Troops; that the Parliament had got a particular Account of the Deſigns of the Royaliſts; that the Coaſt oppoſite to *Flanders* and *Holland*, was guarded with Troops and Men of War; that the moſt cruel Enemies of Monarchy were again in Vogue; that a new Admiral had been made; that the Squadron of *Lawſon*, his pretended Succeſſor, was already at Sea; that they only waited his own Return, in order to arreſt him, becauſe of the juſt Suſpicions they had that he was a Royaliſt; that all the Nobility and Gentry, who deſign'd to have recall'd the King, were either in Priſon, or had good Guards upon them; that the moſt Part of them were diſhearten'd, and had ſubmitted to *Lambert*'s Troops; that the King had neither Towns nor Troops to receive him; that Sir *George Booth* had been defeated and taken Priſoner; that all the Priſons were full of Lords and Gentlemen; that the City of *Cheſter* had ſurrender'd at Diſcretion, and that every thing ſeem'd to be prepar'd for a Form of Government very much contrary to his Intereſt and Deſigns.

BUT here is a remarkable Circumſtance, which contributed moſt to the King's Reſtauration: *Montague* writes to the Parliament, and juſtifies himſelf; and Sir *George Booth*'s Party, who had only declar'd for a Free Parliament, being entirely diſpers'd, *Lambert*, who was reſolv'd to continue no longer a Subject, began to play the Sovereign; and having heard that the Nobility and Gentry were armed, gave the Troops full Liberty to cruſh them. This was what forc'd them to reſolve either to die, or free themſelves from the Oppreſſion. The firſt Effect of his new Power, was, the ſeizing upon all the Horſes, fit for Service, of the County of *Lancaſter*, which he caus'd to be taken for the Uſe of his Troops; which ſo exaſperated the People, and made it ſo plainly be ſeen how far his Tyranny might be carry'd, that had he intended to make his Majeſty be long'd for, and recall'd, he never could have taken a better Method. The Nobility and Gentry in a Body complain of this Treatment, ſend

Deputies to lay before the Parliament the Injuſtice of their General: but they were very much ſurpriz'd both at the Contempt and Avarice of the Parliament, who, not content with having ſequeſtrated and ſeiz'd upon all the Eſtates of thoſe who had been inform'd againſt, made likewiſe an Act, whereby *Lambert*'s Tyranny ſeem'd to be authoriz'd; declaring, whatever he had caus'd to be carry'd away by Force, to be good and lawful Prize: Nay, it was reported, that *Lambert*, in the midſt of his good Succeſs, made bold to ſay, "That he had nothing to "do but to fight and gain a Battle, of which he was ſure, and that "from thenceforth he would not ſuffer one Gentleman, either on Foot "or Horſe-back, to remain in *England*; that the Iſland of *Barbados* "was depopulated, and that he would ſend thither a Colony of the "beſt Families of the Kingdom."

'TILL then, thoſe who had eſpous'd the King's Intereſt, had acted only out of two Principles, that of Honour, and that of Intereſt: but from that Time forward theſe Motives became too weak; thoſe of Safety and Liberty incited them more vigorouſly. Being thus treated by *Lambert*, they look'd upon themſelves to be already enſlav'd: After their Horſes had been taken from them, they were depriv'd of the Character of Gentlemen; were prohibited to wear Arms; and three of them could not meet together, without being guilty of a Crime againſt the State: in a word, to whiſper was Treaſon, and the leaſt Sigh was accounted an Affection for the Family of *Stuart*.

*LAMBERT* ruin'd the Country, and the Parliament complain'd of his Moderation: *Lambert* robb'd and plunder'd with his Troops, without diſtinguiſhing the Innocent from the Guilty, and the Parliament clear'd him from all by their Acts. Thus they agreed but too well, conſider'd as Rivals, which could not laſt long: The Parliament had a mind to have the ſupreme Power for ever lodg'd in their Body; and *Lambert* deſign'd to ſeize upon it for himſelf, as not inferior to *Cromwell*: He had call'd this Parliament in order to do Buſineſs, and not to make them Sovereigns: He knew them to be a Pack of Tyrants that were generally hated by the whole Kingdom, and therefore was reſolv'd to diſmiſs them whenever they ſhould make the leaſt Step contrary to his Ambition. Thoſe who knew *Lambert* very well, ſaid, That he was a Man both of Spirit and Conduct; but that he very well ſaw, that the only way to enlarge his Power, was to make War, and oblige the Nobility and Gentry to riſe up in Arms, that he might have Occaſion to forfeit their Eſtates, and by thoſe Forfeitures to engage all the Officers of the Army in his Intereſt; He had the ſame Opportunity that *Cromwell* had, at leaſt he was ſeeking ſuch another: but Time fail'd him; and without doubt, had he not ſo ſoon diſſolv'd the Parliament which would have turn'd him out of his Poſt, he would have been very troubleſome, and more powerfully thwarted the King's Return: He was very much in Favour with the Troops; his Courage, his Reputation, and his Judgment, were look'd upon in the Army as extraordinary Endowments. Many Actions, whereof *Cromwell* had reap'd both the Fruits and the Glory, were juſtly attributed to him; and beſides, it was the Sign of a great Soul, to have oppos'd ſo formidable a Tyrant. But his Pride, his Cruelty, and an Arrogance which he could not conceal even in his Diſgrace, were dreaded: beſides that, he had given too manifeſt Proofs of his Ambition; and indeed it was thought, that having much ado to obey one, he could not readily bring himſelf to yield to, and obey three hundred.

AND

AND indeed, as ſoon as he had diſpers'd Sir *George Booth*'s Party, he wrote to the Parliament a Letter magnifying his own Valour, and that of his Troops; and began to demand a Reward for the maim'd Soldiers, and ſome Officers. The Speaker, in their Name, return'd him an Anſwer, thanking him for his Services, and ſending him a Diamond worth above eight hundred Pounds. He haughtily refus'd the Preſent, ſaying, That he had ſerv'd his Country, and done his Duty; but he entreated the Parliament to extend their Bounty to the Soldiers and Officers of his Army, who with the like Generoſity had ſupported the Common Cauſe, and diſpers'd the Enemies of the State. The Parliament began to be jealous of this Procedure, and ſent him for Anſwer, That they did not want Generals; That it was not his Buſineſs to trouble himſelf with Rewards or Puniſhments, and that they would take a Courſe for that: And then, inſtead of granting him what he demanded for his Friends, they caſhire his greateſt Confidents, and ſend for him to give an Account of his Expedition. *Lambert* having receiv'd his Orders, calls a Council of War, and asks the Advice of the Officers: They were of Opinion, that, before entering into any Quarrel with the Parliament, they ought to treat with the Militia of the Country, and eſpecially with that of *London*, in order to endeavour to draw them in. The Parliament, on their Part, order Soldiers to be levy'd for reducing *Lambert*; appoint three or four Colonels for commanding the Army under their Authority; deprive *Fleetwood* and *Lambert* of the Command, and charge the Troops not to obey them any more 'till farther Orders. *Vane*, who was in *Lambert*'s Intereſt, having in vain endeavour'd to engage the Militia in a Correſpondence with the Army, writes to *Lambert*, That they are all undone, if he come not very quickly to their Relief. The Royaliſts take Advantage of this Diviſion, ſometimes accuſe *Fleetwood*, ſometimes *Lambert*, of being Royaliſts; and, amongſt others, a Major, nam'd *Harris*, produces Orders from *Fleetwood*, whom he accuſes at the Bar, of keeping a Correſpondence with the King, and of having given him Orders to get together what Men and Arms he could. *Fleetwood*, very much ſurpriz'd at the Aſſurance of this Major, and the Novelty of the Crime, ſo uncommon to his Family, comes to the Parliament, makes an Apology, alledges all his Actions, and, with all the Art of his Rhetorick, and the Dint of Eloquence, clears himſelf; inſomuch that by Favour, and the Number of his Friends, he is acquitted, and obtains Reparation of Honour againſt the Major, who was condemn'd to Baniſhment.

WHEREUPON *Lambert* arriv'd with what Troops he could bring; his Preſence gave new Strength to thoſe of his Party: The Parliament, however, did not yield an Inch; but *Hazlerig* and *Eſcot* having got the better of *Vane*, reſolv'd that *Lambert* ſhould act as he ſhould think fit: And then, by the Conſent of fifty of the greateſt Enemies of Monarchy, he began to exerciſe his Dictatorſhip.

THE Parliament, afraid of his Violence, ſend for *Allen*, who commanded their Guards. *Allen* came upon their Orders: but though he was on Horſe-back marching at the Head of his Regiment, yet *Lambert*, with fifty Troopers, diſarm'd him, without the leaſt Reſiſtance, and carry'd away with him all his Soldiers and Officers.

THEN

THEN he march'd directly to the *Meuſe*, where there was likewiſe a Part of the Army, which ſurrender'd to him, though commanded by Officers of the oppoſite Faction. At laſt, having made himſelf Maſter of all the Troops, he reckon'd that he ſhould ſoon get the better of the Parliament: Thereupon he made the Soldiers go in Crowds to *Weſtminſter*, and ſtirr'd them up to demand their Arrears: Which being refus'd them, he caus'd the Doors of the Exchequer to be broke open; but he found not one Farthing there: And this Action ruin'd him, in the Minds of the People, who from that time began to be afraid that the ſame Violence might be exercis'd againſt private Perſons, that had been made uſe of againſt the Publick.

AFTER that, in ſome meaſure to pleaſe the People, and ſhun having the Common-wealth for a Party, he diſſolves the Parliament, and appoints a Council of twenty-five of his own Faction, whereof the Head was Sir *Henry Vane*. Thus was again form'd an Oligarchy, which laſted as ſhort a while as the firſt. General *Fleetwood* at this time had the ſame Fate that *Lepidus* formerly had when he join'd with *Auguſtus*. *Hazlerig* was entirely turn'd out of the Council, and the twenty-five depended wholly upon the Artifice of *Vane*, and the Courage of *Lambert*. But nothing ruin'd the Faction ſo much, as that all the Members of Parliament, who, not being of this pretended Council of State, became their Enemies. *Hazlerig* and *Fairfax* retir'd to the Country, *Desborough* to his Regiment, and *Lockhart* ſecur'd himſelf in *Dunkirk*: The whole Kingdom expreſs'd their Diſcontent, by the Means of their Repreſentatives in the late Parliament: The Army itſelf was diſappointed, becauſe the Exciſe being at an end, and the Exchequer empty, the Pay began to fall ſhort.

THE diſſolv'd Parliament ſent a Deputation to General *Monk*, who commanded the *Engliſh* Troops in *Scotland*, and who hitherto had expreſs'd himſelf equivocally: He ſeem'd to be extremely concern'd for their Grievances, and gave Ear to their Propoſitions. *Lambert*, on his Part, ſends two of his Colonels, one nam'd *Cobbet*, and the other without a Name, as well as without Honour, who is ſcarce known in his own Village, to General *Monk*: It was ſeemingly to invite him to join their Forces together, but, in Reality, with an under-hand Deſign of corrupting his Army. *Monk* gave them a Hearing; then, under Colour of ſome Orders from the pretended Sovereign Authority, which had been juſt now ſent him, he order'd both of them to be put in Priſon. At the ſame time, in order to remove from the Parliament any Apprehenſion they might have of his Coreſpondence with the King, he caus'd to be clap'd up in Priſon all his Majeſty's beſt Friends that he could catch, and iſſued out Orders againſt the reſt. He acted ſo, becauſe he well knew that the King's Friends in that Kingdom were not in a Condition to forward his Affairs; and that to treat them otherwiſe, or favour them, would make him be ſuſpected, even by the Troops he commanded, the moſt Part whereof had ſerv'd the Protector, and favour'd the Rebellion: : Therefore, under Pretence of ſecuring the Kingdom againſt the Riſing of the Royaliſts, he put ſtrong Gariſons in all the Places under his Command, and put himſelf in a Poſture to march to the Aſſiſtance of his Friends. This Procedure ſurpriz'd the moſt quick-ſighted Politicians: For, ſaid they, if General *Monk* be for the King, why ſhould he hazard an Affair that depends upon himſelf? He has

nothing

nothing to do but to receive him in *Scotland*, and put him in Poſſeſſion of that Kingdom. Why ſhould he abuſe and perſecute the King's Friends, and thereby diſcourage others? Why does not he ſhelter the Malcontents and Royaliſts? Why does not he declare for the Nobility and Gentry, who look only for an Opportunity to ſhake off the Yoke of Tyranny? To which it is anſwer'd; That had he declar'd for the King in *Scotland*, he run the Riſque of being deſerted by his own Troops, and would have drawn all the Forces of *England* and *Ireland* upon his Back: That his Declaring, would have reunited the old Parliament and *Lambert*, and oblig'd ſuch as had had a Hand in the Rebellion, and had Eſtates, to lay out their Money, in order to ſave their Lives: That they more willingly would have run the Riſque of a Battle, than of the Gallows: beſides, That the Impoſſibility of diving into *Monk*'s Deſigns, kept every Body in Suſpence, for fear of drawing upon themſelves what they had a mind to ſhun: That declaring for a Parliament, diſpleas'd neither the Royaliſts nor the Republicans.

THEREFORE they all agreed upon a Parliament: The Queſtion was, Of what Members it ſhould be compos'd? Whether the old ſhould be recall'd, which *Lambert* had diſſolv'd, or a new one be choſen? *Monk* in private aſſur'd the old Parliament, that he would obey them, and thereby he engag'd in his Intereſt all thoſe whom *Lambert* had turn'd out, to wit, all the Republicans: And the Troops inclin'd that Way; for though they had befriended *Lambert*, yet they were more inclin'd to a Republick. This is certainly what ruin'd *Lambert*.

GENERAL *Monk* ſeeing himſelf in ſo fair a Way, endeavour'd to conform himſelf to all ſorts of Government: He was a Royaliſt with the Royaliſts, a Republican with the Republicans; but it was impoſſible, at this Juncture, but the Diverſity of Intereſt muſt ſet *Lambert* and him together by the Ears: and beſides, there was an old Grudge and an irreconcilable Enmity betwixt them, which had proceeded from the Competition that had often been betwixt them; for *Lambert*, who was proud of the Battles he had gain'd, and had been Commander in Chief of the *Engliſh* Troops in *Scotland* againſt the *Scots*, was leſs in Favour with the Protector than *Monk*, who had been only a private Colonel of the Army in *Ireland*; and when he choſe to be Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, rather than of *Scotland*, he was bubbled by the Protector, and got neither the one nor the other Command.

THIS was a moſt grievous Affront upon a Man who found himſelf in ſo great Eſteem in the Army, and had caus'd his Equipage to be made in order to go to *Ireland*, and who had been wiſh'd Joy of his Poſt by all his Friends: And, truly, he would have boldly been reveng'd of it, had not his Wife, who was too intimate a Confident of the Protector's Secrets, and who was not ignorant of her Husband's, prevented all his Deſigns, and, as ſoon as ſhe had found them out, gone and diſcover'd them to *Cromwell*, taking his Promiſe that he would ſave her Husband's Life, which ſhe readily ventur'd, contrary to conjugal Fidelity.

IT may here be obſerv'd, that Fortune never pointed out a fair Opportunity to *Lambert*, that *Monk* did not deprive him of: He had a mind to be Lieutenant of *Ireland*; Colonel *Monk* thwarted him: The leaſt he expected, was to command in *Scotland*; *Monk* was preferr'd to him: He would fain have been General of the Forces of the three

Kingdoms, by Means of the Parliament; *Monk* got that Commiſſion by the ſame Means, which was afterwards confirm'd by the King: He thought to have made Advantage by the Protector's Fall; *Monk* render'd all his Attempts fruitleſs: He cut down the Tree; *Monk* gather'd the Fruit: He caſt the Net; and *Monk* had the Fiſh.

ALL theſe Proofs ſhew him, that, let Fortune ſmile ever ſo much upon him, he never can fix her, but by the Ruin of this General; therefore he prepares a powerful Army againſt him, leaves the City of *London* to the Management of Sir *Henry Vane*, and marches with his beſt Troops to give him Battle; for *Monk* had already left *Eainburgh*, and was marching to the Borders of *England*, as well to ſecure his own Party, as to convince the City of *London* that it would find its own Intereſt in his, ſince he had more Juſtice on his Side, and as many Troops as his Adverſary. *Lambert* was ſadly perplex'd; he had not only the Royaliſts, and the old Parliament which he had diſſolv'd, to ſtruggle with, but likewiſe *Monk* and his Party. *Monk* had no ſooner got into *England*, than he publiſh'd a Declaration, containing the Reaſons of his March, which were, His Deſign to deliver his Country from the Slavery wherewith *Lambert* threaten'd it, and to reſtore the Authority to the old Parliament, which he call'd, The Prop of the publick Liberty.

ADMIRAL *Montague*, who hitherto had continu'd upon the Coaſt of *England*, caſts Anchor at the Mouth of the *Thames*, and publiſhes ſuch another Declaration as that of the General; as alſo *Hazlerig*, in order to give a Diverſion, retires to *Portſmouth*, and, by the Dint of Money, corrupts a Part of *Lambert*'s Troops, and declares for *Monk*: The Towns of *Portſmouth* and *Yarmouth* do the ſame; and a great many Colonels, who would rather have choſen to die, than help to bring back the King, declare for *Monk*, believing that the old Parliament had ſecured themſelves, and were not ignorant of what they were doing; though really they were ſo blinded, that they did not foreſee what happen'd. The Nobility and Gentry, who knew all *Monk*'s Deſigns perfectly well, take up Arms againſt *Lambert*, fortify their Country-Houſes, and refuſe to quarter his Soldiers, inſomuch that he could not get them lodg'd but by open Force, his Troops having been often attack'd in their Quarters, under Pretence that he had no Orders: The Lords *Fairfax*, *Falconbridge*, and *Howard*, with their Friends and Regiments, cut off his Proviſions; ſo that he had *Monk* in his Front, who, however, did not wait him; and theſe in his Rear, who charg'd his Scouts and Foragers, and oblig'd him to keep in a Body, and generally under Arms. What was yet more troubleſome, he had neither Pay-Maſter, nor Commiſſary of Stores; his Party was almoſt entirely driven out of *London*: *Vane*, *Fleetwood*, and *Desborough*, who would have been willing to aſſiſt him, had been deſerted by their Troops; and *Hazlerig* had ſent a ſtrong Reinforcement of Horſe and Foot to *London*, which was under Arms, in order to guard againſt the Pillage which was dreaded from all Quarters.

*LAMBERT* ſoon had an Account of the bad State of his Affairs, and by all Means endeavour'd to overtake *Monk*, and fight him. *Monk* was encamp'd on the other Side of a River, by which Means he avoided a Battle. *Lambert* ſeeing that he could do nothing of Conſequence by open Force, has Recourſe to Stratagem: He writes a civil Letter to General *Monk*, deſiring a Meeting, and aſſuring him that their Intereſts

were

were not incompatible. *Monk* agrees to a Conference. *Lambert* lays an Ambuſh for him upon his Way, in order to charge and beſet him on his Return: but *Monk* was ſo cautious as to cauſe a Party of his Horſe to advance near to the Place where an Ambuſh might be laid. Now whereas this Party of Horſe was under the Cover of a Wood where it could not be ſeen, the Party who was to attack *Monk*, if he ſhould return without concluding any thing, came ſtreight to the Charge, according to the Orders they had; at the ſame time *Monk*'s Horſe came to his Relief, ſo that he was join'd by his Friends and Enemies all at once. *Lambert*'s Party was defeated, and his Treachery found out, which put an End to all Conferences.

MEAN while Winter draws on: On the one hand, there were Troops that had been under the Command of the ſame General for ſeven or eight Years; that had been always upon Duty, and kept under exact Diſcipline; that were accuſtomed to fare very hard, to undergo Fatigue, and to receive little Money: and, on the other hand, there were Troops that had not as yet ſerv'd under their General; that had never incamp'd, nor lain out of a Bed, nor ſupp'd without Meat, Bread, and Beer; that had forgot both Hardſhip and Diſcipline; that were very much inclin'd to Mutiny, and had but little Affection for their General, and who minded nothing but their own Intereſt, and purſu'd it greedily. In the mean time, General *Monk* receiv'd privately conſiderable Sums of Money, which ſome thought were ſent him by the *Dutch*, others by the City of *London*, or ſome private Citizen thereof, which is more probable. *Monk* having made it known that he had wherewithal to pay his Soldiers, ſome of *Lambert*'s Troops quickly deſerted him, and join'd *Monk*; which oblig'd *Lambert* to endeavour to get into *London*; but *Monk* purſu'd and attack'd his Rear, and all the Country fell upon him, ſo that his Army quickly deſerted him, and divided itſelf into ſeveral Parties, according to the Inclinations of the Officers, who minded their own private Intereſts in the general Confuſion. Being thus forſaken by all his Troops, he retires with an hundred Horſe, and lurks for ſome Time; but having been diſcover'd, he reſolv'd to beg the Parliament's Pardon, retires to *London*, where he is taken Priſoner, and put in the Tower by Order of the old Parliament, which had already met, and was exerciſing the Sovereign Authority.

WHILE every thing ſeem'd to tend towards the eſtabliſhing of this Parliament, behold a ſudden Blow of God's Wrath overtook theſe Wretches, which laid them as low as they had imagin'd themſelves exalted.

*MONK* ſtirr'd up the Counties, Cities, and Boroughs, which preſented to him a Petition, importing, "That at the Death of the late "King, *Cromwell* and his Adherents had, by their own private Autho- "rity, turn'd out of this Parliament a great Number of Gentlemen and "Burgeſſes who had a mind to maintain the Privileges of the Kingdom, "and the Liberties of the Subject, under Pretence that the excluded "Members would not give Way to their Paſſions; and that now being "freed from that Tyranny, they ought to be reſtor'd to their Seats in "Parliament." *Monk* gave them for Anſwer, "That the Thing being "very juſt, there would be no Difficulty in getting the Parliament to "agree to it; and ſignify'd to the Members already admitted, That, "for Peace-ſake, they muſt forget what had paſs'd, and receive the reſt

"of

" of the Members." Whereupon, for Form's-ſake, it was put to the Vote: but, truly, the Members, ſupported by the General, took their Seats; and, by that Means, *Monk* found himſelf Maſter both of the Army and Parliament.

In the mean time there was not the leaſt mention made of recalling the King, 'till *Lambert*'s Troops ſhould be diſarm'd. Then *Monk* being come to *London*, gave out, That he was come of Purpoſe to reſtore the Authority of Parliament, and oppoſe all the wicked Attempts of the Royaliſts and Cromwellians. This Declaration very much alarm'd the Citizens of *London*, who, though they had not open'd their Minds, were all for the King, and afraid that the General would ſeize upon the Sovereign Authority, to the Detriment of the State and Crown. Such of the Citizens as were not in the Secret, take up Arms, ſhut the Gates of the City, and declare, That they will neither obey *Monk* nor the Parliament. The General, who, as you may have obſerv'd, was Maſter of the Votes of Parliament, ſince the excluded Members had taken their Seats, came to the Parliament to receive their Orders, which were, That he ſhould take Poſſeſſion of the moſt advantageous Poſts of the City; drive out of it all ſuch as he ſhould ſuſpect; diſarm *Lambert*'s Soldiers; put a Stop to their Meetings, and make himſelf Maſter both of the City and Tower. After that he had put in Execution a Part of his Orders, without finding the leaſt Reſiſtance from the Cromwellians, he march'd ſtreight to the Gate of the City which was barricado'd, and defended by a Guard of Citizens. *Monk* cauſes his Orders to be intimated to them by a Herald, who receiv'd no other Anſwer, but that they were free, and would not obey the Parliament. The General cauſes the Gate to be broken open with Axes, and lodges his Troops in the City, without committing the leaſt Violence, but what was neceſſary for the Execution of his Orders: He preſently ſends for the principal Citizens, and lets them ſee the Parliament's Orders, which he had been forc'd to obey; expreſſes a great Concern for it, and tells them, That he would ſhew, by his Conduct, that he had the Intereſts of the City and his Country more at Heart, than the unreaſonable Paſſions of the Parliament, that had forc'd him to inſult a City, for which he had ſo great a Regard; and therefore he moſt humbly begs the Body of the Citizens to pardon what the Severity of Command had forc'd him to do, and declares for them, againſt the Parliament, and every Body elſe. Beſides, in order to take Advantage of the Zeal of the People, who were wonderfully pleas'd with his good Conduct, he calls a Council of War, into which he admitted ſeveral of the Aldermen and principal Citizens of *London*, among the reſt Alderman *Robinſon*, at preſent Governor of the Tower of *London*, who ſeconded his Deſigns with great Zeal and Prudence.

In this Council three Points were diſcuſs'd: The firſt, That it was abſolutely neceſſary, for the Succeſs of their Undertaking, not to declare for a King: The ſecond, That, without hazarding the King's Intereſt, and the Lives of his Friends, they could not ſuffer this old Parliament to continue; leſt the new-admitted Members, taken with their Advancement to Sovereignty, ſhould act in Concert with the *Rump*: And the third, That they muſt no longer delay coming to Extremities with ſuch of this Parliament as ſhould be againſt theſe Reſolutions.

The

THE King's Friends, who clearly ſaw what this Rupture tended to, were the firſt that voted for diſſolving this, and calling a free Parliament: And now it was that thoſe who were call'd the *Ulyſſes's* and *Neſtors* of the Republicans, were caught in the Nets which they had ſpread for their Adverſaries; for of three hundred, whereof this pretended Democracy was compos'd, two hundred and forty renounc'd the Sovereignty, and forc'd the reſt, who had not the leaſt Thought of it, to reſign the Power which they had ſo long uſurp'd: ſo that being thus degraded, from henceforth, inſtead of minding the Affairs of State, their only Care was, how to preſerve their Lives and Liberties: But leſt Deſpair ſhould hurry them on to ſome deſperate Attempt, ſuitable to their former Boldneſs, as yet nothing was ſpoken amongſt the Royaliſts, but of recovering the Privileges of the Nation, of reſtoring the Freedom of Voting, and the Parliament to its former Splendor, which would always be ſufficiently jealous of the publick Liberty, and be againſt the Tyranny of Kings. Theſe Hopes quieted their Fears, and lull'd them aſleep; and as they had diveſted themſelves of the Fidelity they ow'd their Prince, they no longer ſuſpected any Perſon of it; nevertheleſs, they complain'd to the rude and ignorant People, whoſe Eaſineſs and Credulity are generally the laſt Shift of Impoſtors and Rebels. And leſt the craſhing of an Idol, that had been ador'd by ſo many People, ſhould as yet occaſion a Commotion, about an Hour before the Diſſolution of the Parliament, General *Monk* thought fit to make a Speech in *Guild-Hall* to the principal Citizens, upon that Subject; which he did with ſo much Prudence and Zeal for his Prince, and againſt the old Parliament, that, in Juſtice, I am oblig'd to communicate his Speech to the Publick, the Senſe of which was conceiv'd in theſe Terms:

*General* MONK's *Speech againſt the old Parliament.*

" IF the Laws of Honour and Conſcience could diſpenſe with the " Fidelity I owe my Country; if the Apprehenſion of blemiſhing, " in the Minds of Poſterity, a Family which has preſerv'd its Luſtre " and Reputation for ſo many Ages, were not a Motive powerful enough " to incite me to my Duty, the Rank and Office I bear amongſt ſo " conſiderable a Number of Men of ſo much Honour and Merit, would " be invincible Reaſons to me, for minding my own Intereſt, which is " inſeparable from the publick Good.

" YOU are Witneſſes, Gentlemen, that in this fatal Revolution of " our Kingdoms, the moſt unjuſt, the moſt wicked, and moſt violent " Actions, have been authorized by the popular Fury of a ſilly Multi- " tude, who have been always ſatisfy'd to let the publick Wounds be " cloſed up by over-haſty Remedies. Theſe Wretches, to colour ſo " glaring an Injuſtice, have put in the Preamble of their Ordinances, " the venerable and ſacred Names of Parliament, and Defenders of " the Publick Liberty: We have been impos'd upon by the Appear- " ances of theſe ſo ſpecious Names; and we have acted like the firſt " Idolaters, who, after the Death of their true Hero's, ador'd their " Images and Statues. 'Tis by this Opinion, and this epidemical Mad- " neſs, that this Oligarchy, which hath depreſs'd our Kings, and made " our Tyrants reign, hath ſubſiſted ſo long; 'tis it, which, under falſe " Promiſes of an imaginary Felicity, hath made us undergo real Mi- " ſeries; and, in order entirely to ſubvert our dead Laws, hath begun " with the living Law. In the Beginnings of our Misfortunes we have " beheld the Flames and Combuſtions occaſion'd by theſe Incendiaries, " with a Joy like that of young Children at the Appearance of Comets.

" But we have ſince plainly diſcover'd by ſad Experience, that, under " the Cloak of Charity, Liberty, and Zeal for the publick Good, the " moſt deteſtable Ambition, that ever ſtruck at both the divine and " human Laws, was hidden. You have ſeen, that from all thoſe in- " flamed Parts of our State, an unlucky Star aroſe, whoſe Influence " ſeem'd to have corrupted the pureſt Matter. God hath been pleas'd, " for the Comfort of good Men, that it ſhould vaniſh away; and as " a Token that his Wrath is not ſo great againſt our People, it hath " diſappear'd without Noiſe, nor hath Nature ſuffer'd thereby: There- " fore 'tis to be hoped that every thing will recover its former Serenity, " and that thoſe Parts which had been invenom'd by the Proximity of " that miſchievous Star, will return to their natural State.

" We ſhould be too happy, Gentlemen, if thoſe Meteors had al'o- " gether diſappear'd: but very far from being quite diſpell'd, they ſtill " appear in ſundry Places, in order to make the Malignity of their " Influence more general. What gives me Comfort, is, that they have " already vomited up all their Venom, and that nothing remains but " ſome tranſient Sparkles of a ſublunary Element, which have neither " Life nor Light but in the Chaos and Diſorder of our Government; " nor do they appear but in the Abſence of our celeſtial Bodies, and " Remoteneſs of our *Primum Mobile*, and in the violent Convulſions of " Nature, which can neither ſubſiſt nor laſt, until the Parts neceſſary " to its Duration and Reſt be in their proper Situation.

" Yes, Gentlemen, the Qualms and Convulſions, which this State " ſuffers theſe many Years, denote the extreme Miſeries that threaten it, " and the inevitable Neceſſity of ſeeing our true Stars ſhine again; the " Return whereof, will put an End to all our irregular Motions, without " relying upon thoſe Glow-Worms and rotten Wood, which caſt their " Light in Darkneſs only; thoſe *Ignes fatui*, which ſtand upon the " Brinks of Precipices, to draw in the Ignorant and Fooliſh: They " promis'd us Liberty, and have loaded us with Chains; they made us " hope to be exempted from all Burdens, and they have redoubled our " Taxes: The Time to come, ſaid they, would produce the Fruit of " our preſent Calamities; and Matters have ſtill grown worſe. The " People were to grow rich, and to flouriſh; and they are reduced to " Extremities. The Nobility were to be ſupported; and yet they have " neither a Houſe, nor Office, nor Government. Commerce was to be " reſtor'd; and all the World is at War with us. We have been forc'd " to maintain a powerful Army, which hath exhauſted our Money, and " ruin'd our Commerce, in order to maintain one Tyrant. At preſent " muſt there be fewer Guards to maintain five hundred Tyrants, who " are abhorr'd by all Men, the Reproach of Mankind, and the Aver- " ſion of the whole World? Dear Country, which I cannot behold " without Compaſſion, whoſe Miſery forceth me to ſhed Tears! Dear " Country, upon which God in his Wrath has a mind to revenge his " mangled Image, and to make thee accountable for the Blood of his " Anointed, in delivering thee up a Prey to the Parricides that have " ſhed it! Dear Country, which hath been the moſt glorious Theatre " of the Univerſe, and hath now become the Shame and Reproach of all " the World! What oughteſt thou to expect from ſo long an Unduti- " fulneſs; from the Violation of both divine and human Laws; from ſo " many Sacrileges, Combuſtions, and Robberies? What will be the " Fruit of thy Blaſphemies and Perjuries; of an Atheiſm almoſt general, " which attends this Rebellion; of this Pride, which blinds us, by the

" falſe

" falſe Conceit of our Strength, and which makes us inſult our very " Friends; of this ſcandalous and impious Independence; but the " general Hatred of the whole World, who look upon us, as a People " without a King, without Faith, without Law, without War, without " Peace, without a Common-wealth, without Monarchy, without Re- " ligion, without either the Old or New Teſtament; as a Nation that " blemiſheth its own Reputation, by obeying Maſters, who have no " Right either by Election or Succeſſion; who turn with every Wind, " and become Mercenaries to all their Allies, but without reaping any " Advantage thereby? Can it be believ'd that this famous Poſterity of " the *Edwards*, the *Henries*, and the *Williams*, who carry'd Dread and " Terror every-where, could ſubmit themſelves to a Brewer, a Cloth- " worker, a Cobler? O Nature, how fain wou'd I give thee back " again this Heart, which cannot ſubmit to ſo much Meanneſs, nor " ſuffer ſo great Indignities; or take thou it again from thoſe that have " it, or reſtore it to thoſe that have loſt it! This Parliament, that " took a Pride in cutting off Heads, hath ſpared our Lives out of Policy " only, and hath not failed to deſtroy us, but in order to preſerve to " themſelves ſo many Slaves. Nevertheleſs, this old Pack of hungry " Tygers are again truſted with the Government of a State, the Foun- " dation whereof is undermined, and which is ready to be bury'd in its " own Ruins, if the Arm of the Lord does not raiſe it up again, by the " Return of its Guardian-Angel. And if we may judge of the Time to " come, by the paſt, what ought we to expect from the Moderation of " *Vane*, the Sincerity and Probity of *Hazlerig*, the Mildneſs and Cle- " mency of their Cabal, who never thought themſelves ſecure but in a " Deſert, nor able to be Maſters, but when there ſhould be no Body to " obey them but Men of their own Kidney: Judge if they have not " already a greedy Expectation of all the Eſtates of honeſt Men; and " and if they think not of rewarding all Vice in a Kingdom, out of " which they have baniſh'd all Virtue.

" I KNOW very well, Gentlemen, that they are endeavouring to " ſurprize us; but the Cheat is too palpable, and the Artifice plainly " appears. They would fain perſuade ſuch as don't know them, that " they have limited their Power to one Year: but ſhould they have " uſurp'd it even for ſo ſhort a Time, contrary to the Freedom of " Voting, the Privileges, and fundamental Laws of the State? But " without mentioning the Uſurpation of this very Set of Men during " eight Years, and without giving here a Deſcription of their cruel " Behaviour, the *Roman* Hiſtory clearly undeceives us of ſuch Devices; " the Dictatorſhip made perpetual, the Continuation of the Decemvirate " and Tribunes, in Spite of the People and the Laws, which had created " them but for a Time, plainly foretel us what we are to expect from " a Power more irregular and violent. I ſpeak not of the Reſentment " of all the Crown'd Heads of Chriſtendom, who have already condemn'd " us in the Quality of Judges, and will very ſoon become Parties. I " would fain hope that the Lord of Hoſts will aſſiſt us: But what will " all thoſe proſperous Succeſſes avail us, if our Lawrels are follow'd by " our Cypreſſes; if our Victories have increas'd the Number of our " Enemies; if they have given us Tyrants; if the Favours of Heaven " come from an angry Hand; if all our Idols become our Scourges? " What worſe can we expect from our Defeats?

" MUST we again take up Arms, contrary to Honour and Con- " ſcience, in order to advance to the Throne ſome Doge, ſome Reſtorer

" of

" of a chimerical Liberty, who, to ſhun the Diſgrace of the laſt Uſurper,
" will redouble his Guards, and our Taxes ?

" Do they call Liberty that general Revolt of the Paſſions againſt
" Reaſon ; of Vice againſt Virtue ; that plain Rebellion of Reaſon
" againſt the Law of Nature and the Goſpel ; that audacious Attempt
" of the inferior Parts againſt the ſuperior, that Licence of doing Miſ-
" chief, that Forgetfulneſs of good Actions, thoſe repeated Declara-
" tions of Diſloyalty to our Prince ; that ſolemn Breach of God's Com-
" mandments ; thoſe Contempts of the holy Scripture ; the Prophana-
" tion of our Churches; an unheard-of diſpenſing with the moſt inviolable
" Oaths ; an impious Cuſtom which hath paſſed into a Law, and which
" authorizeth Perjury at every Turn ; almoſt an entire Abrogation both
" of divine and human Laws ; a fooliſh Opinion of God's Clemency ;
" and a ridiculous Deſpair of that of a Prince, the moſt gracious, moſt
" meek, and moſt clement upon the Earth, from whom our Misfortunes
" and Miſeries have drawn Tears, which his Greatneſs of Soul hath ſtill
" reſus'd to his own Adverſity ? Of all the Kings in Chriſtendom, he is
" the only one that forgives us ; that prays to God to delay the Fierce-
" neſs of his Wrath, in order to give Time to Paſſion to yield to Reaſon ;
" who never would liſten to violent or forcible Meaſures ; who expects
" not his Reſtauration but from our Experiences, and the Hand of God ;
" who can much better diſpenſe with commanding us, than we can with
" obeying him. Let us conſider, that all the Kings of the Earth are,
" with reſpect to us, ſo many *Charles Stuarts* ; that that Prince has
" more Difficulty to allay their Wrath than his own ; that God, whoſe
" Image he is, and whom he imitates, hath pardon'd the Death of his
" Son ; that all the reſt of Men have profited by the Undutifulneſs of
" the *Jews* ; that, in the moſt ſound Divinity, God permits Sin, and
" that Men are not puniſhable for permitting it ; that Actions are per-
" ſonal, and that there hath been but one ſingle *Adam*, whoſe Sin was
" epidemical. I confeſs, that that Prince may have ſome Thoughts ſug-
" geſted to him by the moſt juſt and equitable Laws, of revenging a Par-
" ricide upon ſome particular Perſons ; *Publico clamore convictos :* But
" conſider, that all the other Kings are reſolv'd to revenge a Fratricide
" upon all *England*, if, by a ready Submiſſion, and an Obedience as
" honourable as it is advantageous, we do not avert a Calamity, which
" otherwiſe is inevitable. Our Troubles are not of the Nature of others ;
" they can have no End but with that of the World, or of us. For
" though, by an irreparable Misfortune, *quod abſit*, all the Male Branches
" of the Royal Family ſhould die ; the Houſe of *Orange*, and that of the
" Prince *Palatine*, not to mention a Princeſs, who is courted by the
" greateſt Princes in Chriſtendom, as being the Wonder of the Age, will
" furniſh Kings enough, whoſe Reputations will find Aſſiſtance and Par-
" tizans every-where : So our Preparations muſt be very great, ſince
" our War is to be everlaſting, or the King muſt Return.

THEY unanimouſly anſwer'd the General, That they would obey him, and that in the mean time the old Cabal muſt be diſſolv'd, but yet in due Form : And becauſe it was not known how the People would receive Propoſitions of Monarchy, it was reſolv'd, by Order of his Majeſty's Council, that the Royaliſts ſhould only declare for a free Parliament, and that the People ſhould be left in Suſpenſe betwixt Monarchy and Ariſtocracy. This was done, becauſe Ariſtocracy ſeem'd to be in Vogue amongſt the Nobility and Gentry, the moſt Part of which appear'd very much in love with the Model of the ancient *Romans* ; there were ſome of them

them who already flatter'd themſelves with the fine Titles of Senator and Lord, and who built their Fortunes according to their own Fancy in the vain Imagination of a quarterly Sovereignty: And becauſe the Number of *Cromwellians* was ſtill conſiderable, and the People were wavering betwixt the Fear of being puniſh'd by the Laws of the Kingdom, or more ſeverely by a Royal Army, which, as was given out, would quickly be compos'd of all the Nations of *Europe*, and eſpecially of *French* and *Iriſh*; it was thought fit not to mention Monarchy any more, 'till the Minds of the Gentry and Commonalty ſhould be known; one Part whereof had done great Diſſervice to the King, and the other had baſely deſerted him in the Time of Danger; even thoſe who had been of his Party, having been ſo ſeverely puniſh'd by the Calamities that attend Proſcriptions and Misfortunes, not only wanted Courage to declare what they had a mind to be, but even to own what they had been; ſo that all Things were left to Chance, and every Man's Politicks conſiſted only in an Indifference for all Sorts of Government, and in a general Submiſſion to the Suffrages of the People, who were to declare themſelves by a free and new Parliament.

ALL Things being thus diſpos'd in Favour of the King in *England*, and *Monk* having ſecur'd the Kingdom of *Scotland*, it remain'd only to ſecure *Ireland*, which of itſelf could not hinder the King's Return; but, by joining with, and ſheltering *Cromwell*'s Accomplices, was in a Condition ſtrongly to oppoſe his Majeſty's Reſtauration. For *Cromwell*, after having either baniſhed or proſcribed all the Nobility and Gentry of that Kingdom, had made it his Place of Arms, and the Magazine whence he might draw Aſſiſtance againſt *England*, and where he had ſettled all his Creatures; becauſe all the Grants he had made there, were only the Eſtates of the *Iriſh*. That Tyrant thought that Nation ſo much againſt his Deſigns, that he had endeavour'd to extirpate it altogether, and extinguiſh its Memory; inſomuch that, not content with having ſtript it of all its Riches, he had aſſign'd to the Nobility and Gentry a Corner of the Kingdom, between the River of *Shanon* and the Sea, where they were penn'd up, with a moſt ſtrict Prohibition to all Gentlemen to paſs that River, under the Pain of Death, without a Paſs from Sir *Charles Coote*, and the Lord *Broghill*: Theſe two had newly ſeiz'd the Helm of Affairs in that Kingdom, after having impriſon'd Colonel *Ludlow*, and Sir *William Waller*, who had been ſent thither by the old Parliament, after the Degrading of *Richard Cromwell*, and the unworthy Action of *Henry*. This laſt being Maſter of a Kingdom, and an Iſland well provided with Men, Proviſions, and Arms, at the Head of ten thouſand Foot, and four thouſand Horſe, who were the Veterans and Companions of *Cromwell*'s Fortune, and all engaged to him both by Honour and Intereſt, had ſhamefully come and ſubmitted to an Handful of Rebels, who had no other Title for the Eſtabliſhment of their Authority, but of having been the Satellites of his Father, and the Miniſters of that publick Cruelty, which has made them to be abhorr'd by all the World.

NOW the Lord *Broghill* and Sir *Charles Coote*, both of them *Iriſh-men*, and of the Church of *England*, ſeeing a fair Opportunity of making Amends for all that had paſſed, made themſelves Maſters of the Troops, and impriſoned the Officers of greateſt Note, and deepeſt engaged in the Rebellion; and form'd a Meeting, wherein it was agreed upon to ſend to *London*, and to the King, in order to aſſure him of their Obedience. At the ſame time, to bind the Army to its good Behaviour, they gave it to underſtand that they had made good Terms for it, and that they had been promis'd that all *Cromwell*'s Grants, the Proſcriptions of the *Iriſh* Catholicks, and the Forfeitures of all thoſe that had been baniſh'd, ſhould be confirm'd; and

that the King ſhould leave the whole Care of theſe Matters to his Parliament; that the general Pardon granted by the King ſhould be declared void with reſpect to the *Iriſh* Catholicks; that the Peace made with the Marquis of *Ormond* ſhould be annulled, as a Deed extorted by the Neceſſity of the Times and Affairs; that this Army, though compoſed of notorious Rebels, being *Engliſh*, ſhould ſtill be preferr'd to diſperſed and baniſh'd People, who had nothing to plead but Juſtice, to which no Regard is ever had in Quarrels betwixt Nation and Nation; Force being the only Law which decides the Differences in ſuch Caſes.

THE Army gave Credit to theſe Promiſes, and a great many of the *Iriſh* were much afraid that it had Reaſon: For the Condition of the Poſſeſſor is preferable to that of the Perſon diſpoſſeſſed; and thoſe who ask nothing of the Court, are always more welcome than Suitors, who are generally look'd upon as troubleſome, and are turn'd away. After what manner ſoever this Agreement was made, the Lord *Broghill* and Sir *Charles Coote* engaged to make it all good, and to get it confirm'd by a Parliament, which, in their Opinion, muſt be favourable to this Army being compos'd of the ſame Officers and Soldiers againſt whom the *Iriſh* had made War ſo long.

PURSUANT to theſe Hopes the Army declared itſelf, according to the Intentions of General *Monk*, and promiſed to adhere to all the Reſolutions of the next Parliament of *England*, and to undertake nothing contrary to the preſent Government.

WHILE *Cromwell*'s Faction was thus falling to Pieces, the King had ſcarce appear'd ſince Sir *George Booth*'s Inſurrection, having kept himſelf *incognito*, ſometimes in St. *Malo's*, and upon the Coaſt of *Bretagne*; ſometimes at *Bruges*, where, in outward Appearance, he paſſed his Time very uneaſily. Having in that Town receiv'd all the Aſſurances that could be given him, from his Friends at *London*, and all the reſt of the Kingdom, he called his Council privately, leſt his foreign Enemies, and thoſe who pretended to partake of his Misfortunes, ſhould endeavour to prolong them: And tho' he had receiv'd undoubted Proofs of the generous Reſolution of *France*, yet, in ſo tickliſh a Matter, he was afraid of whatever might happen to the contrary. He could not but know, that in the Affair of Sir *George Booth*, the great Marſhal *Turenne* had, by the expreſs Orders of the King his Maſter, made a Step as advantageous to his Affairs as he could have wiſhed: In effect, that Marſhal, who ſtill ſerves the greateſt King in the World, with ſuch Succeſs and Advantage as could only be expected from his Conduct, had given Orders for the marching of his Troops to the King of *England*'s Aſſiſtance, and had declared that he would go along with them in Perſon. In like manner, his moſt ſerene Highneſs the Prince of *Conde*, with the King's Leave, offer'd him his Troops, and even his Perſon. The Count *de Harcourt*, whom ſo many glorious Victories had made famous over all the World, was likewiſe invited by his Majeſty to get himſelf ready; to which he agreed with all the Paſſion and Zeal which his Maſter's Service, and his Fidelity, could allow him. Behold then three Generals, the leaſt of which was capable to ſtrike Terror into the moſt undaunted Kingdoms, and all three deſign'd againſt *England*. The Reputation and good Fortune of theſe great Generals did not a little contribute towards this wonderful Revolution: For 'tis to be ſuppos'd that *Lambert*'s Army would not have been ſo peaceable, when ſome of them were impriſon'd, and the reſt diſarm'd, and that the People would have been leſs eager in ridding themſelves of, and diſperſing the rigid Republicans, who for ſo long a time had been Maſters of the Lives

and

and Fortunes of every Body, if, at the ſame time that they ſaw a conſiderable Party in the Heart of the Kingdom, they had not likewiſe ſeen a moſt formidable one abroad.

THE *Spaniards*, for their Part, at *St. Jean de Luz*, talk'd of doing Wonders; and it was with Difficulty that Don *Lewis de Haro*, for certain Reaſons of State, was perſuaded to give Audience to *Lockhart*, who thought he ow'd that Favour to Cardinal *Mazarine*: But, on the other hand, his Eminence, not content with giving a long Audience to Sir *Henry Bennet*, Reſident at the Court of *Spain* for the King of *England*, receiv'd the Marquis of *Ormond* at *St. Jean de Luz* with great Demonſtrations of Friendſhip both for his own Perſon, and that of the King his Maſter; and after having done him all the Honours which the preſent Situation of his Maſter's Affairs required, had very long Conferences with him, and, by the King's Order, offer'd him all his Troops, and even his Purſe.

KING *Charles* receiv'd all theſe Proofs of a real Friendſhip in a ſuitable manner: but, however, he was not thereby induced to truſt any Foreigner with his ſecret Tranſactions; ſo that his retiring from *Flanders* into *France*, and his Journey croſs the whole Kingdom, where he paſſed *incognito*, with three of his Servants, made every Body believe that his Reſtauration was ſtill far diſtant. He paſſed through *Toulouſe* four Days before the King of *France* made his Entry into that City, in returning from *St. Jean de Luz*: And though he went into *Spain* as far as *Saragoſa*, and that he return'd through *St. Jean de Luz*, without ſeeing Cardinal *Mazarine*; 'tis moſt certain that a Marriage for him was talk'd of there, and that the moſt beautiful Dutcheſs * in the World was upon Terms of being Queen.

* *The Dutcheſs of* Mazarine.

THE Pretence of this Journey, was to induce the two Crowns to declare in his Favour; and, during this Interval of Parliament, his Friends at *London* did not fail to make a Myſtery of it, and to tell the People, that the two Kings of *France* and *Spain* could not be perſuaded that they had Strength or Money enough for ſettling a general Tranquillity in Chriſtendom, without the Interpoſition of his *Britannick Majeſty*, who could contribute thereto as much as any Prince in the World.

IN the mean time, his Majeſty's Enemies were very much ſurpriz'd, to ſee that a King, who had been ſo long in Exile, had, nevertheleſs, made himſelf ſo conſiderable, that he alone ſhould engage in his Intereſt the two Umpires of the Peace of Chriſtendom; and that his Agents, in what Condition ſoever they were at the Courts of Princes, were more favourably receiv'd in their Misfortune, than the Emiſſaries of the Uſurpers in the Midſt of the Pomp and Splendor of their Proſperity.

AND tho' all thoſe who more narrowly obſerv'd the King's Actions, his Hopes, and the Countenance of this exiled Court, believ'd that it was an infallible Sign of the bad State of his Affairs; yet that Opinion prov'd very advantageous to the King in *England*: For his retiring out of *Flanders*, and the removing ſo far from *England*, were look'd upon, by ſuch as were not in the Secret, to proceed from the deſperate Condition he was in; his Friends, who hitherto had been ſuſpected and watch'd, had Leiſure and Liberty to act without Fear, and Time more eaſily to prevail upon, and bring back to his Intereſt, ſome Men who had taken contrary Meaſures, and who would have ventur'd both their Lives and Fortunes, if any other Expedients had been made uſe of, but thoſe of a general Pardon and Clemency.

Clemency. Moreover, this Journey ſilenc'd the Ill-affected, who would not have fail'd to ſay, that all the Changes that were made, both of Officers and Governors, tended to call home the King: Beſides, the Guilty and the Parricides would have had Time either to make an Attempt within the Kingdom, or to fly into foreign Countries, there to contrive Means of renewing their wicked Attempts.

His Majeſty's Council were very well pleas'd with having led *France* and *Spain* into this Miſtake; being afraid that both theſe States, either out of Jealouſy, or Politicks, would have retarded the King's Reception, whether to oppoſe it altogether, or for ſome Time, or to render themſelves neceſſary. And, indeed, this Journey ſo baffled the Politicks of the moſt knowing Men in Affairs, that *Lockhart*, then Governor of *Dunkirk*, and who was look'd upon as a Man of the greateſt Penetration of his Party, was therein more groſly miſtaken than all the reſt, having been the laſt in returning to his Duty: This Governor, who thought that the Party moſt oppoſite to Monarchy was carrying it in *England*, and who had ſo good an Opinion of his own Conduct, as to promiſe himſelf that he ſhould be continu'd by the Uſurpers, was ſo obſtinate in the Rebellion, that he had the Boldneſs to ſtay at *St. Jean de Luz*, calling himſelf *Ambaſſador of the Party that ſhould prevail, and a moſt humble Servant of Events*; which he continu'd even after the Arrival of the Marquis of *Ormond*, until his particular Friends told him that the King his Maſter was at *Fontarabia*, accompany'd by the Earl of *Briſtol*, Sir *Daniel O-Neil*, and the Lord *Colepepper*; and that it would be no Diſparagement to him to yield to a Prince to whom the greateſt Kings of the Earth had given the Right-Hand, even in his Misfortune: They likewiſe gave him to underſtand, that they began to grow weary of his Company at the Court of *France*; and that he needed not ſtand upon Ceremonies, but withdraw without taking Leave; that the King of *England* had Couriers upon his Road, who knew both his Name and Face; and that one of the Officers, whom he had cauſed to be impriſoned, had been ſeen at Court, who expreſs'd no Good-will towards him, and who ſeem'd to be more belov'd, and in greater Eſteem there, than he: ſo, ſince his ſworn Enemies were protected, and appear'd at Court in that manner, he muſt needs be perſuaded that his Affairs were in a bad way.

All theſe Reaſons obliged him to look more narrowly into the State of his Affairs: but as ſoon as he underſtood that the Earl of St. *Albans* was at Court, that Abbot *Montague* was lately arriv'd; that the firſt of theſe two acted there as Plenipotentiary for his Maſter; that the two Crowns had promiſed four thouſand Men to the King, and that they were ready to aſſiſt him with all their Troops, if he ſhould ſtand in Need of them, he took Poſt-Horſes directly for *Dunkirk*: He went thither with all Speed, in Hopes to make himſelf Maſter of the Place, and to ſell it to the higheſt Bidder; but, unhappily for him, he found the *Engliſh* Gariſon firmly reſolv'd to oppoſe him; for the moſt Part of the Officers, unknown to him, had ſent *Edmond Howard* to the King, to offer him the Place, with the Troops that were in it.

It was propos'd in Council, whether they ſhould accept of the Place and Troops; and after being poſſeſs'd thereof, to join the Troops to thoſe of his Majeſty in the Neighbourhood. Thoſe who were for taking Poſſeſſion of the Place, ſaid, That when the King ſhould be Maſter of *Dunkirk*, he might more eaſily gain the Fleet over to him, and thereby facilitate a Deſcent upon *England*; that his own Troops and thoſe of *Dunkirk* amounted to eight thouſand Men; that his Enemies would be diſhearten'd by the Revolt of their Troops, which would induce many more of them to follow

follow that Example; that the Harbour might ſerve for a retiring Place to ſuch of the Fleet as ſhould come to join him; and that, in ſhort he might call himſelf King and abſolute Maſter of a Part of his Dominions; that it was almoſt impoſſible to make himſelf Maſter of three different Kingdoms all at once, and therefore they ought to begin with this important Place, where the Royal Authority might ſhew itſelf with a Part of its Luſtre; that tho' Affairs ſhould be amicably adjuſted, it would be honourable for the King to treat with his Subjects in his own Dominions; and if he ſhould be oblig'd to fight his Way to the Throne, it would be of the greateſt Importance to be Maſter of this Out-work, and all at once to carry the War amongſt the Rebels.

ON the contrary, thoſe who ſaw more clearly into what might happen, maintain'd, that the delivering up of *Dunkirk* to the King, was not only of little Uſe to his Affairs, but likewiſe quite contrary to his Majeſty's Intention: They ſaid, That the ſurrendering of it, would diſcover all the Intrigues and Deſigns of the Royaliſts in *England*; ſo that ſuch as were Enemies to Monarchy, would endeavour to be no longer ſurpriz'd; that to act after that manner, would be interpreted by the adverſe Parties as unfair Dealing; that the King would thereby diſcover his Miſtruſt; and that if he did not punctually wait the whole Time that had been agreed upon, they would conclude that they ſhould always be ſo dealt with; that the greateſt Difficulty of this Affair was, to perſuade the People that the King would keep his Word to them; and that Sincerity, which the Rebels believ'd had never taken Place in any Court, muſt be eſtabliſh'd in this: The laſt and moſt weighty Reaſon was, that this Place could not be accepted, without reſtoring it to the *Spaniards*, and, perhaps, jointly to the *French* too; and that tho' both of them ſhould agree to let it continue in the King's Hands, it was too expenſive, and of little Importance to an exiled King; and that in caſe the Succeſs of Affairs in *England* ſhould not anſwer Expectation, the Place would remain a Bone of Contention between the two States; and that the Intereſt of the two Crowns, upon the retaking of *Dunkirk*, would oblige the *Spaniards* to do their utmoſt Endeavours to divide this Oligarchy, and ſupport the Royal Party. Theſe are the true Reaſons that obliged the King not to accept of *Dunkirk* at that time, well knowing, that in caſe he ſhould be reſtored to his Kingdoms, he would be ſure of that Conqueſt; and that if his Majeſty ſhould be diſappointed, *Dunkirk* remain'd a powerful Motive for keeping *Spain* in his Intereſt.

HITHERTO the King's Party in *England* durſt not act openly, nor make any Step againſt the pretended Common-wealth; but the total Defeat of *Lambert*'s Troops, either by the Cowardice of the Officers, or by their Treachery to their Party, ſo ſtrengthen'd General *Monk*, that there was Reaſon to dread a moſt dangerous Conſequence from the Greatneſs of his Power, being as abſolute at *London*, as *Domitian* was at *Rome* before the Arrival of *Severus*: Which gave Occaſion to a Rumour that was ſpread at that time, and which may have been given out, either by thoſe who were not that General's Friends, or who loved the King too much; for by an indiſcreet Zeal, or an ill-grounded Jealouſy, they began to murmur againſt the Power of that great Man, and to ſuſpect him of Ambition, very unſeaſonably; he never having made the leaſt Step, but by his Majeſty's expreſs and written Orders, except upon ſome particular Occaſion, when the Neceſſity of the Affairs of State obliged him to conſult both the Time and



3

Events. Nevertheleſs, Foreigners, and thoſe who were concern'd in the King's Reſtauration, had a mind to ſound the General, and to be admitted into his Secrets and Deſigns; that, in caſe they were againſt Monarchy, and their Friendſhip, they might baffle them: And *Monk* heard all thoſe who ſpoke to him, and gave them ſuch Anſwers as made the Sincerity and Prudence of his Conduct appear. 'Tis true, that this Curioſity gave the Court ſome Jealouſy; and the Art that had been made uſe of to diſcover the Bottom of the General's Heart, alarm'd the King a little, who, not thinking fit to make it the Ground of a General Quarrel, made a perſonal Injury of it; but after having been inform'd of the Sincerity of that inquiſitive Perſon *, who had acted only out of a paſſionate Affection for his Service, he was very well ſatisfy'd.

* *Mr.* de Bourdeaux.

His Majeſty, on the Road from *Bourdeaux* to *St. Jean de Luz*, receceiv'd, by an Expreſs from General *Monk*, an Account that his Affairs were in great Forwardneſs; that his Enemies were either diſarmed, fled, or in his Intereſt; that he might advance towards the Coaſt of *England*, and chuſe a Place of Reſidence, there to receive, from all his Kingdoms, an Homage and Submiſſion that had for ſo long a Time been refuſed him; that the People impatiently expected him; that he ſhould make uſe of the Eagerneſs of the Paſſion they expreſſed for him, and that he could not receive more manifeſt Proofs of their Fidelity. In the mean time *Lambert* made his Eſcape out of the *Tower*, by the Favour of a Party of his Troops, whoſe Officers had promis'd to join him: And tho' his bold Attempt can hardly be juſtify'd, and that obſtinate Rebels, like him, are odious to all the World; yet I ſo firmly intend not to appear partial, that in this Circumſtance of his Life I ſhall do him Juſtice.

*LAMBERT* has been charg'd over all *England* with three Articles of Accuſation: The firſt, Of having always been ambitious and rebellious: The ſecond, Of having always rejected all the Propoſitions that the King could make him: And the third, Of having made an irrevocable Reſolution of making an Attempt upon the Liberty of his Country, and humbling the Nobility; of having raſhly made his Eſcape out of Priſon, and of having been retaken like a Coward, without putting himſelf in a Poſture of Defence. As to the firſt, he cannot be excuſed, but by the Number, the Qualities, and the Succeſs of the Rebels; as for his Ambition, it never appear'd, but in the Abſence of his lawful Prince; and it was the Token of a great Soul, not to acknowledge any Uſurper more worthy to command than himſelf. As for his having rejected the King's Offers, he affirm'd, that it never was in his Power to accept of them, either with the Safety of his Life, or with Succeſs, all his Strength conſiſting of an Army, whoſe chief Officers might almoſt all be convicted of the late King's Murther, and who had nothing to depend upon but the Eſtates of the Royaliſts; but that he had not rejected them, and was only waiting ſuch an Opportunity as General *Monk* had robb'd him of. As for his making his Eſcape out of Priſon, he thought he was oblig'd to endeavour to render himſelf uſeful, and make his Peace with Honour; and that thoſe who ſeiz'd him, had no lawful Authority, not having been impower'd by the King's Orders, and ſo he could not have done amiſs, ſince he had not acknowledg'd them for his Superiors; and that the People who repreſent the ſovereign Authority in the King's neceſſary Abſence, were divided about his Liberty. He own'd his having been retaken without making Reſiſtance, by a Colonel who had ſworn to be faithful to him, and had aſſiſted him in making his Eſcape,

who

who came to the Place appointed by his Order, who approach'd him as a faithful Friend, and who, contrary to his Promiſe, their Agreement, and plighted Faith, ſeized him. That Colonel had been obliged to make uſe of this Trick, that he might thereby expect to be pardon'd by his Prince, whom he had provoked in a particular manner, his Name being found among thoſe who had been acceſſory to the Murther of the late King; which had perſuaded him, that ſome notable Action was abſolutely neceſſary, in order to get his Pardon ratify'd: And, truly, 'tis agreed, that the taking of *Lambert*, ſecur'd him from the Severity of the Parliament, tho', in Effect, he was very innocent of the King's Death, which he never would have ſigned, but in order to ſave himſelf from *Cromwell*'s Fury, who had forc'd him to commit an unworthy Action, which render'd him inconſolable, notwithſtanding the Proofs and Witneſſes he had of the Truth of this: And, without doubt, this taking of *Lambert*, which prevented a Civil War, if the Anabaptiſts may be credited, and the manner in which that Officer had always behaved himſelf in his Party, might have made him paſs for a very accompliſh'd Man, if he had never been taught to write. In order to make this Victory the more ſolemn, *Lambert* was conducted to *London*, ſurrounded by ſome Squadrons of Horſe; and quite to diſhearten both him and his Adherents, the Army and Militia were drawn up in Order of Battle, and *Lambert* paſſed through the Middle of the Batallions and Squadrons, conſiſting, at leaſt, of thirty thouſand fighting Men, who were crying, *God ſave the King*. The Reader may imagine what was ſaid of *Lambert*.

HIS Majeſty being come to *Breda*, he had Advice that all Things were ſo diſpoſed, that he needed only ſecure himſelf againſt foreign Enemies; and that General *Monk*, the City of *London*, and the Parliament, had, without ſtriking a Stroke, got an entire Victory over the *Cromwellians*, who were ſo diſhearten'd, and become ſo cowardly, that they generally diſarm'd themſelves over all the Kingdom, not doubting but they were to be forced to undergo the Prohibition of Arms, which they had impoſed upon the Royaliſts.

THIS Parliament thus convened after an extraordinary manner, took under Deliberation, Whether it were more for the Good of the People to be govern'd by an Ariſtocracy, a Democracy, or a Monarchy? And it was reſolved, That theſe Kingdoms could not ſubſiſt without Monarchy, which was the Soul of the three Eſtates, and the ſureſt Foundation of the Church of *England*: That no Perſon whatſoever could, without incurring the Crime of High Treaſon, aſpire to this Monarchy, to the Detriment of *Charles* II. whom they unanimouſly declared King of *Great-Britain*, by an Act, which was worded very near as follows:

" ALTHOUGH there be no great Occaſion, and that it never hath been " cuſtomary to make Acts for verifying lawful and indiſputable Rights, " and that King *Charles* II. is, by the Death of *Charles* I. of bleſſed Me- " mory, and by Virtue of an undoubted Succeſſion, from that Moment, " without ſtanding in Need of any Formality, come to the inviolable and " ſacred Rights of the Crowns of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, Lands " and Dominions depending thereupon: Nevertheleſs, for certain Cauſes " and Conſiderations, and particularly becauſe of the Interruption of " the Royal Authority, and of this unhappy Interreign, which excuſeth our

" our Meeting without the King's Preſence, and which gives us the " Character and Seal of a lawful Authority;

" WE the Repreſentatives of the three Eſtates, in Name of the Lords " and Commons of *England*, under his Majeſty's Favour, to the End " that none may pretend Ignorance, have declared, and do hereby declare, " *Nemine Contradicente*, *Charles* II. Son, and lawful and undoubted Heir " of *Charles* I. to be King and Sovereign Lord of *England*, *Scotland*, " and *Ireland*, Lands and Dominions, *&c.*"

THIS Act thus paſſed, was followed by another Act, which annuls all thoſe that had been paſſed to the Prejudice of Monarchy, and the Royal Houſe of *Stuart*; And then the Commiſſioners of Parliament were named, for carrying to the King at *Breda*, in Name of both the Houſes of Parliament, the Sentiments of his Kingdoms: This Commiſſion, as being extraordinary, was ambitiouſly ſought after; and the Parliament made choice of Perſons that they thought moſt acceptable to the Court, and eſpecially of ſuch as had appeared moſt in this laſt Revolution.

THESE Commiſſioners, amongſt which was General *Fairfax*, General *Monk*'s Brother-in-Law, the Earls of *Pembroke*, *Oxford*, and *Peterborough*, arrived at *Breda*, accompany'd by the Deputies of the City of *London*. And whereas his Majeſty thought that they came there with Propoſitions or Conditions for the Security of the Rebels, he gave them to underſtand, that they muſt take Care not to make any other Propoſitions to him, but that of an entire Submiſſion, both of his Friends and Enemies, to his Clemency and Mercy; and that he was too jealous of the Power he had receiv'd immediately from the Hand of God, to take any Step that may make the World believe that they had any Share in his Reſtauration: And that nevertheleſs, ſince Providence had made Uſe of ſecondary Cauſes in this Conjuncture, his Majeſty would continue to make Uſe of the ſame Means; and that he had a grateful Senſe of the Favour they had done him, in having ſaved him the Trouble of bringing them to their Duty by Force; of demoliſhing Towns, which he muſt have rebuilt; of ſhedding Blood, which he was willing to preſerve as his own; and of triumphing over a People whom he had a mind to make victorious: but, above all, in giving him ſo fair an Opportunity of exerciſing his Clemency, which might have receiv'd ſome Blemiſh, from the Confuſion and Fury of War: That, by theſe Means, he may remove from his Subjects all Pretences of private Revenge, and baniſh Diſcord and Hatred out of his Kingdoms, over which they had had ſo great Influence for theſe ſeveral Years paſt; and that it may be thereby expected to reconcile People, whom the Injuſtice of ſome, and the Cruelty of others, ſeem'd to have made irreconcilable.

THEN the King, in order to authorize Clemency by his own Example, receiv'd both his new and old Friends with the ſame Countenance: He plainly declar'd, that he did not pretend to give away either the Lives or Eſtates of his Servants and Friends, who had been perſecuted by the Enemies of Monarchy; that he had a mind that their Intereſts ſhould be inſeparable from his own, and that no Innovation ſhould be made in the Laws of the Kingdom; that his Deſire was, that they ſhould recover their Authority and Vigour with him, and that Juſtice ſhould be fenced with all the Power that was neceſſary for maintaining it in his Dominions: Nevertheleſs, he had no mind to enquire into all the particular Actions, but

but that they ſhould be carry'd to the Ordinary Judges, whoſe Buſineſs it was: That as for himſelf, he freely pardon'd all his Subjects; but this Pardon being granted without hearing, he referr'd the Modification of it to his Parliament: That as to all thoſe who had aſſiſted immediately at the Murder of the late King, he expected and meant that they ſhould be deprived of the Benefit of the general Pardon, and that the Laws be put in Execution againſt them according to their Form and Tenor.

THIS Declaration was immediately ſent to the Parliament, who agreed thereto with all manner of Submiſſion; their Commiſſioners being ſent with no other Intention, but to ſubmit to the King's Will, without any Condition. Shortly after he left *Breda*, after having receiv'd from the *States* very near as much Honour and Reſpect, as they could have paid to their Sovereign and lawful Prince, had they had one.

AN

# INDEX

## To the HISTORY of the TROUBLES of *GREAT-BRITAIN.*

The NUMBERS direct to the PAGES.


A

*ABERDEEN*, Old and New, a Deſcription thereof 48
*Aboyn*, Earl of *ibid.*
*Adrian*, Emperor 3
*Adrian* IV. Pope 282
*Agathon*, Pope 130
*Agitators*, their Petition to *Fairfax* 280; their Demands 281, 285; are jealous of *Cromwell* 314, 316, 324, 325
*Airly*, Earl of 46, 138, 173, 174, 212, 213, 218, 224, 225
*Alban*, St. 282
*Ambroſe*, St. 355
*St. Andrew's*, Arch-Biſhop of, 2, 22, 52
*Andrews*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter* 16
*Andrews*, Alderman, made Mayor of *London* 504
*Annandale*, Earl of 220, 221
*Anſelm*, St. 130
*Antrim*, Marquis of 155, 163, 170, 254
*Apſley*, Sir *Allen* 303
*Arbuthnot*, Viſcount of 222
*Areskin*, Lord 225
*Areskin*, Sir *Charles* 258
*Argyle*, Earl of 30, 46, 169, 171, 173, 174, 176, 177, 178, 179, 197, 207, 251, 254, 347, 354, 372, 375, 388, 395, 399, 400, 402, 403, 501, 508, 510, 512
*Armagh*, Arch-Biſhop of 72, 247
*Arminius*, *James* 26, 35
*Army* impeach eleven Members of the Houſe of Commons 287; their Propoſals 294; march thro' *London* in Triumph [299]; their Demands to the Houſe of Commons 463
*Armyne*, Sir *William* 353
*Articles* of High Treaſon againſt the five Members 86
*Articles* agreed upon between the Parliament of *Scotland* and the Commiſſioners of *England* 150
*Arundel*, Earl of 46, 70, 312
*Aſhburnham* 236, 238, 303, 304, 308, 309, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 325, 328, 329, 330, 431
*Aſſembly*, General, opened at *Glaſgow* 30; diſſolved 36; pronounce Sentence of Degradation againſt the Biſhops 37; aboliſh Epiſcopacy 38; condemn all Synods held ſince the Year 1606, 39; give their Judgment upon the Covenant 41; make an Act for yearly Aſſemblies *ibid.* their Petition to the King 42; their Declaration addreſs'd to the good Chriſtians of *England* 43; meet at *Edinburgh* 49; their Petition to the High Commiſſioner and Privy Council *ibid.* meet at *Aberdeen* without a Commiſſioner from the King 58; meet at *St. Andrew's*, and adjourn to *Edinburgh* 75; their Anſwer to a Letter from ſome

# INDEX.


ſome *Engliſh* Divines 76; meet at St. *Andrew*'s 109; their Anſwer to the Declaration of the Parliament of *England* 110; their Letter to the King 111; break up *ibid.* meet at *Edinburgh*, tax the Declaration, ſign'd by the *Scots* Nobility and Gentry at *Oxford*, with Treachery and Blaſphemy, and order all the Subſcribers to be excommunicated 167; diſſolv'd *ibid.* meet again at *Edinburgh* 194; approve of the Directory ſent them by the *Engliſh* Divines *ibid.* their Reaſons againſt being tied down to Set Forms of Prayer 195; their Remonſtrance to the King, and adjourn *ibid.* meet at *Edinburgh* 239; excommunicate the Earl of *Seaforth* 240; their Anſwer to the King's Letter *ibid.* their Letter to the Parliament of *England* 241; to the City of *London*, and the Divines at *Weſtminſter* 242; meet at *Edinburgh* 315; their Remonſtrance to the Parliament *ibid.*

*Aſtley*, Lord 435
*Aſton*, Sir *Arthur* 118
*Atkins*, Mr. Serjeant 122
*Aucher*, Sir *Anthony* 409
*Auguſtin*, St. 256
*Auguſtus*, Emperor 518

B

*BACON*, Mr. Juſtice 122
*Bacon*, a Carmelite Friar 130
*Bailly*, *Robert* 38, 39
*Bailly*, Major-General 59, 198, 205, 207, 208, 209, made Lieutenant-General 387, 397
*Balcarras*, Earl of 238
*Balfour*, *James* 218
*Baliol* 501
*Balkanqual*, *Walter* 35, 79
*Balmarino*, Lord 8
*Bamfield*, Colonel 306, 386
*Banks*, Lord Chief Juſtice 122
*Bardly*, Captain, ſhot 390
*Barklay*, Mr. 52, 258
*Barnavelt* Faction 35
*Barrington*, Sir *James* 255
*Basket*, Governor of *Cows-Caſtle* 320, 321
*Baſtwick*. See *Pryn*,
*Bath*, Earl of 101
*Battle* of *Keinton* or *Edge-Hill* 118, of *Newbury* 154, of *Marſton-Moor* 166, of *Tipper-Moor* 172, of *Aberdeen* 174, of *Inverlochy* 197, of *Naſeby* 202, of *Aldern* 206, of *Alford* 209, of *Kilſyth* 218, of *Philiphaugh*, 224
*Bedford*, Duke of 65
*Bedford*, Earl of, gets the Command of the Fleet 109
*Bede*, Venerable 130
*Beecher*, Colonel 501
*Bell*, Mr. 408
*Bellarmin*, Cardinal 16
*Bellaſis*, Lord 234
*Berengarius* 130
*Berkeley*, Sir *John*, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 314, 315, 316, 318, 319, 320, 321, 325, 326, 327, 328, 330, 348, 349
*Berkeley*, Lord 312
*Berkeley*, *Henry* 325
*Berkſhire*, Earl of 101
*Bernard*, St. 499
*Beſhel*, Major 390
*Bicot*, Sir *Peter* 408
*Bilſon*, Biſhop, 256
*Biſhops* of *Scotland*, their Exception againſt the General Aſſembly of *Glaſgow* 31; are degraded by a Sentence 37; declared infamous, and excommunicated 38; two of them abjure Epiſcopacy 50
*Biſhops* of *England*, their Petition and Proteſtation to the King, and Houſe of Lords 89; accuſed of High-Treaſon, and committed to the *Tower* *ibid.*
*Blair*, *Robert* 229
*Blake*, Colonel 504
*Bochart*, *Samuel* 355
*Bois-Yon*, Sieur de, arrives in *Scotland*, and preſents a Letter from the *French* King to the Privy-Council 152
*Bolton*, Mr. 502, 503
*Boquhilly* ſlain at *Alford* 210
*Boſwell*, Sir *William* 135
*Boteler*, Sir *William* 165
*Boucher*, *George*, hang'd 125
*Bowen*, *Philip*, Captain 391
*Braburn*, *Theophilus*, a Miniſter, dedicates a ſcandalous Book to the King 63
*Brachet de la Milletiere*, *Theophilus* 355
*Bracton*, Lord Chief Juſtice 356


*Bradſhaw*,

# INDEX.


*Bradſhaw* Preſident of the High Court of Juſtice for the Trial of the King 478
*Bramſton*, Sir *John* 122
*Brechin*, Biſhop of 2, 22
*Bright*, Colonel 400
*Briſtol*, Earl of 61, 101, 117, 122
*Brockmans*, *William* 417
*Brooke*, Lord, ſhot in beſieging the Cathedral of *Lichfield* 142
*Broſs*, Chevalier de 46
*Brown*, *Samuel* 122, 131, 449
*Brown*, Sir *John* 227
*Brown*, Major-General 463
*Bruce*, Captain 224
*Bruerton*, Sir *William* 142
*Brutus Junius* 18
*Bucer* 12
*Buchannan* 18
*Buckingham*, Duke of, 95, 234, 360, 361, 362, 392, 393
*Bulkeley*, Mr. 446, 449
*Bullingbrook*, Earl of 131
*Burgrave*, Captain 414
*Burly*, Lord 57, 402
*Burly*, Captain, hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd 348
*Burton*, *Henry*. See *Pryn*.
*Butler*, Colonel 390
*Byron*, Lord 397

C

*CAIUS*, Emperor 517
*Callender*, Earl of 164, 167, 387, 388, 396, 397, 398, 399
*Calvin* 12, 22, 26, 35, 256, 344
*Cambridge*, Earl of. See Duke of *Hamilton*: Univerſity of, pillaged 128
*Campbel* of *Lawers*, ſlain at *Aldern* 207
*Campbel* 227
*Campion*, Sir *William* 427
*Canterbury*, Archbiſhop of 9
*Canutus* General of the *Danes*. See *Keith*.
*Canutus* King of *Denmark* 152
*Capel*, Lord 101, 103, 425, 432, 437, 466; his laſt Speech 503; his Character 504
*Capponi* a Florentine [297]
*Carew*, Sir *Alexander*, beheaded 180, 365
*Carmichael*, *James* 450
*Carmon*, Captain 436
*Carnarvon*, Earl of 101, 117, 140; ſlain at *Newbury* 154
*Carnegy*, Lord 220, 225, 450
*Carnwarth*, Earl of 243
*Carryl*, a Puritan Miniſter 254
*Carter*, *Matthew* 409, 416, 420, 422
*Caſſils*, Earl of 214, 217, 221, 388, 402
*Cavendiſh*, *Charles* 142
*Cedulph* King of *Northumberland* 381
*Celeſtine* III. Pope 3
*Celeſtinus* 211
*Chaloner*, Mr. hang'd before his own Houſe 134
*Chandos*, Lord 11
*Charles* V. Emperor 253
*Charles* VIII. King of *France* 413
*Charles* I. King, his Coronation in *Scotland* 2; calls a Parliament there 4; makes a general Revocation of whatever had been diſmember'd from the Crown 7; he eſtabliſhes a Court of High Commiſſion 9; gives the Biſhops the ſame Rank there, as they had in *England* ibid. orders the Biſhops of *Scotland* to compoſe a Liturgy after the Model of that of *England* ibid. ſupports the Liturgy in *Scotland*, and removes the Court of Seſſions from *Edinburgh*, firſt to *Linlithgow*, and then to *Dundee* 21; is diſpleaſed with, and condemns the Covenant 23; ſends Duke *Hamilton* his High Commiſſioner into *Scotland* 24; raiſes both Land and Sea Forces 45; orders his Army to rendezvous at *York* 58; ſummons the *Engliſh* Nobility and Gentry to meet him at *York* 60; receives a Petition from the Covenanters, and a Letter from a great many of the *Engliſh* Nobility *ibid.* opens the Parliament at *London* 62; his Letter to the General Aſſembly 75; goes to *Scotland* to hold a Parliament, and gets an Account of the *Iriſh* Rebellion 77; returns to *London* 83; gives a ſumptuous Entertainment to the chief Citizens of *London*, at *Hampton-Court* ibid. his Anſwer to the Petition of the Houſe of Commons, join'd to their Remonſtrance 84; he demands the five Members of the Houſe of Commons to be deliver'd up to him 86; he goes to the Houſe of Commons, and demands the five Members accuſed of High Treaſon *ibid.* his Speech from the Speaker's Chair *ibid.* his Anſwer

to the Petition of the City of *London* 88; his Declaration, confuting the Calumny of his having connived at the *Iriſh* Rebellion 91; goes to *Canterbury* 92; which Journey proves fatal to the Biſhop *ibid.* his Declaration, in Anſwer to that of the two Houſes 94; his Declaration from *Huntingdon* to the Parliament 97; he writes to the Parliament from *York*, telling them that he had a mind to go to *Ireland* in Perſon 98; his Meſſage to the two Houſes concerning *Hull* 99; he ſends a Letter to the Mayor of *Hull* ibid. his Anſwer to the Declaration and Votes of the two Houſes concerning *Hull* 100; he ſends for the Nobility and Gentry of the County of *York* 101; he levies ſome Troops for the Guard and Security of his Perſon *ibid.* he receives the Great Seal from Lord Keeper *Littleton* 103; the Subſtance of his Anſwer to the nineteen Propoſitions of the two Houſes 105, and 106; he writes to the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, forbidding them to lend Money to the Parliament 106; his Declaration to the Lords attending him at *York* 107; the Lords Promiſe thereupon *ibid.* his Letter to the two Houſes from *Beverly*, *ibid.* his Reaſons for undertaking the Siege of *Hull* 108; his Letter to the General Aſſembly met at St. *Andrew*'s 109; he declares the Earl of *Eſſex* Rebel 111; ſets up his Standard at *Nottingham* ibid. he ſends a Meſſage to the two Houſes 112; his Declaration diſavowing any Intention of raiſing War 113; his Meſſage to the two Houſes *ibid.* he grants Commiſſions to raiſe Troops 115; and cauſes his Orders to be read at the Head of his Army *ibid.* his Speech and Proteſtation there *ibid.* the Subſtance of his Speech to the Gentry and Free-holders of *Shropſhire* 116; he marches towards *London* 117; the Subſtance of his Declaration after the Battle of *Keinton* 118; he advances to *Colebrook* 119; he marches to *Brentford*, where he beats the Enemy 120; his Propoſitions to the two Houſes 124; the Subſtance of his Declaration, vindicating his Proceedings 125; he declares all Ordinances for Taxes, made by the Parliament, void 126; the Subſtance of his Declaration againſt the Reſolve of the two Houſes, for annulling all Commiſſions, *&c.* paſſed under the Great Seal ſince the 22d of *May* 1642, 131; he engages the Earl of *Eſſex* at *Newbury* 154; returns to *Oxford* ibid. Upon Advice from the Duke of *Hamilton*, that the *Scots* Covenanters had reſolved to ſend an Army into *England*, he adviſes with *Montroſe* 154; he calls a Parliament to meet at *Oxford* 156, and offers a Pardon to all ſuch Members as ſhould come thither from that at *Weſtminſter* ibid. his Speech to the Parliament at *Oxford* 157; his Meſſage to both Houſes at *Weſtminſter* 159; he marches to *Worceſter* 164, engages Sir *William Waller* at *Cropredy-Bridge*, and defeats him 165; he marches towards the Weſt, and follows the Earl of *Eſſex* into *Cornwal* 180; his Clemency to the Earl's Foot, after the Horſe had filed off through his Majeſty's Quarters *ibid.* he returns to *Oxford* 181; his Meſſage of Peace to the Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, the 4th of *July* 182; which they not anſwering, he renew'd it the 8th of *September* 183; he takes Time to give an Anſwer to their Propoſitions *ibid.* he names his Commiſſioners for a Treaty at *Uxbridge* ibid; he leaves *Oxford*, and marches Weſtward, while *Fairfax* ſate down before that City 202; he ſtorms and takes *Leiceſter*, but is defeated at *Naſeby* ibid. he hears that *Williams* Archbiſhop of *York* had revolted 234; loſes two Armies in leſs than a Fortnight 235; his Meſſage to the two Houſes at *Weſtminſter* for Peace *ibid.* he leaves *Oxford*, attended by two Gentlemen only 236; puts himſelf into the *Scots* Army before *Newark* ibid. he orders *Newark* to be ſurrender'd; whereupon the *Scots* Army marches northward with the King to *Newcaſtle* 246; he's left by the *Scots* in the Hands

# INDEX.


Hands of the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners 249; he's conducted to *Holmby* 254; deſires to be attended by his own Chaplains, but is refuſed *ibid.* his Diſcourſe with the Commiſſioners about the Obſervation of *Eaſter* 255; his Letter to the Parliament of *England*, and Commiſſioners of *Scotland*, in Anſwer to the Propoſitions of Peace 258; his Propoſitions to them 259; he's ſeiz'd at *Holmby* 278; he removes, according to the Marches of the Army 301, is allow'd his Chaplains, and to ſee his Children 302; diſtruſts the Army 304, is remov'd to *Woburn* 307; his Diſcourſe with Sir *John Berkely* about the Propoſitions of the Army *ibid.* he receives the ſaid Propoſitions with much Indifference, and ſpeaks to the Deputies of the Army with great Bitterneſs 308; he's remov'd to *Stoke* 309; writes a Letter of Civility to the Army, but too late *ibid.* is conducted to *Hampton-Court* 310, continues a Correſpondence with the Army 314; he perſiſts in refuſing to accept the Propoſitions of *Newcaſtle*, and chuſes rather to treat in Perſon upon thoſe of the Army 315; his Eſcape from *Hampton-Court* 317; he goes to *Tichfield*, and ſends *Berkeley* and *Aſhburnham* to Colonel *Hammond* in the Iſle of *Wight* 318; his Inſtructions to them *ibid.* is removed by Colonel *Hamond* to *Carisbrook-Caſtle* 321; his Letter from the Iſle of *Wight* to the two Houſes of Parliament 322; he gives his Anſwer to the Parliament's Commiſſioners, concerning the four Acts they deſired him to paſs 331; ſigns a Treaty with the *Scots* 344; delivers his Anſwer to the Parliament's Meſſage, ſealed 347; opens it, to pleaſe the Commiſſioners 348; contrives his Eſcape, but too late *ibid.* his Anſwer to the Parliament's Meſſage for a Treaty in the Iſle of *Wight* 446; his Prayer before the opening of the Treaty 450; he's taken from *Cariſbrook-Caſtle*, and carry'd to *Hurſt-Caſtle* 461; his Declaration before he left the Iſle of *Wight* ibid. 'tis concluded to have him publickly Try'd 469; the Sum of his Charge 471; ſent for from *Hurſt-Caſtle* by Colonel *Harriſon* 477; he dines at the Lord *Newburgh*'s, where there was an Intention of making his Eſcape *ibid.* attempts to make his Eſcape from *Windſor-Caſtle*, but in vain *ibid.* is brought to *St. James*'s 478; he's brought to *Weſtminſter-Hall* ibid. his Trial 478, to 492; his Reaſons againſt the Juriſdiction of the pretended High Court of Juſtice *ibid.* to 494; his Converſation with the Duke of *Glouceſter*, and Princeſs *Elizabeth*, the Day before he died *ibid.* his laſt Speech 495; his Death 498; his Funeral, and Character *ibid.*

*Charles* II. proclaimed in *Scotland* 507; ſends for *Montroſe* from the *Hague* 509, 518

*Charters* 220

*Cholmondeley*, Sir *Hugh* 140

*Clan-Ranald*, Captain of 179, 196

*Clark*, Sir *William* 165

*Clement* III. Pope 3

*Cleveland*, Earl of 165

*Clotworthy*, Sir *John* 269, 385, 465

*Cobbet*, Lieutenant-Colonel 461

*Cochran*, Colonel 155, 363

*Codurc*, *Philip* 355

*Coke*, Colonel 128, 328, 427

*Coke*, Sir *Edward* 356

*Colcheſter* beſieged 427; ſurrender'd 435

*Colepepper*, Sir *John* 112

*Commiſſioners* (See *Treaty*) of *Scotland* offer 2500 Men to the Parliament of *England* 90; their Anſwer to the King, upon oppoſing it *ibid.* Commiſſioners of *England* demand of the Parliament of *Scotland* that Captain *Wogan*, &c. with other Delinquents, be deliver'd up to them 381. See *Covenanters.*

*Commons* (Houſe of). See *Parliament* of *England.*

*Compton*, Sir *William* 201, 420, 421, 423, 425, 434

*Compton*, Sir *Charles* 201

*Con*, the Pope's Nuntio 54

*Conſtantine*, Emperor 403

*Conſtantius*, Emperor 156

*Convention* of Eſtates. See *Parliament.*

*Convocation* meets in St. *Paul*'s Church 54, makes Canons, and draws up an

an Oath to be taken by all Eccleſiaſticks *ibid.*
*Conway*, Lord. See *Strafford.*
*Cook, John* 479
*Copley*, Colonel 383; Commiſſary-General 465
*Cotton*, Sir *Thomas* 501
*Covenant*, firſt contrived by the Puritans in *Scotland* 22; the three Heads thereof *ibid.* order'd to be ſign'd by all the Subjects of *Scotland* 50; a Vow and Covenant agreed to be taken by the Members of both Houſes, upon the Diſcovery of a Deſign carry'd on by Mr. *Waller*, Mr. *Tomkins*, &c. 134; the Solemn League and Covenant between the two Kingdoms 145; the Articles thereof confirm'd by the Parliament and General Aſſembly of *Scotland* 147, and by the Aſſembly of Divines and Parliament of *England* ibid. Reaſons for juſtifying it *ibid.*
*Covenanters* and *Anti-covenanters* compared to the *Guelfs* and *Ghibellins* 23; the *Covenanters* anſwer the eleven Articles preſented by Duke *Hamilton* from the King 25; their Anſwer to an Act of Parliament made in 1606, about the King's Power of calling General Aſſemblies 27; they proteſt againſt the King's Proclamation 28; prepare for a vigourous Defence againſt the King's Army 46; raiſe Forces, beſiege the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, &c. 55, and 56; determine to march their Army into *England* 58; defeat the King's Forcs at *Newburn*, paſs the *Tine*, and make themſelves Maſters of *Newcaſtle* 59; they ſend a Petition to the King at *York* 60; their Demands at the Treaty of *London* 67; their Declaration concerning the Independency of *Scotland* ibid. they endeavour to engage *Montroſe* in their Intereſt, and offer to make him Lieutenant-General of their Army 143; take Poſſeſſion of *Berwick* 155; their Army defeated at *Tipper-Moor* 171; they refuſe to fight *Montroſe* in a pitch'd Battle 199; their Army defeated at *Kilſyth* 218; their Declaration againſt delivering up the King's Perſon to the Parliament of *England* 237; their Army marches out of *England* 239; Articles offer'd by them to *Montroſe* 242; their Commiſſioners at *Newcaſtle* diſagree with thoſe of the Parliament of *England* about the Command of the Militia 246, and complain of the Alteration made in the Propoſitions given in at the Treaty of *Uxbridge* 247; their additional Propoſitions *ibid.* their Army returns to *Scotland* 251; their Commiſſioners oblige the Parliament of *England* jointly with themſelves to ſend once more the Propoſitions of *Newcaſtle* to the King 314; their Commiſſioners proteſt againſt the Propoſitions offer'd to the King in the Iſle of *Wight*, and againſt the four Acts the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners deſired him to paſs 332; a Letter from their Commiſſioners to the Parliament of *England* ibid. their Complaints to the two Houſes 333; their Reaſons for a perſonal Treaty 335
*Coventry*, Lord 101, 103
*Cranmer*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, invites *Bucer* to come into *England* 12
*Crawford*, Earl of 22, 163, 167, 220, 224, 226
*Creſſy*, Sieur de 152
*Creſwell*, Mr. Serjeant 122
*Crew*, Mr. 449
*Criſp*, Mr. 411
*Cromwell* 129, 154, 156, 165, 201, 202, 271, 272, 274, 276, 279, 284, 290, [297], [299], 303, 304, 306, 308, 309, 314, 315, 316, 322, 325, 326, 327, 328, 342; his Speech in the Houſe of Commons, upon the King's refuſing to paſs the four Acts 352, 253, 368, 384, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 394, 396, 397, 399; his Letter to *Lewis Leſly* Governor of *Berwick* 400, 401; his Anſwer to the Chancellor of *Scotland*'s Letter *ibid.* *Berwick* and *Carliſle* ſurrender to him 402, 403, 423, 424, 445, 455, 467, 468, 500, 501, 504, 505, 506, 507, 510
*Crowther*, Vice-Admiral 368
*Culdei* Monks 3
*Cumberland*, Earl of 101, 115, 117
*Cuts*, Lady 279

# INDEX.


D

*DACRES, Edward*, hang'd 125
*Dacres*, Lord 269
*Dalbeer*, Colonel 393
*Dalzel*, Sir *John* 220, 224, 225, 227
*Davidſon, William*, Doctor of Phyſick 508
*Declaration*. See *Charles* I. See *Parliament*. See the City of *London*. See *Aſſembly*.
*Dean*, Colonel 504
*Denbigh*, Earl of 132, 142, 347, 501
*Denham*, Mr. 302, 303
*Derby*, Earl of 143, 452
*Devonſhire*, Earl of 101, 103
*Dice*, Lieutenant-Colonel 218
*Dick, David*, Moderator of the General-Aſſembly 50
*Digby*, Sir *John* 59, 202
*Digby*, Lord 74, 93, 94, 123, 227, 452
*Digby*, Sir *Kenelm* 393
*Diggs*, Sir *Dudley* 361
*Diſhington*, Sir *Thomas* 411
*Dives*, Sir *Lewis* 201
*Doctor Subtilis* 59
*Doddington*, Sir *Francis* 164, 452
*Donald* I. King of *Scotland*, 3
*Dorſet*, Earl of 101, 112
*Dover*, Earl of 101
*Dowglas*, Sheriff of *Teviotdale* 52
*Dowglas*, Marquis of 219, 220, 221, 222, 224, 225
*Dowglas, Robert* 239
*Drummond*, Sir *John* 171
*Drummond*, Lord 173, 220
*Drummond* of *Balloch* 209, 227
*Dumfermling*, Earl of 48, 52
*Dunſmore*, Lord 101
*Dyer*, a Lawyer 356

E

*EDGAR*, the firſt King of *Scotland* that was crown'd 3
*Edinburgh* erected into a Biſhoprick 9; the Subſtance of the Speech of the Delegates thereof to *Montroſe* 220
*Edmond*, St. 275
*Edward* I. King 3, 128, 132, [298], 500
*Edward* III. King 96, 133, 358
*Edward* IV. King 412
*Edward* V. King *ibid.*
*Edward* VI. King 12, 13, 66, 470
*Egerton*, Chancellor of *England* 356
*Egilſham, George* 360, 361
*Eglington*, Earl of 8, 214, 217, 221, 388
*Elcho*, Lord 172, 402
*Eleanore*, Wife of *Edward* I. 128, [298]
*Elizabeth*, Queen of *England* 13, 46, 64, 65, 66, 81, 129, 142, 294, 356, 501
*Ellies*, Colonel 164
*Elliot*, Mr. 103 *Elliot, John* 361
*Eraſtus* and *Eraſtians* 371
*Erection*, Lords of 5
*Errington* 250
*Errol*, Earl of, herditary Conſtable of *Scotland* 2
*Eſſe*, Monſieur de 116
*Eſſex*, Earl of 48, 85, 109; declared Rebel by the King 111, 113, 117, 118, 119, 125, 127, 132, beſieges and takes *Reading* 143, marches from *London* to relieve *Glouceſter* 153, 154; his Anſwer to the Letter of the Parliament at *Oxford*, with which he ſent a Copy of the Covenant betwixt the two Kingdoms 158, 159, 160, 164; he's forced to make his Eſcape out of *Cornwal* 180; reſigns his Commiſſion of General 181; his Death 246, 363
*Ethelwolph*, King of *England* 393
*Everard, John*, his Depoſition before the Common-Council of *London* 382, 384
*Ewre*, Colonel 167, 390, 391, 437, 461
*Eyre*, Colonel 325
*Eythen*, Lord 243

F

*FAIRFAX*, Lord, and Sir *Thomas Fairfax* his Son, command the Parliament's Army 140; they fly to *Hull*, where they are beſieged *ibid.* 154, 156, 165, 166, 201, 378: Sir *Thomas* ſucceeds *Eſſex* as General of the Parliament's Army 181; beſieges *Oxford* 202, draws off from thence, and defeats the King at *Naſeby* ibid. beſieges and takes *Briſtol* 203, takes *Dartmouth* 234, inveſts and takes *Oxford* 235, 270, 272, 275, 279, 280, 282, [297], [298], 304, 322, 344, 376, 388, 389, 391, 403, 416, 417, 418, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 437, 439, 440, 455, 471, 504, 506, 507
*Falconbridge*, Lord 101

# INDEX.


*Falkland*, Viſcount of 91, 117; ſlain in the Battle of *Newbury* 154
*Fanſhaw*, *Richard* 159
*Farquharſon*, the Clan 211
*Ferdinand* III. King of *Caſtile* 128, [298]
*Fiennes*, *Nathaniel* 125, 127
*Fiennes*, Colonel *John* 180
*Finch*, Sir *John*, Lord-Keeper, withdraws beyond Sea 62, 103
*Fiſher*, Cardinal 417
*Fleetwood* 271, 274
*Fleming*, Sir *William* 169, 330, 381, 388, 389, 390
*Fleming*, Lord 220
*Fogg*, Captain 414
*Forbes*, Dr. *William*, firſt Biſhop of *Edinburgh* 9
*Forbes*, Sir *William* 175, 178
*Forbes* of *Boyndly* 175
*Ford*, Sir *Edward* 302, 303
*Forſtal*, Captain 410
*Forſter*, Mr. Juſtice 122
*Forth*, Earl of 125, 153, 158, 159, 160, 243
*Forth*, River of, deſcribed 115
*Francis* I. King of *France* 253
*Frendraught*, Lord 511

G

*GAGE*, Sir *Henry* 180; ſlain at *Culham-Bridge* 201; his Character *ibid.*
*Galloway*, Biſhop of 22
*Galloway*, Sir *James*, Maſter of Requeſts 78
*Garden*, *James* 246
*Gell*, Sir *John* 142
*Gerrard*, Sir *Gilbert* 153, 164
*Gibbons*, Major 393
*Gibbs*, Alderman 445
*Gibſon*, Sir *Alexander*, made Lord-Regiſter of *Scotland* 78, 450
*Glencarn*, Earl of 217, 402
*Glenham*, Sir *Thomas* 381
*Glin*, Mr. 89, 449
*Glouceſter* beſieged 145; the Siege raiſed 153
*Godeau*, Meſſire *Anthony* 355
*Goderick*, Biſhop of *St. Andrew's* 3
*Goffe*, Dr. 330
*Golfridus*, Abbot 130
*Goodman*, *Godfrey*, Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, ſuſpended, and impriſoned 55
*Goodwin John*, 468
*Gordon*, Lord 177; joins *Montroſe* 198; 204, 205; his Men deſert *Montroſe* 208, 209; ſlain at *Alford* 210
*Gordon*, Colonel *Nathaniel* 174, 208, 209, 210, 213, 214, 220
*Gordon*, Sir *Lewis* 175, leaves *Montroſe* 199, 225, 226, 227
*Gordon*, Lieutenant *John* 199
*Goring*, Col. 141, 166, 180, 201, 202
*Graham*, *Patrick*, firſt Archbiſhop of *St. Andrew's*, and Primate of *Scotland* 3
*Graham*, Sir *Richard* 169
*Graham*, *Patrick* of *Inchbraky* ibid. 171, 211, 213, 227, 228
*Graham*, Major *George* 209
*Graham* of *Gorthy* 213, 242
*Grange*, Laird of 147
*Graves*, Colonel 279
*Gray*, Lord 508
*Greenvil*, Sir *Bevil*, ſlain 141
*Greenvil*, Sir *Richard* 180, 452
*Grey*, Lord 101, 103, 128, 132, 183, 260, 298, 399
*Griegſon*, Major 390
*Grievances* of the Gentlemen and Freeholders of the County of *Eſſex* 423
*Grimſton*, Sir *Harbottle* 449
*Grotius* 355
*Gun*, Colonel 48
*Guthry*, *Andrew* 228
*Guthry*, Major 511

H

*HADDINGTON*, Earl of 60
*Hales*, a *Franciſcan* Friar 130
*Hales*, Mr. 408, 415, 419
*Hambden*, Mr. 86, 88, 127, 365
*Hamilton*, Duke of 10; ſent High-Commiſſioner into *Scotland* 23; publiſhes a Royal Proclamation 24; preſents eleven Articles to the Covenanters from the King 25; is ſent Commiſſioner to the General Aſſembly at *Glaſgow* 30; diſſolves it 36; order'd to ſail for *Scotland* with a Squadron of Men of War 46; arrives in the Road of *Leith* 48; delivers the Great-Seal to the Earl of *Lowdun*, 78, 115, 138; goes from *Scotland* to *Oxford*, where he's arreſted by the King's Order 155; ſent to the Caſtle of *Pendennis* ibid. recovers his Liberty 234, 347, 360, 372; made General of the *Scots* Army 387, 388; marches with his

his Army into *England* 395; marches againſt *Lambert* 396; is defeated near *Preſton* 397, 398; made Priſoner 399, 400, 430, 463, 466; condemned to die 500, 501; his laſt Speech 502; beheaded *ibid.* his Character *ibid.*
*Hamilton*, Duke of 509, 510
*Hamilton*, *Robert* 10
*Hamilton*, Colonel *Alexander* 56
*Hamilton* of *Orbiſton* 220
*Hammond*, Colonel, Governor of *Carisbrook-Caſtle* [297], 317, 319, 320, 321, 326, 341, 342, 347, 449, 460, 461, 476
*Hammond*, Doctor 330
*Hammond*, Colonel 409, 413, 414, 418
*Hardreſs*, Sir *Richard* 409, 418
*Hariot*'s Hoſpital 56
*Harley* 269
*Harold*, the laſt King of the *Saxons* 303
*Harris*, Colonel 390
*Harriſon*, Colonel 396, 477
*Harvey*, a *Dominican* Friar 130
*Haſſel*, Mr. 133
*Haſtings*, Sir *Walter* 201
*Hatton*, Colonel 409, 413, 418, 419
*Hauthain*, Admiral 362
*Hay*: See *Errol*. *Hay*, Sir *John* 79, 224. *Hay*, *William* ibid. *Hay*, Colonel 174. *Hay*, Sir *William* 517
*Hazlerig*, Sir *Arthur* 86, 127, 353
*Henderſon*, *Alexander* 20, choſen Moderator of the General Aſſembly of *Glaſgow* 30, 143, 144
*Henderſon*, *Patrick* 21
*Henderſon* Colonel *John* 56
*Henrietta*, Princeſs, born at *Exeter* 180; is carried into *France* 253
*Henry* I. King 256
*Henry* III. King 356
*Henry* V. King 65, 356
*Henry* VI. King 141, 356, 357
*Henry* VII. King 311, 411, 424
*Henry* VIII. King 12, 132, 142, 216, 253, 275, 310, 417, 517
*Hepburn*, Sir *Adam* 166
*Herbert*, Sir *Edward*, Attorn. Gen. 85
*Herbert*, Lord 122
*Herbert* of *Ragland* 180
*Hertfield*, Earl of 220, 221
*Hertford*, Marquis of, 101, 115; defeats *Waller* 141, 449
*Hewſon*, Colonel 404, 464
*Heylin*, Doctor 16
*Heyman*, Sir *Henry* 406
*Hippeſley*, Sir *John* 119, 446
*Hodges*, Sir *William* 450
*Holburn*, Major-General 402
*Holcot*, a *Dominican* Friar 130
*Holland*, Earl of 48, 93, 128, 246, 392, 393, 466; condemned to die 500; his laſt Speech 502; beheaded 503
*Hollis*, Mr. *Denzil* 86, 103, 383, 449, 456
*Honywood*, Sir *Thomas* 425, 426
*Hope*, Sir *Thomas* 20
*Hopton*, Sir *Ralph* 121
*Hopton*, Lord, defeats the Parliament's Army 140; he's forced to diſband his Army 235
*Horſmander*, Captain 430
*Horton*, Colonel 389, 390, 391
*Hotham*, Sir *John*, made Governor of *Hull* by the Parliament 98; refuſes to let his Majeſty come into *Hull*, and is thereupon proclaimed a Traitor 99, 100, 105, 108, 127; he and his Son being ſuſpected by the Parliament, were ſent Priſoners to the *Tower*, and at laſt condemned and executed as Traitors 142, 358, 365
*Howard* of *Charlton*, Lord 101, 103
*Howard* of *Eſcrick*, Lord 298
*Hudſon*, a Clergy-man 236, 238
*Hudſon*, Lord 312
*Hull*, the Siege of 108; the Siege raiſed *ibid.*
*Hume*, Earl of 22, 221, 222
*Hungerford*, Sir *Edward* 127
*Huntingdon*, Earl of 101
*Huntingdon*, Major 279, 304
*Huntley*, Marquis of 46, is the firſt that takes up Arms for the King in *Scotland* 47, 169, 176, 177, 225, 226, 227, 233; takes the City of *Aberdeen* 234; is invited by *Montroſe* to be preſent at a Conſultation about the King's Orders for Disbanding 239; his Anſwer thereto 242; takes up Arms again 251, 253; is betrayed, and taken in one of his own Houſes 315; try'd, and condemn'd to be beheaded 507; his laſt Speech *ibid.* his Character 508
*Hurry*, Sir *John*, broke by Prince *Rupert*, which made him go over to the Covenanters 166; marches to attack *Montroſe*, but is obliged to make

make his Retreat 198; endeavours to ſurprize *Montroſe*, but is obliged to fly to *Inverneſs* 205; is defeated at *Aldern* 206; retreats 207; marches into the Shire of *Aberdeen* 208; joins *Montroſe* 239; is included in the Articles publiſh'd by *Middleton* at *Dundee* 242; is ſent by *Montroſe* to *Roſs* of *Balnagown*, who made him Priſoner 511; beheaded 517
*Hyde, Edward* 117

J

*JAMES* I. King of *Scotland* 219
*James* IV. King 413
*James* V. King 4, 253
*James* VI. King 5, 6, 7, 9; gets a Synod to be held at *Perth* for eſtabliſhing the five Articles, commonly call'd, of *Perth* 10; is importuned by the Puritans to aboliſh the Liturgy 13; cauſes ſome Expreſſions in the Liturgy to be ſoften'd *ibid.* orders a new Verſion of the Bible 14, 18, 29, 35, 52, 57, 63, 66, 116, 234, 294, 356, 360, 361, 501
*Jenkins*, Judge 252, 276, 277
*Jermy*, Major 439
*Jermyn*, Mr. 93, 94
*Jermyn*, Lord 142
*Ina*, King of the *Weſt-Saxons* 404
*Inchiquin*, Lord 367, 368, 369
*Innes*, Sir *John* 169, 239
*Joan*, Wife of King *James* I. of *Scotland* 219
*John*, King of *England* 164
*Johnſton*, Sir *Archibald* 34, 402
*Johnſton*, Colonel 48
*Johnſton*, Lord 220
*Jonſton*, Captain 438
*Jones*, Colonel 453
*Joſeph* of *Arimathea* 404
*Joyce*, Cornet, ſeizes upon the King at *Holmby* 278, 279, 325
*Ireton*, Commiſſary-General 271, 275, 276, 284, 303, 304, 305, 306, 308, 309, 314, 315, 316, 325, 326, 327, 328, 342; his Speech in the Houſe of Commons, upon the King's refuſing to paſs the four Acts 351, 384, 423, 424, 436, 437, 455, 468
*Ironſide, Edmund*, King of *England* 152
*Irwin, Alexander*, of *Drum* 226
*Juxton*, Biſhop of *London* 78

K

*KATHERINE*, Wife of King *Henry* VIII. 13
*Keith*, Hereditary Earl-Marſhal of *Scotland* 2, 222. *Keith*, Colonel 399
*Keme*, Major 410, 413, 414
*Kemeys*, Sir *Nicholas* 389, 391
*Kemys*, Sir *Charles* 392
*Kennedy*, Mr. 258
*Kenneth* III. King of *Scotland* 2
*Kent*, Earl of 298, 353
*Ker*, Sir *Andrew*, 400, 402
*Kerle* 180
*Kerry*, Lord, ſlain 167
*Kildare*, Earl of 412
*Killigrew*, Sir *Peter* 119, 449
*Kilpont*, Lord, joins *Montroſe* 389, 391
*Kimbolton*, Lord 94
*King*, Lieut. General, ſent to oppoſe the Covenanters Army 156, 165, 166
*Kinowl*, Earl of 80, 163, 173
*Kirkudbright*, Lord 402
*Knox, John* 4

L

*LAGHLIN*, Colonel, hang'd 226
*Lambert*, Colonel 269; Major-General 381, 394, 396, 403, 501
*Langdale*, Sir *Marmaduke* 201, 381, 396, 397, 398, 399, 430, 432, 452
*Lanfrancus* 130, 156
*Langhorn*, Colonel 389, 390, 391, 394, 440, 504
*Lanrick*, Earl of 60; arreſted at *Oxford*, and makes his Eſcape 155, 214, 217, 328, 329, 347, 399, 401, 402
*Latimer*, Biſhop 66
*Laud*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* 17, 20; his Palace at *Lambeth* threaten'd to be burnt by the Mob 54; ſent Priſoner to the *Tower* 62; his Temporalities ſeized 128; condemned by an Ordinance 188; his laſt Speech 189; beheaded 193
*Lauderdale*, Earl of (the Father) 30; choſen Preſident of the Convention of Eſtates 167; dies 194
*Lauderdale*, Earl of (the Son) 258, 280, 306, 328, 329, 347, 377

*Laurence*,

# INDEX.


*Laurence*, Doctor 16
*Layton*, Sir *William* 427
*League*. See *Covenant*.
*Lee*, Captain 408
*Leg*, Colonel 202, 316, 317, 330
*Leiceſter*, Earl of, Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland* 81, 82
*Leith* of *Hart-hill*, executed 315
*Lenox*, Duke of, leaves the Parliament, and goes to the King at *York* 101; is allow'd to attend the King as Lord of the Bed-chamber 449; aſſiſts at the King's Funeral 498
*Lenthall*, *William*, Speaker of the Houſe of Commons 86, 122, 298, [298]
*Leſly*, Sir *Alexander*, made General of the *Covenanters* Army 47; orders the Army to rendezvous at *Dunce* 58; interrogates *Montroſe* with great Haughtineſs 61; is created Earl of *Leven* 80; ſolemnly proteſts upon his Knees never to draw his Sword againſt the King's Service *ibid.* enters *England* with his Army 155; marches on to beſiege *York* 156; joins the Parliament of *England*'s Troops 156, 164, 166, 167; repaſſes the *Tweed* 222; reviews his Army upon *Glads-moor*, and, after having held a Council of War, marches in Purſuit of *Montroſe* 223; defeats him at *Philiphaugh* 224; receives the King in his Army before *Newark* 236; receives a Preſent from the Houſe of Commons 250; his Speech thereupon *ibid.* 253, 254, 399, 402
*Leſly*, *David*, Major-General 166, 203, 251, 511
*Leſly*, *Lewis* 400
*Letter* (See *Charles* I. See *Covenanters*) from ſome *Engliſh* Divines to the General Aſſembly 76; from the King of *France* to the Privy-Council of *Scotland* 152; from *Fairfax*, *Cromwell*, &c. to the Mayor of *London* 283; from the Chancellor of *Scotland* to *Cromwell* 400; from the *Kentiſh* Petitioners to the Committee of the two Houſes of Parliament 415; from the King of *France* to the Parliament of *Scotland*, in Favour of *Montroſe* 517
*Levellers* grow up in the Army 314; take the Field, and publiſh a Declaration 506; ſeven hundred of them killed by *Fairfax* ibid. routed by *Cromwell* 507
*Leven*, Earl of. See Sir *Alexander Leſly*.
*Leveſey*, Sir *Michael* 393
*Lichfield*, Earl of, ſlain 203
*Lilburn*, 268, 293; Head of the *Levellers* 325
*Lille*, Major 511
*Lincoln*, Earl of 312, 439
*Lindſey*, the *Engliſh* Earl of (the Father) 101; General of the King's Army, ſlain at *Edge-hill* 118. *Lindſey*, Earl of (the Son) 449
*Lindſey*, the *Scots* Earl of 168; choſen Preſident of the Convention of Eſtates 194; commands the *Covenanters* Army 207, 208, 399, 402
*Lindſey*, *Lewis* 242
*Linlithgow*, Earl of 220
*Linton*, Lord 222, 223
*Liſle*, Lord 367, 368
*Liſle*, Sir *George*, 428, 429, 435, 436; ſhot to Death 437
*Littleton*, made Lord-Keeper of the Great-Seal 103; ſends the Great Seal to the King at *York* ibid. and goes thither himſelf *ibid.* 130, 452
*Liturgy* authorized and read at *Edinburgh* 19; which occaſions a Tumult there *ibid.*
*Livingſton*, Lord 399
*Lockhart*, Colonel 398
*London* City makes an Apology to the Parliament 84; petitions the King 87; deputes ſome Aldermen with a Petition to the Parliament 262; publiſhes a Declaration 298; complains of Major-General *Skippon* to the Houſe of Commons 445
*Long*, Col. 201, 383 *Long*, Mr. 465
*Lothian*, Earl of 176, 177, 178, 258, 388
*Lovelace*, Lord 101. *Lovelace*, Mr. 404
*Loughborough*, Lord 142, 425, 437, 466, 500
*Lowdon*, Earl of 8, 52; accuſed of having written a Letter to the King of *France* 52; his Anſwer thereto *ibid.* 61; made Chancellor of *Scotland* 78, 183, 347 388
*Lucas*, Sir *Charles* 167, 425, 426, 428, 429, 432, 434, 435; ſhot to Death 436
*Lucy*, Sir *Michael* 406
*Ludlow*, Sir *Henry* 127
*Lumſdale* 236
*Luther* 12, 344

# INDEX.


M

*MACDONALD*, Sir *Alexander* 170, 172, 176, 179, 206, 207, 208, 209, 211, 213, 221, 225, 227, 242, 251, 253, 254
*Macdonald* of *Glengary* 209, 211
*Macdougal* of *Garthland* 258
*Macgregor*, the Clan of 211
*Macguire*, Lord 81
*Maclean*, Chief of his Clan 211
*Macmahone* 81
*Macnab*, the Clan of 211
*Maderty*, Lord, his Meſſage from *Montroſe* to the *Covenanters* 171; made Priſoner by them 172, 220
*Malcolm* II. King of *Scotland* 2, 396
*Malta*, Commanderies of 5
*Man*, Sir *William* 404
*Manchester*, Earl of 122, 127, 128, 129, 156, 165, 180, 181, 260, 298, [298], 253, 469
*Mar*, Earl of, Hereditary Conſtable of *Stirling-Caſtle* 58, 220
*March*, Earl of 141
*Mardulph*, a *Scots* Hermit *ibid.*
*Margaret*, Queen of *England* *ibid.*
*Margaret*, Dutcheſs of *Burgundy* 412
*Marolles*, Monſieur de 355
*Marſhal*, a Miniſter 254
*Marſhal*, Lieutenant-Colonel 386
*Martin*, *Henry* 127, 132, 136, 460, 473
*Martyr*, *Peter*, comes into *England* 12
*Mary*, Queen of *England* 13, 66, 133, 141
*Mary*, Queen of *Scotland* 46
*Mary* of *Lorrain*, Queen of *Scotland* 4
*Mary*, Princeſs, marry'd to the Prince of *Orange* 92
*Maſham*, Sir *William* 431
*Maſſy*, Colonel 153; Major-General 269, 298, 383, 465
*Matthews*, *Humphry*, Colonel 391
*Matravers*, Lord 101
*Maurice*, Prince 115; takes the City of *Exeter* 141; made General of the Royal Army in *Scotland* 155, 164
*Maurice*, St. 519
*Maxwel*, Gentleman-Uſher of the Black Rod 89
*Maynard*, Lord 312
*Mayronis*, Dr. *Francis* 48
*Meldrum*, Sir *John* 108, 202
*Melgum*, Viſcount of 509
*Mennes*, Sir *John* 414, 417
*Menzies* of *Pitfoddel's* 511
*Metham*, Sir *Thomas*, ſlain 167
*Middleſex*, Earl of 312, 446, 449
*Middleton*, Major-General, marches into the *North* 233, and obliges *Montroſe* to raiſe the Siege of *Inverneſs* ibid. publiſhes Articles at *Dundee* 242, 244, 253, 254, 388, 397; made Priſoner 398
*Mildmay* 342
*Milton*, ſlain at *Alford* 210
*Minnes*, Colonel 164
*Mohun*, Lord 101
*Molyneux*, Lord 393
*Molyneux*, Colonel *Roger* 201
*Monmouth*, Earl of 101, 103
*Monroe*, Col. 46; Major-General 387 396, 397, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403
*Montague*, Biſhop of *Chicheſter* 16, 17
*Montague*, Lord 298
*Montgomery*, Earl of 119
*Montroſe*, Marquis of, gets the Inſpection of the North of *Scotland* 46; marches againſt *Huntly*, with whom he had an Interview at *Invernry* 47; marches againſt the Earl of *Aboyn* 48; defeats him at the Bridge of *Dee* ibid. proclaims the Peace in his Army 49; is diſpleaſed with the invading of *England* 58, but ſeemingly approves of it 59; writes to the King 61, and boldly owns his doing of it *ibid.* he goes from the Army to *Edinburgh*, and is ſent Priſoner to the Caſtle 75; he's ſummoned to appear before the Parliament 79; is ſet at Liberty 80, 138, 139; is invited by the Covenanters to be their Lieutenant-General 143; his Conference with Sir *James Rallock*, and *Alexander Henderſon* 144; he ſets out for *England*, to acquaint the King with the Covenanters Deſign 145; his Advice to the King, upon the Covenanter's reſolving to ſend an Army into *England* 154; his Expedition into *Scotland* 155; he orders a Declaration to be drawn up and ſigned by the *Scots* Nobility and Gentry then at *Oxford* 162, 163, 164, 165, 166; he travels from *Carliſle* in the Diſguiſe of a Groom to *Graham* of *Inchbraky*'s Houſe 169, where he receives Letters acquainting him with the landing of 1200 *Iriſh*

# INDEX.

*Iriſh* in the *Highlands* 170, whom he quickly joins *ibid.* he marches through *Strathern*, where he is joined by 500 Men commanded by the Lord *Kilpont* and Sir *John Drummond* 171; he fights, and defeats the Covenanters at *Tipper-Moor* 172; his Speech to his Troops before the Battle *ibid.* enters the Town of *Perth*, and ſaves it from being plunder'd 173; he marches to *Dundee*, and ſummons it to ſurrender 174; he marches through the Shires of *Angus* and *Merus* ibid. from thence to *Aberdeen*, where he fights and defeats the Covenanters 174, 175; enters the Town to refreſh his Men, and then marches to *Kimbore*, and from thence through *Badenoch* into *Athol* 176; he returns into the North, takes the Caſtle of *Faivy*, and defeats the Covenanters 177; he marches to *Balveny* 178, from thence through *Strathſpey* and *Badenoch* into *Argyleſhire*, where he lays waſte *Argyle*'s Lands 179; he marches to the Head of *Lough-neſs* 196, fights the Battle of *Inverlochy* 197; marches into *Strathſpey*, and from thence to *Elgin* 198; he marches Southward, and offers the Covenanters a pitch'd Battle *ibid.* which they refuſed 199; he marches back, and ſummons the Town of *Dundee* to ſurrender *ibid.* forces his Way into it, and ſets it on fire *ibid.* is ſurprized by the Covenanters Army; but makes a gallant Retreat, and gets into the Mountains 200; he marches into *Perthſhire* 205, where finding *Hurry* much ſuperior in Number, he makes a noble Retreat, marches Northward, and is join'd by *Aboyn* and the Lord *Gordon* ibid. fights and defeats *Hurry* at *Aldern* 206; marches into *Badenoch* 207; is deſerted by the Lord *Gordon*'s Men 208; fights and defeats the Covenanters at *Alford* 209; he incamps at *Craigſton* 210; marches to *Fordon*, thence into the Shire of *Angus* 211; he marches towards *Perth*, where he puts the Parliament into a terrible Fright 212; beats up the Enemy's Quarters *ibid.* he's excepted out of the Pardon offer'd by the Parliament 213; he paſſes the River of *Forth*, and marches to *Kilſyth* 217, where he engages and defeats the Covenanters 218; he marches to *Glaſgow*, and from thence to *Bothwell* 219, where he receives the King's Commiſſion to be *Generaliſſimo* of the King's Forces in *Scotland*, and to make Knights, *&c.* 220; gives Audience to the Delegates of the City of *Edinburgh*, and what he required of them *ibid.* ſends a Detachment to reduce the Weſtern Shires 221; receives the King's Orders to march towards the *Tweed* ibid. three thouſand *Highlanders*, one hundred and twenty of the beſt *Iriſh*, and all the North Country Troops leave him 222; he marches to *Calder*, from thence to *Galaſheels* and *Kelſo*, where he gets an Account that *Leſly* had paſſed the *Tweed* ibid. from *Kelſo* he marches to *Jedburgh*, and from thence to *Selkirk* 223, where he is ſurpriz'd by *Leſly* ibid. is defeated at *Philiphaugh* 224; he marches to *Peebles* ibid. from thence having paſſed the *Forth*, he marches into the Shire of *Athol*, and from thence into *Mar* 225; he marches back into the Dutchy of *Lenox* 226, from thence through *Athol* into *Strathbogy* 227, and has a Conference with *Huntly*, wherein they agreed to beſiege *Inverneſs* ibid. his Speech to thoſe who adviſed him to revenge the Death of Sir *Robert Spotſwood*, &c. upon his Priſoners 232; he beſieges *Inverneſs* without *Huntly* 233; is forced to raiſe the Siege, and retire to the Banks of the *Spey* ibid. he receives Orders from the King to lay down Arms 234; Articles offered to him, and ſome of his Friends *ibid.* his Reflections upon the ſaid Articles 243; the additional Articles he ſent to the King *ibid.* his Speech to his Soldiers at Diſbanding 244; he prepares to leave the Kingdom, and, after undergoing many Difficulties, imbarks 245; he landed in *Norway*, and from thence through *Denmark* he got ſafe to *Paris* 509; his Speech to the Cardinal *de Rets* ibid. he went into *Germany*,

*Germany*, and was made Velt-Marſhal of the Empire *ibid.* being ſent for by King *Charles* II. he takes Leave of the Emperor, and goes to wait upon the King at the *Hague* 510; and having had Orders from his Majeſty to throw himſelf into *Scotland*, he poſts through *Germany*, *Sweden*, and *Denmark*, where having engaged a great Number of Officers and old Soldiers to follow his Fortune, he takes Shipping, lands with them in the Iſlands of *Orkney*, and from thence on the Continent *ibid.* is defeated, and baſely deliver'd up to *David Leſly* 511; his Sentence of Death paſſed before he came to *Edinburgh* 512; he's brought thither *ibid.* and carry'd before the Parliament 513; his Speech there *ibid.* hears his Sentence read to him 514; his Speech thereupon *ibid.* his laſt Speech, and Death 515
*Mordington*, Lord 402
*Morgan*, Col. ſlain at *Newbury* 154
*Morley*, Dr. 353
*Morton*, Counteſs of, conveys Princeſs *Henrietta* privately from *Oatlands*, and carries her into *France* 235
*Mucknel*, Captain, takes a rich *Eaſt-India* Ship, and carries her into *Briſtol* 201; knighted by the Prince of *Wales* *ibid.*
*Murray*, Biſhop of 2. *Murray*, *William* 163, condemn'd to die 228; his laſt Speech, and Death, *ibid.* *Murrays*, Sir *John*, and Sir *Gideon*, ſlain at *Aldern* 207. *Murray*, Sir *William* 218
*Muſgrave*, Sir *Philip* 381

N

*NAPIER*, Lord, ſent Priſoner to *Edinburgh* 75, 144
*Napier*, Mr. 207, 209, 220; releaſes Lord *Napier* his Father, with his Mother, out of Priſon *ibid.*
*Nedham*, Colonel 427
*Neots*, Saint 393
*Newark*, Lord 101, 117
*Newburgh*, Lord 476, 477, 478
*Newcaſtle*, Marquis of 98, 101, 115, 117, 121, 123, 140, 154, 155, 163, 165, 166, 452
*Newport*, Earl of 101
*Nicholas*, Secretary 117. *Nicholas*, Enſign 273, 293
*Nisbet*, Captain *Robert* 226, 227
*Nisbet*, Sir *Philip*, beheaded 226
*Nithſdale*, Earl of 7; defends the Caſtle of *Carlaverock* againſt the Covenanters 57, 163
*North*, Lord 439
*Northampton*, Earl of 101, 103; defeats a Body of the Parliament's Troops on *Hopton-Heath* 142, but is ſlain in the Action *ibid.* the young Earl of *Northampton* 165, 180
*Northumberland*, Earl of, made Admiral of *England* 93, 98, 119, 298, 353, 386, 449, 469
*Norwich*, Earl of 152, 417, 418, 419, 420, 422, 423, 425, 426, 427, 428, 432, 435, 465, 500, 501
*Nottingham*, Earl of 281

O

*OCKHAM*, a *Franciſcan* Friar 130
*Offa*, King of the *Mercians* 282
*Offly*, *Thomas* 159
*Ogilvie*, Lord 138, 144, 145, 163, 168, 169, 220, 221; condemned to die 228; makes his Eſcape *ibid.*
*Ogilvie*, Sir *Thomas* 173; ſlain at *Inverlochy* 197
*Ogilvie*, *Thomas*, of *Powry* 226, 227
*Ogilvie*, *Alexander*, beheaded 226
*Ogilvie*, *John*, of *Inverquharity* 226
*Ogilvies*, three, ſlain at the Battle of *Kilſyth* 218
*O-Kyan*, Col. 177; hang'd 226
*Oliphant*, *Laurence* 47
*O-Neal* 59, 368
*Orange*, Prince of 35; marry'd to Princeſs *Mary* 92
*Ormond*, Marquis of, made Lieutenant-General of the King's Troops in *Ireland* 82, 453
*Osborne*, *Richard* 341, 342
*Osborne*, Major 418
*Owen*, Sir *John* 392; try'd, and condemn'd to die 500; repriev'd 501
*Owen O-Connelly* 81

# INDEX.


P

PAGET, Lord 101
*Palatine*, Elector 86, 91
*Palladius*, Saint 211
*Palmer*, *Jeffery* 83; ſent Priſoner to the Tower 84
*Parker* 65
*Parliament* of *Scotland* ſend four Commiſſioners to the King 52; their Inſtructions *ibid.* meet without the King's Authority, change the ancient Form thereof, and ratifies the Covenant, *&c.* 57; meets the 10th of *Auguſt* 1641, 77; the Oath taken by all the Members *ibid.* Convention of Eſtates at *Edinburgh* 139; another Meeting of them there 167; they confirm the Covenant between the two Nations *ibid.* their Declaration concerning the Impriſonment of Duke *Hamilton* 168; adjourn *ibid.* meet again *January* 7th 1645, 194; chuſe the Earl of *Lindſey* Preſident *ibid.* expoſe to Sale *Montroſe*'s Eſtate, and thoſe of all his Adherents, and adjourn *ibid.* meet at *Stirling* 210; order more Forces to be levied, make ſome Regulations about their Army, and adjourn 211; ſit at *Perth* 212; confirm the Directory, ſet Fines upon Blaſphemers, *&c.* upon ſuch as ſhould not appear at the Rendezvous, and upon Malignants, offer a Pardon to ſuch as ſhould deſert *Montroſe*, raiſe the Value of the Coin, and adjourn 213; meet at *St. Andrew*'s 228; paſs Sentence of Death upon the Lord *Ogilvie*, &c. *ibid.* ordain every fourth Man to be liſted, and arm'd, and Gariſons to be put in *Inverneſs*, &c. 232; adjourn *ibid.* their Declaration, upon the King's being deliver'd up to the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners at *Newcaſtle* 248; adjourn 258; meet the 6th of *March* 1648, 372; their Anſwer to the Petition of the Clergy 373; their Declaration about the Defence of Religion, and the King's Perſon 375; they refuſe to deliver up Captain *Wogan*, &c. to the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners 381; ſend Demands to the Parliament of *England* 386; ſend Money to pay the *Scots* Troops in *Ireland*, and an Order to General *Monroe* to bring them back; adjourn to the Year 1650; they appoint Commiſſioners for Trying *Montroſe* 512; their Sentence before he came to *Edinburgh* *ibid.*
*Parliament* of *England* meet 53; diſſolved 54; the Houſe of Commons complain to the King againſt the Malignants, and beg of him to allow them a Guard compoſed of the Citizens of *London*, to be commanded by the Earl of *Eſſex* 85; they proteſt againſt the King's Proclamation for apprehending the five Members accuſed of High-Treaſon 86; both Houſes demand the Diſpoſal of the Militia 92; they addreſs the King at *Theobald*'s about the Militia 93; their Declaration concerning the King's leaving the Parliament *ibid.* their Declaration concerning Sir *John Hotham*'s refuſing to let the King come into *Hull* 99; ſend Propoſitions to the King 104; they prepare for War 106, and ſend the Lord-Mayor of *London* Priſoner to the Tower *ibid.* their Declaration to the General Aſſembly of *Scotland* 110; their Anſwer to the King's Meſſage of the 25th of *Auguſt* 113; their Petition to the King juſt before the Battle of *Edge-hill* 117; Prieſts found among the Dead of their Army at that Battle 118; both Houſes reſolve, That all Commiſſions, Grants, *&c.* paſſed under the Great Seal ſince the 22d of *May* 1642, ſhould be null 131; Parliament at *Oxford*, a Liſt of the Houſe of Lords thereof 156, and 157; their Letter to the Earl of *Eſſex* 158; their Opinion of the Covenant 159; the Anſwer of the two Houſes at *Weſtminſter* to the King's Meſſage of *March* 3d, 1643, 160; the Parliament at *Oxford* find fault with ſome Expreſſions in the ſaid Anſwer 161; they beg five Things of the King 162; the two Houſes at *Weſtminſter* ſend Propoſitions to the King at *Oxford* 183; they agree to a Treaty at *Uxbridge* *ibid.*

ibid. their Anſwer to the King's Meſſage for Peace, of the 23d of *March*, 235; their Order to ſecure the King's Perſon, if he ſhould come within the Lines of Communication *ibid.* their Proclamation againſt ſuch as harbour'd the King within the City of *London*, and Suburbs, upon hearing that he had left *Oxford* 237; the Houſe of Commons ſend a Preſent to General *Leſly* 250; both Houſes, by Proclamation, forbid Perſons troubled with the King's Evil, to go to be Touch'd by the King 256; they prohibit Comedies, aboliſh Holy-days, and appoint the ſecond *Tueſday* of each Month to be a Day of Recreation 257. Many Members of the Houſe of Commons refuſe to ſign the Covenant *ibid.* The 10th of *March* appointed to be a Day of Faſting *ibid.* Both Houſes order the King to be brought to his Houſe at *Oatlands* 259; they order two Petitions, preſented by ſome Vagabonds, to be burnt by the Hang-man 261; their Anſwer to the Petition from the City of *London* 262. The Opinion of the Council of War, about what Troops ſhould be maintain'd in *England*, and what ſhould be ſent into *Ireland*, read in the Houſe of Commons, and the Debates thereupon 313. The two Houſes ſend Commiſſioners to the King in the Iſle of *Wight*, to treat with him upon new Propoſitions, provided he would paſs four Acts 330; their Anſwer to the Complaints of the *Scots* Commiſſioners 333; their Anſwer to the Reaſons of the *Scot*'s Commiſſioners for a Perſonal Treaty 337, 338, 339, and 340; their Declaration about the private Concerns of the two Kingdoms 343; their Vote of no more Addreſſes to the King 352; their Anſwer to the *Scots* Commiſſioners, about their having Acceſs to the King 353; they ſend ſix Commiſſioners to *Scotland*, for keeping up the Peace between the two Kingdoms *ibid.* they publiſh a ſcandalous Declaration againſt the King 354; charge the King with the Loſs of *Rochelle* 362; their Anſwer to the Demands of the Parliament of *Scotland* 386; they declare all the *Scots* that had enter'd *England* Traitors 395; they amend their Sentence *ibid.* The Houſe of Lords are for treating with the King, without inſiſting upon the three Propoſitions 443; their Reaſons *ibid.* The Commons are of a contrary Opinion, and their Reaſons 444. The Lords Anſwer thereto, and the Commons Reply *ibid.* Both Houſes declare for a Perſonal Treaty in the Iſle of *Wight* 445. A Committee of both Houſes ſent to the King for that Purpoſe, with the Subſtance of their Meſſage 446. The Commiſſioners Report of the Treaty at *Newport* to the Parliament 456. A long and ſharp Debate thereupon in the Houſe of Commons *ibid.* A Vote of both Houſes, upon the King's being carried to *Hurſt-Caſtle* 463. The Houſe of Commons repeal many Votes, and revive others 465. A Vote of the Houſe of Commons, impowering their Members to act without the Concurrence of the Peers, and declaring that the People are the Original of all juſt Power 470. The Commons aboliſh the Houſe of Peers 499; vote againſt the Office of Kingſhip *ibid.*

*Parſons*, Sir *William* 81
*Parſons*, Mr. 450
*Patrick*, St. 404
*Paulinus*, St. baptized ten thouſand *Saxons* in one Day in the River of *Swale* 156
*Pawlet*, Lord 101
*Peace* concluded, and the Armies diſbanded 48; Articles thereof ratify'd in the *Scots* Parliament 78
*Pelagius*, an Heretick 211
*Pelham*, *Henry* 298
*Pembroke*, Earl of 48, 93, 119, [298], 415, 449
*Pennington*, Sir *John* 98, 108
*Pennington*, *Iſaac* 127
*Perth*, Earl of 171, 173
*Peterborough*, Earl of 119, 392, 393
*Peters*, *Hugh* 302, 304, 327, 464, 468, 473, 501

*Petition*

# INDEX.


*Petition* (See *General Aſſembly*) to the King, from twenty *Engliſh* Earls and Barons 60; from the County of *Eſſex* to the Parliament 260; from the City of *London* to the Parliament 262; from the Clergy of *Scotland* to the Parliament thereof 372; from the Clergy and Gentlemen of *Kent* to the Parliament 405; from the *Jews* to the Council of War 473
*Pheaſant*, Mr. Serjeant 122
*Philip*, King of *England* 133
*Philips*, Father, the Queen's Confeſſor 136, 137
*Philips*, Major 390
*Pierrepoint*, Mr. 119, 449
*Plantagenet*, *Edward* 412, 414
*Pointz*, Major-General, 234, 236, 299, [297]
*Pole*, *William de la*, Duke of *Suffolk* 357
*Popham*, Sir *Francis* 127
*Popham*, *Alexander* *ibid.*
*Popham*, Colonel 504
*Porter*, Colonel 167
*Porter*, *Endymion* 117
*Portland*, Earl of 321
*Potts*, Sir *John* 449
*Powel*, *Rice*, Colonel 391, 440, 504
*Poyer*, Colonel 388, 389, 391, 392, 394, 440, 504
*Pride*, Colonel 268, 269, 390, 464
*Prideaux*, *Edmund* 131
*Proſper*, Saint 211
*Proteſtation* of the ſecluded Members 465
*Pryn*, *Baſtwick*, and *Burton*, infamous Libellers, put in Priſon, had their Ears cut off in the Pillory, and were ſent Priſoners to the Iſlands of *Scilley*, *Guernſey*, and *Jerſey* 66; they return in Triumph into *London* ibid. the Sentence againſt them repealed by Parliament; and for Reparation of the Injuries they had ſuffer'd, *Burton* receiv'd 6000 *l.* *Pryn* and *Baſtwick* 5000 *l.* each *ibid.*
*Puleſton*, *John* 122
*Pym*, Mr. 86, 115, 127, 136, 456

Q

*QUARLES*, Colonel, ſlain at *Brentford* 120

*Queen* goes over to *Holland* with the Princeſs Royal 93; leaves *Holland*, and arrives at *Burlington* 135; in great Danger *ibid.* is impeach'd of High Treaſon by the Houſe of Commons 136; is brought to Bed of Princeſs *Henrietta* at *Exeter* 180; forced to fly to *Pendennis-Caſtle*, where ſhe imbark'd for *France*, and arriv'd at *Chatel* near *Breſt* ibid. ſends Sir *Edward Ford* into *England* to ſound the Deſigns of the Army 302; ſends thither Sir *John Berkeley* and *John Aſhburnham* 303

R

*RAE*, Lord 163, 226, 233
*Rainsborough*, Colonel [297], 304, 308, 309, 325, 348; Vice-Admiral 414, 431, 436
*Ramſey*, *Andrew* 21
*Rawlins*, Lieutenant-Colonel 427
*Rebellion* in *Ireland* 80
*Reeves*, Mr. Juſtice 122
*Regicides*, a Liſt of them 472
*Remonſtrance* of the Houſe of Commons, carry'd by nine Voices 83; order'd to be printed *ibid.*
*Remonſtrance* of the *Engliſh* Comiſſioners to thoſe of *Scotland* 193; of the *Kentiſh* Petitioners 408; of the Army 290, 457
*Remonſtrants* 35
*Reynolds*, *John*, Profeſſor of Divinity 13
*Retz*, Cardinal *de* 509, 516
*Rich*, Lord 101, 103
*Rich*, Colonel 493
*Richard* II. King 356, 384
*Richard* III. King 311, 411, 424
*Richard* of *St. Victor* 116
*Richmond*, Duke of 101, 117, 183
*Rivers*, Earl of 101, 117
*Robert* I. King of *Scotland* 501
*Roberts*, Lord 353
*Rochford*, Lord 132
*Rollock*, *Henry*, Moderator of the General Aſſembly 58
*Rollock*, Sir *William* 168, 169, 175, 176, 179, 209, 213, 214; beheaded 226
*Rolls*, Mr. Serjeant 122
*Rolph*, Captain 341, 342
*Roſs*, Biſhop of 2, 79
*Roſs*, Colonel 201

# INDEX.


*Roſs* of *Balnagown* 511
*Roſſiter*, Colonel 283
*Rothes*, Earl of 8, 22
*Rothſey*, Duke of 7
*Roxburgh*, Earl of 20, 30, 221, 222
*Rozetti*, Count *de* 54
*Rupert*, Prince, arrives in *England* 115; created Earl of *Holderneſs*, and Duke of *Cumberland*, and made Maſter of the Horſe *ibid.* 119; beſieges and takes *Briſtol* 141; takes *Bromicham*, and the Cloſe of *Lichfield* 142, 164; marches to the Relief of *York* 165; defeats Colonel *Maſſy* 201; delivers up *Briſtol* 203, 438; undertakes the Command of the Prince of *Wales*'s Fleet 442
*Ruſhworth*, Secretary to the Army 298
*Ruthin*, Lord 101
*Rutland*, Earl of 131

S

*SACROBOSCO*, *Johannes de* 140
*St. Clair*, Sir *Edward* 511
*St. Clair* of *Brim* *ibid.*
*St. John*, Lord, ſlain at *Edge-hill* 118
*St. John*, *Oliver* 131, 353
*Salisbury*, Earl of 101, 298, 449
*Sandilands*, *James* 34
*Sandilands*, Mr. 169
*Sandys*, Colonel 115
*Savage*, Captain 506
*Savil*, Lord 101
*Savin*, Mr. 404
*Saumaiſe*, *Claude de* 355
*Say*, Viſcount of 119, 127, 132, 298, 353, 449
*Scot*, Sir *James* of *Roſſy* 172, 173
*Scot*, Major 325
*Scot*, Sir *John* 402
*Scroop*, Colonel 393, 439
*Scudamore*, Lord 141
*Seaforth*, Earl of 233; excommunicated 240
*Seaton*, Lord 220
*Seaton*, Colonel *John* 143
*Sedulius*, a *Scots* Prieſt 195
*Sergius*, Pope 130
*Severus*, Emperor 3, 156
*Seymour*, Lord 101
*Sheldon*, Doctor 330
*Sibbald*, 169, 178
*Sibbald*, Doctor 501
*Simnel*, *Lambert*, an Impoſtor 412
*Simon*, *Richard*, a Prieſt 412
*Sixtus* IV. Pope 3
*Skippon*, Major-General 251, 269, 270, 271, 273, 276, 281, [299], 382, 445, 468
*Somerſet*, Duke of, caus'd a Liturgy to be compos'd in the Vulgar Tongue 12
*Soubizie*, Monſieur *de* 362
*Southampton*, Earl of 101, 112, 183, 449
*Southesk*, Earl of 20, 30
*Spotſwood*, Sir *Robert* 79; made Secretary of State 155; delivers to *Montroſe* the King's Commiſſion to be *Generaliſſimo* of the Troops in *Scotland* 220; having been taken Priſoner at the Battle of *Philiphaugh*, is try'd, and condemn'd to die 228; his dying Speech 229; his Letter to *Montroſe* 231
*Spotſwood*, Captain 517
*Stamford*, Earl of 127, 132, 140
*Stanhop*, Colonel, ſlain 203
*Stapleton*, Sir *Philip* 117
*Steel*, Mr. Serjeant 405
*Stirling*, Sir *William*, of *Keir* 75, 79, 220. *Stirling*, Captain 517
*Stradling*, Major-General 390, 392
*Strafford*, Earl of, made Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and Commander in Chief of the King's Troops 58; detaches the Lord *Conway* with 2500 Horſe, and 1000 Foot, to hinder the Covenanters from paſſing the *Tine* at *Newburn* 59; he's ſent Priſoner to the Tower 62; the Deſign of taking him from thence by Force, diſcover'd 70; Proceedings towards his Trial *ibid.* a Bill of Attainder brought into the Houſe of Commons againſt him 71; which paſſes in a few Days *ibid.* the Lords likewiſe paſs it *ibid.* he himſelf requeſts the King to aſſent to it *ibid.* which his Majeſty does by Commiſſion 72; he's condemn'd to die *ibid.* his dying Speech *ibid.* beheaded 74, 81, 102
*Straffordians*, their Names poſted up upon the Gates of *Weſtminſter-Hall* 74
*Strahan*, Major 400, 402
*Straiton*, *Walter* 219
*Strange*, Lord 115
*Strode*, Mr. 86, 127
*Stuart*, Sir *Lewis* 30

# INDEX.


*Stuart*, Sir of *Black-hall* 75
*Stuart* of *Roſyth* 220
*Suffolk*, Earl of 312, 439
*Sunderland*, Earl of, ſlain in the Battle of *Newbury* 154

T

*TAFF*, Lord 368
*Tertullian* 355
*Thanet*, Earl of 415
*Theodore*, Archbiſh. of *Canterbury* 130
*Thirlby*, *Thomas*, the firſt and laſt Biſhop of *Weſtminſter* 141
*Thomas*, Archbiſhop of *York* 156
*Tiberius*, Emperor 518
*Tichburn*, Colonel [298]
*Tildeſley*, Sir *Thomas* 396
*Tillard*, Colonel 167
*Tillibardin*, Earl of 172
*Tils*, Colonel 431
*Titus Quintius*'s Speech to the *Romans* 460
*Titus*, Emperor 518
*Tomkins*, Mr. 133; hang'd before his own Houſe 134
*Tomlinſon*, Colonel 478
*Towers* of *Inverleith* 220
*Towers*, Capt. *Robert* 224
*Townley*, Colonel, ſlain 167
*Traquire*, Earl of 20, 21, 30; ſent High Commiſſioner both to the Parliament and General Aſſembly 49; ſigns the Covenant as a Subject, but refuſes to do it as Commiſſioner 50; opens the Parliament 51; adjourns it *ibid.* 61, 79, 163, 221, 222
*Travers* 64
*Treaty* at *Rippon* 61; remov'd to *London* 66; concluded 69; a Treaty at *Uxbridge* 184; the Subſtance of the Treaty between the King and the Commiſſioners of *Scotland*, ſign'd at *Carisbrook-Caſtle* 344; a Treaty in the Iſle of *Wight* 451; the whole Hiſtory of it *ibid.* to 455.
*Trial* of the Earl of *Strafford* 71; of King *Charles* I. 478
*Tuke*, Colonel *Samuel* 435
*Tyler*, *Wat* 384
*Tyrone*, Earl of. See *Mac Mahone*.

V

*VANE*, Sir *Henry* 74, 315
*Vanes* (the Father and Son) 353
*Vane* (the Son) 449
*Vane*, Captain 127
*Valloons* 415
*Van Trump*, Admiral 441
*Veer* in *Zeland* 77
*Vieu-Ville*, Marquis of, ſlain 153
*Villars*, *Francis*, 393
*Vow*. See *Covenant*
*Urban* II. Pope 130
*Uxbridge* Treaty 184; firſt, of Religion *ibid.* ſecondly, of the Militia 187; thirdly, of *Ireland* ibid. the End of it without Effect 188

W

*WAINMAN*, Lord 119, 449
*Walden*, a *Carmelite* Friar 130
*Wales*, Prince of 93, 126; retires into *France* 235, 302, 303, 389, 391, 411, 414; he goes into *Holland* from *Calais* 438; goes aboard of the Fleet, and ſails for the Coaſt of *England* ibid. his *Manifeſto* ibid. writes to the City of *London* 439; takes ſeveral Ships *ibid.* writes to General *Fairfax* 440; caſts Anchor in the Mouth of the *Thames* ibid. writes to the Earl of *Warwick*, and attempts to fight him 441; ſails for *Holland*, and arrives at *Helvoet-Sluys* ibid. 457, 494, 499
*Wales*, a Sham-Prince of 410; makes his Eſcape 411
*Walker*, *Clement* 341
*Wallace*, Lieutenant-Colonel 218
*Waller*, Sir *William* 125, 130, 133, 134; reduces many Places under the Obedience of the Parliament 141; defeated *ibid.* 164, 165, 201, 269
*Waller*, Sir *Hardreſs* 304, 464
*Warbeck*, *Perkin* 412, 413
*Ware*, Lord *de la* 274, 281
*Warwick*, Earl of 98, 107, 108, 109 127, 269, 274, 298, 353, 410, 426; made Admiral of the Fleet by the Parliament 438, 439, 440; his Anſwer to the Prince of *Wales*'s Letter 441; he follows the Prince of *Wales* towards *Holland* ibid. returns to the *Downs* 442; his Commiſſion of Admiral taken from him by the Parliament 504
*Weddal*, Captain 56

# INDEX.


*Weems*, Earl of 19, Commiſſioner to the General Aſſembly 75, 172
*Welden*, Sir *Anthony* 408
*Wemmes*, Governor of *Shrewsbury* for the Parliament 201
*Wentworth*, Sir *George* 73
*Weſt*, Colonel [298], 383
*Weſtmorland*, Earl of 101
*Whaley*, Colonel 279, 280, 284, 308, 328, 422, 436, 437
*Wharton*, Lord 132, 298, 341, 353
*White*, Biſhop of *Ely* 17. *White*, Mr. 133, 164. *White*, Major 464
*White*, Colonel 283
*Whiteford*, Major 511
*Wild*, Mr. Serjeant 122, 131, 405
*William* I. King of *Scotland* 3, 173
*William* I. King of *England* 396
*William the Conqueror*, his Paſſion for Hunting 95, 156, 303, 409
*Williams*, Archbiſhop of *York*, revolts; fortifies his Houſe at *Penryn*, and proteſts againſt the King's Party 218;
*Williams*, Sir *Abraham* [298]
*Willis*, Mr. 404. *Willis*, Col. 419
*Willoughby* of *Eresby*, Lord 101, 108
*Willoughby* of *Parham*, Lord 298, 312
*Wilmot*, Col. 59. *Wilmot*, Lord 121; defeats Sir *William Waller* 141
*Wincheſter*, Marquis of, after having made a gallant Defence in his own Seat of *Baſing-houſe*, is made Priſoner 203; a memorable Saying of his *ibid.*
*Windebank*, Sir *Francis*, Secretary of State, retires to *France* 62
*Winter*, Sir *John* 452
*Withrington*, Lord 154
*Withrington*, Sir *Thomas* 183
*Wogan*, Captain 381
*Wolſey*, Cardinal 142, 310
*Wood*, *James* 245, 246
*Woodhouſe*, Colonel 164
*Worceſter*, Marquis of 272
*Wren* (Dr.) Biſhop of *Norwich*, accuſed of High Treaſon 62


## Y


YEOMANS, *Robert* and *William* (Brothers) hang'd 125
*York* City deliver'd to the Parliament Forces 167
*York*, Duke of, made Lord High Admiral 98; he eſcapes beyond Sea from *St. James*'s 385, 386, 424, 457
*York*, *Richard*, Duke of 412


## Z


ZUINGLIUS 12, 22


FINIS.


MVSEVM BRITAN NICVM